Polar Record 42 (222): 187–204 (2006). Printed in the United Kingdom. doi:10.1017/S0032247406005341

The bringer of light: the raven in Inuit tradition

Jarich Oosten
Faculty of Social Sciences, Leiden University, Wassenaarseweg 52, 2333 Ak Leiden, Netherlands
Frédéric Laugrand
Department of Anthropology, Laval University, Ste-Foy G1K 7P4, Québec, Canada

Received January 2006

ABSTRACT. In the western Arctic and in the northwest coast and Alaska, the significance of the raven as a creator and trickster is generally acknowledged. In the eastern Arctic there are no such elaborate mythical cycles concerning the bird. But the raven still plays an important role in myths and rituals. In this paper, some features of the Alaskan complex and the position of the raven in the eastern Arctic are discussed. The basic features of the Alaskan raven complex are used as heuristic principles guiding research into the situation in the eastern Arctic region. It is argued that in many respects the raven is responsible for society but without being part of it. As a predator and a scavenger it is often associated with eating dirt, excrement and human flesh, and yet it created light, enabling people to see and invented tattooing, enabling women to marry.

Contents

Introduction: the Arctic raven complex

A mythological complex focusing on the common raven (*Corvus corax* L.) as a trickster and creator is widely spread over the Arctic extending far into Siberia and North America (See Charrin 1983; Mathieu 1984). Extensive mythological cycles have been recorded among American Indians (e.g. Swanton 1909 for the Tlingit) as well as for Siberian peoples (e.g. Bogoras 1904–09, 1913a, 1913b). According to Meletinsky, 'Paleo-Asiatic mythology has condensed around the central figure of the raven [...] and his family' (Meletinsky 1973: 111). He also pointed out that, despite several regional variations, there were considerable similarities between palaeo-Asiatic and American Indian traditions:

> The plots of the oldest myths of the Paleo-Asiatic peoples and Indians overlap to a significant extent (raven stole light, procured fresh water; the stories about how raven repainted the other birds and how he himself turned from white to black; the stories about how he contrived the first human beings and created the reindeer, the fish and wild animals for their sustenance). [...] The general trends in the evolution of the figure of the Raven, especially his transformation from creator and culture hero to the trickster and insatiable glutton of anecdote are broadly similar in the myths of the northeastern Paleo-Asians and the northwestern Indians. (Meletinsky 1973: 112; see also Meletinsky 1980)

Most researchers for example Meletinsky, Boas, and Thalbitzer assume that the raven complex originally had a less important place among the Inuit and that it was taken over by the Inuit from neighbouring people. Thus Boas (1901) stated:

> The folklore of the Alaskan is taken almost bodily from that of the Indians of the North Pacific coast. The whole cycle of Raven stories is, one might say, identical with that of the Tlingit; while the number of recorded stories that are characteristic of other Eskimo tribes is exceedingly small. The impression which I receive from the available portion of Alaskan Eskimo folk-lore is, that here the old original stock of legends is practically swamped by recent introductions from the south, while the current beliefs and practices have remained more constant than the elaborate stories much before. (Boas 1901: 368–369)

Forty years later, Thalbitzer (1941: 585) took essentially the same position: 'Big Raven is doubtless the latest element in the religious history of the Inuit people. They adopted it as it filtered in from their neighbours on the Pacific coast and in Siberia.'

Discussions on the raven complex usually focus on comparisons between the Indian and Siberian mythological complexes and pay little attention to the Inuit raven complex. However, the existence of extensive and complex mythical raven cycles may be a recent phenomenon. Thus, Meletinsky (1973: 113) argued that the variation of these cycles (familial cycles among the Koryak, biographical among the Tlingit, Haida and Tshimsian) 'must have been fairly late in date.'

The development of a complex integrated mythical cycle as recorded by Nelson in the Bering Strait area may be a recent development, but the existence of short

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

myths such as how the raven acquired its colour or the use of raven masks seem to be an integral part of Inuit culture. Thalbitzer (1925) classified ideas pertaining to the whiteness of the raven as one of the characteristic features of Eskimo culture. And Kleivan devoted a case study to the myth demonstrating the continuity of the mythical theme from Alaska to Greenland (Kleivan 1971: 10). String figures also testify to the ubiquity of the raven complex among the Inuit. According to Mary-Rousselière:

> The raven is one of the widest spread figures among the Inuit. It has been found in Siberia; in Alaska, in Point Barrow and inland; in Canada, among the Copper Inuit, the Qaenermiut, and among the Iglulingmiut; in Greenland, at Cape York, Upernavik and Ubekendt Island. Almost everywhere, the string figure representing a raven is followed, as in Pelly Bay, by three other figures: teriganiarjuk [the fox], nuvuyanguaciaq [what looks like a cloud] and anaruaciaq [excrement]. [. . .] It is remarkable that the words pronounced by this figure in Pelly Bay are almost identical to those heard at Point Barrow and at Cape York, as well as among the Aivilingmiut and Iglulingmiut. (Mary-Rousselière 1969: 48–49)

Therefore, this paper will focus on the mythical complex of the raven and also on its ritual position, the use of raven parts in amulets and other practices and beliefs relating to ravens. When these cultural features are included in an examination of the raven complex, it becomes clear that the raven complex among the Inuit is fairly intricate and widely spread. It seems to be such a structural feature of Inuit culture that it is hardly likely that it is a recent phenomenon taken over from neighbouring cultures.

In exploring the raven traditions, some features of the Alaskan complex will be discussed first and then the position of the raven in the central Arctic will be examined. The basic features of the Alaskan raven complex will be used as heuristic principles guiding the research. In examining the raven complex, it is necessary to take into account that there are important differences in mythology and rituals between the western and the eastern Arctic. Generally, mythology and rituals are more elaborate in the western Arctic. Especially in south Alaska are found long mythological cycles and complex ritual cycles encompassing a series of complex feasts. This is not the case in the eastern Arctic, where mythology is much more fragmented and ritual feasts not neatly organized in ritual cycles. It is tempting to interpret these differences to a process of disintegration of the raven complex. Historians and archaeologists have convincingly shown that Inuit moved from west to east and that the inhabitants of the eastern Arctic originate from the western Arctic. However, it is by no means sure that the current complex organisations in the western Arctic existed a thousand years ago when the Thule culture developed. It is quite possible that in some respects the situation in the eastern Arctic reflects the situation that existed in the western Arctic as well as Alaskan cultures in the 19th and 20th century. Therefore, historical speculation on the development or disintegration of the raven complex will be avoided (see Drive 1999).

The raven complex in the eastern Arctic and western arctic will be considered as variants of each other in a process of historical development and a shared cultural heritage. They are both part of a field of anthropological study that encompasses a rich variety of different Inuit cultures. This methodological approach was developed by De Josselin de Jong (1984) who was inspired by Mauss' classic study, originally printed in 1904, of Inuit society in its regional diversity (Mauss and Beauchat 1979). Linguistically and culturally, closely related areas are defined as a field of anthropological study and examined as cultural variants linked by transformations in time and space. The approach assumes that it is only by charting the cultural diversity and richness of local traditions that justice can be done to the general patterns in a field of anthropological study (see Oosten 1986 and Laugrand and others 2002 for illustrations of this method in Inuit studies).

The fact that in the eastern Arctic mythological and ritual cycles are not found to the same extent as in the western Arctic, does not imply that the organisation of myth and ritual is less complex. In fact, the apparent flexibility of myths and ritual gives much space to the participants to combine stories and rituals and often obscures that these rituals and myths are well organised and exhibit structural features testifying to the continuity and resilience of basic patterns in Inuit societies.

In the eastern Arctic, the sea woman and the moon man take a much more central place in myth and ritual than in the western Arctic. They may have assimilated features, stories or practices related to the raven. Thus deceit and trickery play an important part in their stories. Instead of assuming that they are derived from the raven complex, one can equally well assume that such features are structural elements of the organization of the Inuit worldview and therefore will always be found in each variant of Inuit culture. Therefore, this paper will concentrate on the raven itself and will not explore whether the moon man or the sea woman may have taken over some functions of the raven. The raven will be explored in its own right and the ethnographic data provided by early ethnographers such as Boas, Peck, and Rasmussen will be examined as well as contemporary information collected from elders in the field.

The raven in Alaska

According to Thalbitzer: 'The whole Eskimo population of Alaska has in the course of time not only acquired a knowledge of Big-Raven as the heaven god, or rather as the son of an older heavenly being, but also worship him at periodical festivals.' In Alaska, the raven is thus considered as 'a cultural hero' that descended from heaven and 'who institutes all benefits, game animals and institutions, which mankind is proud to possess

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and on which their existence depends' (Thalbitzer 1941: 584).

And he added:

> According to the Eskimo Bible the Raven was the creator of the first heaven-folk, as well as of the animals and inuit [men] of this world. Sacrifice is still offered to the raven in the tundra of Alaska, the worshipper expecting in return fine weather for the hunt. The heavenly galaxy is called 'the trail of the Raven's snow-shoes'. According to the myth all ravens were originally white. A Greenlandish song tells us how the raven was painted black by an Arctic loon. All knowledge of the Raven mythology and Raven cult, however, comes eastwards to an end at Mackenzie River. The eastern Eskimos did not worship the raven as a deity. (Thalbitzer 1941: 585)

Nelson (1899) and Lantis (1947) provided rich accounts of the mythological complex of the raven. Nelson related:

> The creation of the earth and everything upon it is credited to the Tu-lu-kau-gûk [Raven Father], who is said to have come from the sky and made the earth when everything was covered with water. During a large part of the time he retained the form of a raven and changed to a man at will by pushing up his beak. [. . .] the Raven came from the sky, where he had a father and where dwarf people were living, and [. . .] made things on earth so much like those in the sky that the shamans still pretend to replace animals on the earth by trips to the sky land.
>
> The first man made on the earth returned to the sky land, where the shades of shamans and people who are recompensed for a violent death also go; the Raven Father is believed still to live there. I was informed that the Eskimo about Norton Sound place fragments of dried fish or other food in different places on the tundra as offerings to the Raven Father in the sky; in return for which he gives them fine weather.
>
> The Unalit say that to kill a raven will cause the Raven Father to become very angry and to send bad weather, and the lower Yukon Eskimo dislike and fear ravens as evil birds. (Nelson 1899: 425–426)

Nelson collected a rich version of the raven cycle from an old Unalit man living at Kigiktauik. In the context of this paper only some of the main features of the cycle can be discussed (see also Hawkes 1913: 16).

> At a time when there were no people on the earth plain, the first man lay coiled up in the pod of a beach-pea for four days. On the fifth day the pod burst, he fell to the ground and stood up a full-grown man. A raven approached him, raised one of its wings, pushed up its beak, like a mask, and changed into a man. Raven took care of the man, and created many animals by flapping his wings over images of clay and explained their use to him. He also made a woman as a companion for man. He instructed man how to take care of the children that were born, a boy and a girl.
>
> Then raven returned to the pea vine and found three other men who had fallen from the pea pod. He also created animals for them and taught them to make all kinds of implements and techniques. Raven went back and forth between man and the coast people instructed in various ways.
>
> Thus raven created man and ordered the world. He shaped the earth; created people on the land as well as at the coast provided the first food gave animals their shape and appearances and explained to man their use. In this first episode of the raven cycle raven was a creator and culture hero responsible for the order of the world.
>
> One day raven took man to the land in the sky that was inhabited by dwarves. He learnt how to make clothes in the manner of the sky people, and those patterns have been retained ever since. After this trip in the land of the sky the raven took man to a round hole in the sky. Raven took man upon his wings and descended through the hole to the bottom of the ocean. Then raven changed him into a white bear. Man could not speak until raven had waved his wing over him. After raven had changed man back, he made a bear out of the bear skin. Raven told man that meant he had slept for four years and when he came back to his own village his wife had become very old and his son was now an old man. The people made him their headman. Raven refused a place of honour and sat close by the door. Later in the tale, Raven is described as dressed in dogskin or other miserable garments, and he always occupies a place by the entrance of the kashim [feasting house] where the poor people are seated. (Nelson 1899: 427)

The second episode described a journey of man to heaven and the bottom of the sea that evokes shamanic trips. It may well represent a myth of the first shamanic initiation. Particularly striking is the feature that the man is changed into a polar bear and decides that he wants to return to human shape to retain the connection with his human descendants. At the end of the episode a temporal perspective is brought into play as after an apparently short residence in the non-human worlds the man finds that, in the meantime, his relatives have become old. The raven is represented as able to travel in space and time and seems to initiate man into these capacities.

> When people began to kill too many animals, raven and man sent reindeer to destroy them. The reindeer ate up the people with their sharp, wolf-like teeth and returned to the sky; the next night they came back and destroyed another house. The villagers covered the third house with a mixture of deer fat and berries. The fat and sour berries in their mouths caused them to run off and shake their heads so violently that all their long, sharp teeth fell out. Afterward they grew the small teeth reindeer now have. Man and raven returned to the sky and man said men would kill everything if they were not stopped. So raven took the sun away and put it into his skin bag and carried it to the sky land

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

where his parents lived. It became very dark on earth and raven kept the sun hidden in the bag.

The people on earth were frightened and offered raven rich presents of food and furs. Finally he let them have the light for a short time holding up the sun in one hand for two days so the people could hunt and get food. (Nelson 1899: 459–462)

In this episode the raven becomes an enemy of people, threatening to destroy them and robbing them of the sun:

An older brother of raven in the village felt sorry for the earth people. He pretended to die and he hid his raven mask and coat in a tree close to the village. He went to the spring where the villagers got their water. When his brother's wife came for water, he changed himself into a small leaf and was swallowed with the water. After a few days the woman gave birth to a boy, and in a few days he was running about. He cried continually for the sun. His father frequently let the child have it, but always took it back again. When no one was looking he ran to the tree, put on his grave mask and coat, and flew far away with the sun and returned the sun to its place again. He also installed the morning star and made the sky move around the earth. Then he went down to the village where the first people lived. The people asked him what had become of man. Raven boy tried to fly up to the sky but could not get back. He went to a village where lived the children of the other men last born from the pea-vine. There he took a wife and had many children who became raven people like himself. They were able to fly over the earth, but they gradually lost their magic powers until and became ordinary ravens. (Nelson 1899: 459–462)

In this episode the older brother of the raven becomes his son who returns the sun. The contrast between father and son, enemy and protector of people, encompasses the mediating role of the raven. The narrative makes clear that light is needed for hunting (see also the Aivilik myth as it was told to Rasmussen 1929: 253). Theft is required to make hunting possible. The notion of theft, or capture, plays an important part in myths of the origin of hunting (see for example, the many versions of the Sedna myth as it is told in the eastern Arctic).

Nelson (1899: 425) stated with respect to the raven father: 'In this belief rests the foundation of the mask dances of the Eskimo.' Raven cries were often a feature of dances and rituals. According to Lantis at a bladder feast 'Everybody sang one song. After they sang, they made noises like raven cries. The shaman said the bladders had been singing a song' (Lantis 1947: 209, 251–252).

Nelson related that many features of the land were connected with raven tales:

Below Paimut on the Yukon is a large block of stone resting near the water's edge which they say was dropped there by the Raven Father after he had made the earth. When he had placed it there he told the people of the Yukon that whenever fish became scarce they must tie an inflated bladder to this stone and throw both in the river, whereupon fish would become plentiful. They say that one year, when fish were very scarce, the shamans did this and when the stone and the bladder struck the water the latter immediately sank out of sight and the stone floated like a piece of dry wood some distance down the river; then it returned upstream of its own volition, went to its former place on the bank and fish immediately became numerous. (Nelson 1899: 425)

Many other stories refer to the raven (see also Hawkes 1913, 1914; Nelson 1983). The Unalit tale of 'Raven takes a wife' Nelson relates how he took a goose as a wife. He offered himself as a handsome husband to the birds flying over, but they all rejected him until a goose consented to take him as her husband. He gave her a white stone with a hole that she hung around her neck. The raven trying to become a husband constitutes a contrast to the theme widespread in the eastern Arctic of Nuliajuk/ Sedna/ Uinigumasuittuq refusing a husband until she is seduced by a qaqulluk [bird from the sea], that is a fulmar (*Fulmarus glacialis* L.). Raven turned out to be unable to follow the geese on their migration. He pretended he had an arrowhead in his heart, but the brothers of his wife did not believe him and the geese decided to wait no longer for him. When he became exhausted, he asked the goose to return the white stone to him because it had magical properties. This tale is sometimes related with the tale of the raven, the whale and the mink. It relates how raven entered a whale. There was woman, the inua [owner] of the whale, attending to a lamp. Despite her warnings he destroyed out of greed a tube that was dripping oil. The oil rushed out and extinguished the lamp. Thus the whale was killed. Many people came to cut it, but raven told them that he had left his fire drill behind and that many people would die if they cut a whale that still had a fire drill inside. Then he ran away and the people followed him. When they had gone he had the whale to himself. He now needed bags for the whale oil and induced mink to invite the seal people for a feast. When the seal people came inside the feast house he covered their eyes with gum and killed them all. They turned into seal again and he had lots of bags for his oil. Since that time raven and mink remained friends and are often found close together on the tundra (Nelson 1899: 464–467).

The latter story represents raven very much as a devious trickster (see also Schwartz 1970 for a variant of the tale of the raven and the whale collected in the Mackenzie River area). Raven killed the whale by his greed, refused to share its meat and oil and appropriated all of it deceiving the seal people who are all killed by him and ended up as a rich man.

A story from St. Michael relates that there was a young man in the kashim [feasting house] who could never find anything, not even the waterhole and his elder brother's house. He could not find fish, berries or seals and did not know what to do with himself. Finally he decided to die. In the morning he heard a raven and his mate discussing whether he was dead. The mate concluded he was still alive as there was still smoke by him and flew away, but

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the other raven stayed because he wanted his eyes. He approached the young man and his beak changed into a fine knife. The young man snatched it away from the raven and refused to give it back. The raven promised the young man all kinds of game but the young man would not return it. The raven told him he would not reach his village and flew away. The young man found he suddenly became an old man. He could no longer walk or stir and died (Nelson 1899: 475–479).

The story follows an inverse pattern to the story of the shamanic initiation as it is told in Kigiktauik, Alaska (see Nelson 1899: 452–462). There man seemed to be successfully initiated into a shamanic career and became a headman in his village where his kinsmen had become old. Here we find a young man whose shortcomings suggest he may have been a candidate for the shamanic call. Raven offered him all kinds of game in exchange for his knife, an offer that could not be refused. But the young man refused the offer and subsequently he himself became old immediately and died.

Some stories present the raven as a stupid or vain being as in the story of the raven and the marmot found in the Norton Bay area. It relates the story of a marmot that was caught by a raven. The marmot asked the raven to dance before him as he had heard that the raven was such a good dancer. When the raven did so, marmot asked him to close his eyes because he was then even more graceful. When the raven closed his eyes, the marmot made a dash for it and escaped to his hole making fun of the raven (Nelson 1899: 414–515).

The raven stories conform to a pattern: a creator as well as a trickster, the raven is at once very shrewd and very stupid. He easily fools other beings and is easily fooled by them. He is a master of light showing and hiding the light in various myths. He realises all kinds of transformations by lifting his beak and/or flapping his wings.

A marked feature of the raven complex in the western Arctic is his representation in marks and tattoos. Nelson relates that 'The raven totem or mark is represented by an etched outline of the bird's foot and leg, forming a tridentate' and he provides the following figure (Fig. 1):

Fig. 1. Etched outline of bird's foot and leg (Nelson 1899: 324).

The mark was used on objects as well as on bodies. Nelson related: 'At East Cape, Siberia, I saw numerous arrow- and spear-heads of bone or ivory bearing the raven mark, and the same mark was seen tattooed on the forehead of a boy at Plover bay' and explained that these marks were 'frequently seen on carvings, weapons, and implements of almost every description. On clothing or wooden utensils it may be marked with paint' (Nelson 1899: 324–325).

In the eastern Arctic the raven complex appears less articulate. Thus we do not find an elaborate mythological complex relating to the raven but instead a set of short narratives, incidental rules and small details that allow us to infer the meaning of the raven in this area. In this paper the raven complex in myth, ritual and visual representations will be explored and some of the results of research in the western Arctic will be adopted for heuristic purposes in mapping the complex symbolism of the raven in the eastern Arctic.

Tulugaq: the raven in the eastern Arctic

The word tulugaq [raven] is derived from 'tulu, to hit' (Schneider 1985: 418). It refers to an action of hitting or biting for example, 'tulurpuq: he/it gives him a blow of his tusk or a bite of his teeth; to hit an obstacle'. It is probably related to tuluriaq [canine tooth].

In a song collected by K. Rasmussen, among the Umingmaktormiut, the expression tuluriaqaqpaak ['has it a fang?'] is used, and Rasmussen explains: 'Here is a reference to the fact that, unlike other birds, the raven is able to bite a thong through, and therefore it is jokingly asked if it has "fang" (carnassial tooth) – the teeth the dogs use to chew seal thongs when they eat them.' (Rasmussen 1932: 177). The word tuluriaq is also found in the name Tulurialik, a name of a helping spirit (see the list compiled by the Anglican missionary E.J. Peck in which is found Tullorealik 'like a small bear, very long teeth, lives upon seals'; Tulloreak 'like a man, large canine teeth like a bear') (Laugrand and others 2001: 144). Both the raven and the bear are marked by their capacity to hit or bite. Raven elements are often used for hexing purposes in the context of witchcraft (see Sonne 1982: 28).

According to Randa (1994: 312), there is no terminological distinction made between the male and the female raven, but tulugaarruluit, [young ravens], are distinguished from an adult raven, tulugaq or tulugarjuaq [big raven].

Everywhere, the raven is considered as inedible. A story by Boas relates that a boy who was only fed on raven meat changed into a raven himself (Boas 1901: No 44: 227–228; see also Boas 1907: 227).

Parts of the raven are used for various purposes. The feathers were used for the feathering of arrows (Turner 1894: 247; Mathiassen 1928: 57; Holtved 1962: 71). The wings served as brushes (Bilby 1923: 97; 1926: 52, 94) and the skin for cleaning. In Greenland, Thalbitzer pointed out the use of raven whiskers for the drum: 'A drum provided with an amulet, says Kunnaq, is to improve the voice of the man when he is singing; the amulet consists of the 'whiskers' of a raven (stiff feathers near the root of the beak) and is inserted under the lashing, by means of which the handle of the drum is fastened to the wooden rim' (Thalbitzer 1914: 629).

According to Randa (1994: 313) the raven is primarily viewed negatively as a thief, Tigliktituinnaruluk, from

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

tiglikti [thief]. However, the raven is also considered to have isuma. It is isumalialuk [the one who thinks much]. He robs the traps of the hunters (see Bilby 1923: 260–261). Human beings are close to ravens. In Greenland, Egede (1818: 64) described them as nearly domesticated animals: 'Raven seem to be domestic birds with them (Inuit), for they are always seen about their huts, hovering about the carcases of seals that lie upon the ground.' In Nunavik, Turner (1888: 108; see also 1894: 262) explains: 'The raven is endowed with omniscience, valour and cunning.' Jenness (1922: 147–148) related that 'if the other hunter is some distance away the Eskimo sometimes croaks like a raven to put him on his guard'. Similarly, ravens were known to be very helpful for polar bear hunters who could benefit from their deceiving capacities. Piugaattuk, from Igloolik, related:

> Ravens usually scavenge around polar bears and the bears are so used to the cries of the ravens. The bear would be fleeing slightly since it had been alerted earlier but unable to make out the noise it suddenly hears the 'caw' sounds and it would stop. Hearing that noise it would stop to investigate. The dogs would be able to get to the bear quicker because by stopping to investigate it has allowed the hunters to get closer. I have seen this technique being used on a hunt. Earlier before the actual hunt the hunters had been whispering amongst themselves and when they wanted the dogs to give all they got they would make the loud noise. Hearing the usual sound of the ravens the bear would make the mistake by stopping to investigate allowing the hunter to get closer. [. . .]The sound of the ravens does not scare or alarm the bear. That was the method that they used when hunting a polar bear. (Piugaattuk 1989)

Ravens could also inform human beings by advice or deceit. Two interesting examples were recorded by Mary-Rousselière. In the story of Ataguttaaluk who ate her husband and children, a raven approached her and said: 'There are Inuit coming.' And the next day Kadluk and Tagornak arrived. They put her on a sled and provided her with food (Okomaluk no date a). But the raven could as well deceive a human being. In a second tale, a raven deceived a woman by informing her that her husband had caught a caribou (Okomaluk no date b).

The raven is known as acting as a scavenger, competing with and often outwitting the dogs and even the hunters. Bilby related:

> But presently a hunter emerges from his house with a bowl of dainties for the dogs (the dainties are more or less putrid), and empties it into a tumultuous crowd of them, when each one vies with his neighbour in catching and bolting as much as possible in the least space of time. At this, there is an ebon (probably ebony coloured) rush from the surrounding crags, and a fierce rear attack upon the dogs from the voracious birds. A beak like cold steel driven deep into a dog's flank just as he is engulfing a particularly delicious morsel tends to make him choke. He does so in fact, and his feathered aggressor, striking hard now at his nose, snatches the lump of meat from him in the very act of flapping and floating off to safety in mid air. The dog, disgusted and disappointed beyond expression, sits down and howls maledictions on thieves in general and ravens in particular, to the remotest of their generations. No one loves the raven. The hunter uses every art to catch him, but generally in vain. (Bilby 1923: 259–260)

The raven is not only marked as a scavenger that eats dog food and frozen meat, but it is also marked as an eater of dead human bodies, especially the eyes. This was noted by G.F.Lyon, Captain of HMS *Hecla* on W.E.Parry's 1821–1823 expedition: 'On the morning of the 8th the same wolf was found round the S.E. point, frozen quite stiff. A raven discovered the position of the carcass, by hovering over it, after having picked out one of the eyes' (Lyon 1824: 134). A story related by L. Qajuina is quite explicit:

> The Inuit had set up their tents on a river's bank. They were worried about one of their hunters who had been away far too long. When a big raven started flying above their heads, a man cried: 'Let us catch him! He knows everything!' The raven answered right away: 'You want to know? I took out his eyes between the two rivers'. Everyone understood: their man had been attacked and killed. They searched for him between the two rivers and found his dead body. (Métayer 1973: 618–620, text 89: 795)

The raven could use his isuma [intelligence] to trick people and obtain their eyes as this is indicated in a story told by A. Qavviaktok:

> Following the advice of a raven, a group of Inuit went to meet some visitors and built their igloo at the foot of a high cliff to spend the night. While they were sleeping, after the lamps were extinguished, the raven started dancing and jumping on the iglus and on the cliff. He thus provoked an avalanche and all the people were buried under a huge snow bank. The raven remained close by and, when spring came back, he had a great time picking out the eyes of his victims. (Métayer 1973: 184–187, text 25: 744)

On the contrary, humans could also use trickery to communicate with ravens but such an action remained dangerous as is illustrated by a story told by Piugaattuk:

> A man was trapping and every time he checked his traps and more often than not there wouldn't be any foxes. He would be getting ravens and since he got upset over that, he would get angry. When one of the ravens he came upon in his routine was still alive, and from his anger he would do something to the animal, either pulling one of its eyes or did something to its wings and setting it free. He did this so that ravens wouldn't be regular occurrences in his traps. Through his shamanism or even if he wasn't a shaman he did this to show his displeasure with the raven, as if the ravens were very smart and knew what was being done to them. Later on the man was in a terrible situation

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> as a direct result of revenge or was it the man's own making, because he thought so much of what he did to the raven or was it a direct revenge from the animal, the raven. (Piugaattuk 1986)

Another tale collected from Qajuina related that a fox caught a raven: '[. . .] the red fox laid himself on the ground and pretended to be dead. The raven came too close to pick up his eyes and was caught in his mouth. The red fox brought him in a very uncomfortable position, to the place where he intended to eat him. But suddenly the raven asked: 'From what direction is the wind?' The red fox thought that the question was stupid so he opened his mouth to say no. And the raven flew away' (Métayer 1973: 196–198, text 28: 745).

Thus, like the bear and the dog, the raven has human features. Rasmussen related a story he collected from Manêlaq:

> Sâmik told the following story: The sick raven. A shaman once came to a sick raven who had a bad leg. The raven said: 'It is not to be wondered at that I have a bad leg. I was bound to get a bad leg; I have eaten of the corpse of an infant and of a killed caribou at the same time.' The animals have taboos just like humans, and a raven must not eat of human flesh on the same day that it has eaten caribou. If it does, it will be sick. Now its neighbours had gone away hunting and it was left behind, but the shaman cured it. Then the raven thought over what to give in return, and gave the shaman a dog's turd. I suppose it was hard for it to find a proper game animal. (Rasmussen 1931: 196–198; See also Rasmussen 1931: 416)

Rasmussen stated that Inuit and animals have the same taboos, but this does not appear in the story where the raven taboo does not apply to human beings. He provides hardly any information on animal taboos and the fact that this story refers to the raven is significant as the raven has so many human features. The story marks other features of the raven: the raven as a provider of non-human food and the eating of human flesh. Boas related the following story of the raven and the gull:

> Once upon a time a hunter came to the house of the Raven. He entered, and saw an old man who said, 'Haak! Surely you are hungry'. We are generally hungry when we wander away from home. 'Now he asked a boy to bring in some human flesh. The boy brought it in. The old man cut off a piece, and gave it to the hunter. The latter said, 'I do not like that kind of flesh'; and the old man retorted, 'Give it to me, I can eat it.' After he had finished eating, he said to the boy, 'Bring in some whale-skin'; but it was really fowl's dung. He gave it to the Eskimo, who said he could not eat it. 'Give it to me,' said the old man, 'I can eat it.' Then he told the boy to bring in scrapings of whalebone. He offered this to the Eskimo, who, however, said he could not eat it. The old man said again, 'I can eat it, give it to me'; but after he had finished eating, he said, 'My stomach aches', and he vomited everything he had eaten. A short distance away there was the house of the Gull. The hunter was invited to enter. He went in, and the Gull gave him dried salmon, which he was glad to eat. Then he left and went home, and told how the birds had fed him. (Boas 1901:217; see also Rasmussen 1929: 256–266)

The story of Atungai relates that two raven women offered poisonous food to him, but perceived the trick and forced them to eat it themselves (see Boas 1901: 228–230).

A dialogue between an inuk and a raven related by Itqiliq (Rasmussen 1931: 412) refers to the eating of human flesh, 'A human cried: "Raven, what have you in your beak?" The raven answered: "A human's thigh! Because I like it I have it in my beak! Frozen meat -I am pecking at, frozen meat- frozen meat! Frozen meat!"' Alasuaq, an Inuit artist from Nunavik told Saladin d'Anglure: 'I carved a history related by Livai Qumaaluk, the history of a big raven who changed himself, his wife and his children into a human being. He holds the thigh of a human being between his claws' (Saladin d'Anglure 1978: 73).

In Baffin Island, Bilby related that:

> The people much dislike to have their dead bodies devoured by dogs, lest their souls have to wander over the ice and land on vain hunting trips; but they do not object to wolves on the same score, since the wolves also devour the souls, and the departed, thus disposed of, will always hunt deer successfully and live on the meat. Neither do they object to the carrion-loving raven, as the soul in this case is also absorbed by the bird and provided for in perpetuity. (Bilby 1923: 168)

Interestingly, ravens, bears, and dogs are all associated with human beings. Thus in a version of the Arnaqtaaqtuq myth told by Okomaluk, the sequence of transformation is raven-bear-dog. But whereas the dog is domesticated and part of human society and the bear is a wild animal considered as a human being outside human society (Laugrand and Oosten 2002), the raven always follows human beings and lives on leftovers, but never becomes part of human society. The flesh of ravens and bears is thought to resemble that of human beings and therefore their flesh is prohibited to those who have eaten human flesh. But whereas the flesh of polar bear is dangerous but delicious, a raven is considered inedible and the meat of a dog is considered as almost inedible and only eaten in times of extreme need. In this respect Sanikiluaq constitutes an exception as dog meat is acceptable food in this area (Saladin d'Anglure 2006: 111).

The raven as bringer of light, knowledge and game

The Alaskan material presented the raven as a master of light. An Aivilik story recorded by Rasmussen from the old story-teller Ivaluardjuk relates that originally everything was dark and light came to mankind only through the intervention of the raven. During the first period after the creation of the earth, all was darkness. Among the earliest living beings were the raven and the fox. One day they met, and fell into talk, as follows:

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> 'Let us keep the dark and be without daylight,' said the fox.
>
> But the raven answered: 'May the light come and daylight alternate with the dark of night.'
>
> The raven kept on shrieking 'qau, qau' (Thus the Inuit interpret the cry of the raven, qau, roughly as qau, which means dawn and light. The raven is thus born calling for light). And at the raven's cry, light came, and day began to alternate with night. (Rasmussen 1929: 253)

In a variant of this myth recorded among the Umingmaktormiut, the fox is replaced by the black bear (see Rasmussen 1932: 217 and also Boas 1901: 306). Both versions of this myth preserve the role of the raven as master of light as well as the alternation of light and dark that is at the core of the raven complex in the western Arctic. Light acquired a special importance in Inuit traditions in the notion of qaumaniq [vision] and light. In order to become an angakkuq [shaman] a person had to obtain qaumaniq. Boas (1907: 133) reported: 'When a person becomes an angakok a light covers his body. He can see supernatural things. The stronger the light is within him, the deeper and farther away he can see, and the greater is his supernatural power.'

The shamanic vision enabled the angakkuq to see hidden things such as spirits and shades, or transgressions of tirigusuusiit [things people had to abstain from]. Rasmussen (1929: 113) described qaumaniq for the Iglulingmiut:

> The first time a young shaman experiences this light, while sitting up on the bench invoking his helping spirits, it is as if the house in which he is suddenly rises; he sees far ahead of him, through mountains, exactly as if the earth were one great plain, and his eyes could reach to the end of the earth. Nothing is hidden from him any longer; not only can he see things far, far away, but he can also discover souls, stolen souls, which are either kept concealed in far, strange lands or have been taken up or down to the Land of the Dead.

The angakkua or qaumaniq was obtained by the instructor from the moon spirit, but it could also be obtained from a deceased person among the Ullormiut, bears in human appearance, Pakitsumanga [the mother of the caribou], or a white lemming.

In South Baffin Island, shamanic light was often brought by tuurngait [shamanic helping spirits]. Peck collected a list of 347 tuurngait during his stay in South Baffin Island from 1894 to 1905 (see Laugrand and others, in press). Many of these tuurngait were described as owners of game or bringers of light. In this list we find several ravens as well as birds that may have been ravens or associated with them and it is worthwhile to look at some of them in more detail. Savikpiatak is described by Peck as 'a crow which calls out its own name viz. Savikpiatangmi.' The word savik [knife] evokes the equation between the beak of the raven and a knife. Siggook [beak] has a 'head like a crow, but a body like a human being, having wings. A good torngak [shamanic helping spirit], because he brings seal meat to the Eskimo with his beak'. The close association between the beak of the raven and the knife is also preserved in a story of B. Ivarluk and collected by Métayer, that constitutes an interesting variation to an Alaskan myth discussed above.

> An orphan boy and his grandmother used to get some food from a rich man. The boy had been thinking about going away. He left for the mountains. He went right up on the top, wrapped himself in his sleeping skins and pretended to be asleep. A big raven came flying over his head, croaking over and over; he alighted close by and pricked the boy's feet and back with his beak to make sure he was dead.
>
> The happy raven sharpened his knife and came closer to the head. The orphan cried 'Haa aa aa!' and the raven flew away and forgot his knife. The boy took it and went home followed by the bird who asked for his knife. The raven went ahead of him, dug a hole in the ground with his left foot and waited for the boy. When he arrived, he said to him: 'Give me back my knife and all animals will be yours to hunt.'
>
> He saw many caribous in the ground but he did not give the knife back.
>
> The raven dug another hole with his left foot and the boy could see wolves, red foxes and some other animals but he still refused to give the knife back.
>
> In the next hole, there were white foxes and the boy wanted them badly. He gave back the knife and took the foxes home with him.
>
> The grandmother put the hides outside her igloo to dry. The rich man's wife saw them and told her husband about it. The man sent his daughter to fetch the boy: 'How is it that you are now so good a hunter?' 'I went up the mountain and pretended to be asleep. A raven came and I took his knife.'
>
> The man was jealous and he left for the mountain; he wrapped himself in his sleeping skins and pretended to be asleep . . . but he really fell asleep; and the big raven took his eyes out. (Métayer 1973: 679–683, text 102: 805–6)

Whereas in the Alaskan myth the young man refused the exchange of the animals for the knife and died, in the Métayer version, the young man accepted it and became rich. The raven apparently was conceived as an owner of game.

In the Peck list, Soolutvaluk [sounds like a bird's wing] is described as '(like) a raven having one wing' emphasizing another important feature of the raven, the sound of his wings. Qutyarngnuk is 'one of the first torngaks. When the world was made he was a great bird. Lived by the boundary of the earth. Black head. Curved beak. Breast white. Beautiful to look upon. Good spirit. Ready when invoked by the conjurors to help in various ways, (for example to) heal the sick, give food of various kinds.' His age, as well as his appearance, suggests a raven. Audlaktak [departs frequently]: 'Makes short flights to various places. Like a large bird. Black and white. Good spirit. Brings light on the back of his

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

head from heaven, the world boundary, and the land. Light being considered a means of life, a bringing light is the cause of healing and blessing.' Audlaktak most probably refers to a raven since ravens were said to be the only birds able to 'pass the hole through which the spirits pass to the true heavens' (Hawkes 1916: 153). The spirit also evokes the feature of bringing light. We have to take into account that in Peck's list the bringing of light usually refers not so much to qau [the ordinary light], but more specifically to qaumaniq [vision] that enables the angakkuq [shaman] to see everything clearly. Other birds such as Aggevak, Milluksak, Eyekudluk [large eye] and Yavao'ow'luk evoke the raven in their description (see Laugrand and others 2001). According to a few elders, the raven is also considered able to transfer its capacity to move very quickly to human beings. Thus Kappianaq from Igloolik stated: 'I was told that if (I) wanted to get the ability to qiluriaqsiuqtuq [to create folds in the land] that I was to make a raven fall, and catch it before it touched the ground. When you had this ability you could cover ground in one day that would have taken others two or more days' (Kolb and Law 2001: 153).

The raven in songs and feasts

Various raven songs can be found, but usually they are difficult to interpret (for example Boas 1901: 5 ball song). In Alaska, 'throat-singing' that 'consists of a series of guttural ejaculations' is attributed to the raven (Hawkes 1916: 123). In South Baffin Island, Boas recorded the following tradition.

> The Song of the Ravens.
>
> The father of a man named Apalok killed a bear; and a Raven which was near thought, 'Shall I not try to eat the blood by putting my head into the wound?' But while the Raven's head was in the wound, the hunter came up and killed the Raven by twisting its neck. The Raven, while dying, cried, 'I am taken by the neck in the hole (wound)! Oh, where is the light now? My dear little children! I think of them only. They are wandering about unfledged, unprotected from the cold. O Aimakta, Nuimakta, Atsenaktok, Tokoyatok, Ovayok, Makkongayok, Akpayok!' (Boas 1901: 303)

Petitot provided a description of a raven song, but not the text of the song.

> He (Kreyouktark) stood up in his umiak, having turned his kayak over to his son Manark. He took his drum and entertained us first with an Eskimo boat song, the rhythm of which the women followed with the strokes of their oars.
>
> Then he passed on to a singular theatrical performance in which he imitated the stance, the hops, the bizarre contortions, wing beats, even the calls, of a raven, to perfection. He was so comical we had to hold our sides laughing. The song that went with this fitted the dance. It sounded like a raven being answered by others. Indeed the Eskimo language lends itself to this because of the frequency of the dipthongs kra and ark. Seeing himself admired and applauded, master raven shed his plumage and changed his song. With admirable ease and perfect mimicry, he varied the theme of his dance to represent a white whale hunt or that for the much larger bowhead whale. Though I had never seen one of these hunts, I could easily recognize his representation, the approach of the kayak, throwing the harpoon, the movements of the wounded whale, his blood-stained blowings. (Petitot 1981: 155–156)

In South Baffin Island the Sedna feast was celebrated each year in the late fall. It varied in different areas, but one of its main recurrent features was the pairing of married men and women that had to spend the night with another partner. The missionaries deprecated the practice, but also sought information on this feast that was extensively described by Boas (1888; 1901–1904). By the end of the 19th century the feast was declining and it probably disappeared completely at the beginning of the 20th century when it was replaced by Christmas. The Anglican missionary J. Bilby was probably one of the last to witness a celebration of the feast that he described vividly in various publications. The pairing of men and women was usually done by two masked shamans, one of them representing a raven, the other one being dressed as a big woman.

Bilby described how he saw the pair coming out of the tent of Sukkenuk, one of the shamans performing in the ritual:

> The minor conjurer had dressed himself to resemble a raven. He wore a tight coat and trousers, and had fastened sticks to his feet to represent the feet of a bird. A close-fitting cap was drawn low down and furnished with a long peak as a bird's bill, and in his hand he carried a short whip. Sukkenuk was even more awe-inspiring. His face was covered with a mask with the usual tattoo marks. His body was clothed in a woman's loose jacket tied round the waist, and his legs were encased in loose trousers and his feet in very large boots. Fastened to his shoulder was a sealskin float filled with water, with a line attached. In his right hand he carried a walrus-spear as representing a man, and in his left a skin scraper to indicate a woman. These two beings shambled and hopped up and down between the human lines, the Raven indicating with his whip, according to previous arrangement, a man and a woman alternately. The couple immediately paired off, and advancing to the chief conjurer drank of the water and received his benediction; then, with cries of joy, they went to their tents, playfully pursued by the Raven. And so the ceremony continued until all had been paired off, and then the conjurers returned to their own tents to examine their gains at leisure, and feel grateful or otherwise towards the donors. Sounds of mirth and song came from every tent, except Seorak's, until late at night. (Bilby 1926: 37)

Apparently the raven played a crucial role in the ritual in connecting the pairs. An important feature of the feast

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

is that the two angakkuit [shamans], as well as the other participants attempted to make the pairs laugh. If they did so, their lives would be short. Therefore they had to control themselves. The raven thus plays a central role in the feast in creating temporary sexual relationships that benefit society.

This complex symbolism evokes the raven's role in Alaskan mythology where it creates man and woman and brings them together. In Greenland, some shamanic performances also implied raven symbolism as it is indicated by Holtved (1963: 169) who relates the raven to Tôrnâssuk but, especially by Freuchen, who describes such a séance: 'Krisuk, went out of his head. Unable to contain himself to the regular rhythm of the service he leapt to his feet, crying like a raven and howling like a wolf. He ran amuck, and the audience had to defend itself against his attacks' (Freuchen 1935: 135).

Jenness' description of the wolf and raven game also evoke this symbolism:

> Similar to our 'tag' are the games of 'wolf' and 'raven'. One child is made the hunter; the others run off, flapping their arms and croaking like ravens or leaping and howling like wolves. Whoever is caught first then becomes the hunter. Adults as well as children sometimes play this game, especially at halts during a migration, when exercise is needed to keep up the circulation of the blood. (Jenness 1922: 217–218)

During the Sedna feast, performed in Baffin Island, a special category of shamans referred to as Nunagisaktut performed in raven dress. Bilby related:

> He dresses himself up in a medley of garments and dons a close-fitting cap made from the skull of a ground seal. This cap has a peak, to represent a bird's bill. He binds upon his feet some of the sticks used for beating snow from clothes, so that they resemble a raven's, and hops about in imitation of that bird. As often as the people come up and accuse themselves of wrongdoing, he betakes himself to the beach, to tell Sedna, and returns with forgiveness. (Bilby 1923: 222; see also Laugrand and others, in press)

The late Aksaajuq, Etuangat mentions that this ritual was performed to provide a good hunting area to the Inuit hunters:

> Nunagiqsaqtuq is when the shamans would try to perform a ritual in order that people in the land and in the camps could have good weather and good hunting area. They would try to make the area nice for the hunters so that people could get food. When food and animals were needed and when they would get it, they would also perform nunagiqsaqtuq. (Laugrand 1997: 107)

Thus the Nunagiqsaqtut prepared the land by taking the confessions of the people and conveying them to the sea woman. In doing so they placed the imprints of the raven claws on the land with their feet.

Concerning kakiniit [tattoos], Rasmussen (1931: 399) obtained from Manêlaq the story of the raven and the loon who tattooed each other:

> In times gone by the raven and the loon lived in human form, and so one day they agreed to tattoo each other. The loon was to be tattooed first and all the fine little patterns of its plumage (kukualarniuit [the little fire sparks]) are the tattooings that the raven gave it. But then the raven became impatient and took a handful of ashes and threw them over the loon. That is why its back is grey. At this the loon became furious and gathered the soot from its cooking pot and threw it all at the raven, with the result that its whole body became black. Before that time, it is said, all ravens were white. (Rasmussen 1931: 399)

This myth exists in many versions (see Kleivan 1971; Hawkes 1916: 160). In several versions it is related that the raven threw an object such as the drip pot (Spalding 1979: 78) or the firestones (Rasmussen 1929: 278–279) at the loon (see also Rasmussen 1930: 87). Since that time the loon cannot walk properly. In a variant published by Boas (1901: 220–221; see also Boas 1888; Kroeber 1899:174; Von Finckenstein 2002: 106) the owl and the raven were the main protagonists. All versions emphasise that the raven is unable to sit still and continually hops from one foot to the other. His mobility and agility contrast with the awkwardness of the loon. Kleivan also (1971: 34–37) emphasises the contrast between land, the raven, and water, the loon, in her analysis. Various oppositions are at play. The cry of the raven is associated with light whereas the cry of the loon is associated with laughter. Kleivan also contrasts the sound of a weeping child with the cry of a human being. Thus the raven is associated with land, and the loon with water. The raven acquired gleaming eyes when the loon threw soot at it, whereas the loon's eyes are swollen from crying (Kleivan 1971: 34–36). The story may have been an origin myth of the practice of tattooing to which more attention should be paid. Unfortunately very little is known concerning it.

The practice of tattooing women when they began to menstruate disappeared in the beginning of the 20th century but was still quite strong in the middle of the 19th century. The great explorer C.F. Hall reported:

> The women, generally, are tattooed on the forehead, cheeks, and chin. This is usually a mark of the married women, though unmarried ones are sometimes seen thus ornamented. This tattooing is done from principle, the theory being that the lines thus made will be regarded in the next world as a sign of goodness. The manner of the operation is simple. A piece of reindeer-sinew thread is blackened with soot, and is then drawn under and through the skin by means of a needle. The thread is only used as a means of introducing the colour or pigment under the epidermis. (Hall 1864: 523)

Boas (1888: 561) related that the women were tattooed when they were about twelve years of age. Tattoos were mainly inserted on the face the arms and the legs. The hands of women were extensively tattooed with exception

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the fingers. Horizontal lines seem to separate the fingers from the hands and the hand from the arm. In a drawing of the tattoos of Pakak two lines marked the first joints of the fingers. Thus the tattoos may well have referred to the origin narrative of the sea woman and have been intended to be seen by the sea woman as well as the game animals. The meaning of most of the designs is not known.

Thalbitzer (1941: 630) observed that 'the mark of proprietorship in Alaska, the three-forked figure known as the raven totem, seems to be found again in the Y-shaped patterns for ornamentation (on bone implements, for example, needle-cases) and in the patterns for tattooing of the Hudson Bay Eskimos.' The three forked raven foot may have represented the imprint of the raven foot on the skin of the woman. This mark is quite clear on Atuat Ittukusuk's body, a woman from Igloolik who was famous for her tattoos. Atuat explained that tattooing 'was not exactly painful but it felt like your skin was burning' (D'Argencourt 1977: 58; 61). In that case the practice may have served a similar purpose as the imprint of the raven foot on the land: preparing the woman for the reproduction of children analogous to the preparation of the land for hunting.

Today Inuit elders well remember the practice. Tattooing was closely associated with sewing (D'Argencourt 1977: 61). Arnatsiaq from Iglulik related:

> They would make the tattoo just as they would when they are sewing. They would pierce the skin with a needle and run the thread just below the skin leaving the soot in the skin. They would use some fat with the soot. Some tattoos came out very clearly which were applied just beneath the skin, those that were deeper did not come out as clearly. (Arnatsiaq 1993)

Panikpakuttuk from Iglulik described the process of tattooing in detail:

> The main reason was for them to be beautiful, to show that they were women. They would use soot to mark the skin [. . .] They endured pain just to become beautiful. It is said that the area at qipaluaq [corner of eye] hurt the most. [. . .] The only reason why they used tattoos was because they wanted to show that they were women and wanted to be beautiful. They would only get tattoos when they became adults. Part of the designs ran along the jaws and the end was formed like an arrow head, the one that ran on the chin was called talluruti, the one that ran across the jaw was called agliruruti (Panikpakuttuk 1992).

Tattoos appear to have provided women with beauty and protection, 'signs to show that you are becoming a woman' as Atuat pointed out (D'Argencourt 1977: 58). According to Rasmussen (1929: 148), the Iglulingmiut attached great significance to tattooing especially in the past, 'for the woman who had handsome tattooing always got on well with Nuliajuk when, after life on earth, she passed her house on the way to the land of the dead'. The fact that a special land of the dead existed for lazy hunters and women who were not tattooed (Rasmussen 1931: 316), suggests strong cosmological sanctions for people who failed in their most important roles. Interestingly also, one was not supposed to be tattooed when a bearded seal was caught. Atuat related her experience: 'Angutiannuk said to me: "My sister-in law, get yourself tattooed, because girls without tattoos look like men. Do it!" But, at the same time, I was being told by another person that I was not allowed to be tattooed. Somebody had caught a bearded seal at that time, and I was told it was a taboo for a young girl like me to be tattooed' (D'Argencourt 1977: 60).

Raven and the moon spirit, were not tattooed, but covered with soot, raven because he was impatient and could not sit still, the moon spirit because of an incestuous relationship with his sister. Soot is the final product of the lamp that is managed by the women. The raven, a master of light, is continuously associated with final products such as soot, excrements, inedible food and human bones. The marking with soot seems to refer to non-social behaviour, whereas the tattooing marks the cultural transition of a young woman to womanhood. In the tattooing itself a connection is suggested to the raven as master of time and transformation.

According to Hawkes (1916: 108) the fact that a trifurcated line, 'the raven's foot' of Nelson, was also found on an old woman from Nachvak, indicates that the raven could also be a suitable candidate to help humans in protecting themselves against non-human beings. 'A story which the old woman mentioned above told me in connexion with this mark throws some light on its possible origin. She said that whenever an Eskimo approached the abode of Torngarsoak [the great Torngak], who lives in a cave in the high mountains near Cape Chidley, one hung upon one's breast a raven's claw for protection.' And Hawkes concluded: 'This may have led to the adoption of the "raven's foot" mark as a constant protection against the Tornait' (Hawkes 1916: 108).

Protecting and strengthening the child

Mathiassen related that 'The first garment of the infant child is a cap of fox or bird skin, usually a raven skin; it must not be of caribou skin; one of these raven-skin caps is given to the child even at birth.' Later in his report, he added: 'From the Iglulingmiut, Qajufik, there is an infant's cap of raven skin, the feather-side out; to the face is a narrow edging of longhaired caribou skin with the hair inside, edged on the outside with a narrow, black strip of sealskin; caribou-skin fringe at the bottom' (Mathiassen 1928: 186; 189). The garment clearly remains an important ritual attribute. Boas (1907: 515) related that 'skins of ravens are used for making garments for infant boys, because it is believed that this will give them the power to discover game easily.' This is confirmed by Rasmussen. 'Newly born male children are often given, as their first garments, a dress of raven's skin with the feathers outside. The ravens always manage to find something; this gives good hunting' (Rasmussen 1929: 177; see also Boas 1907: 515). According to Randa, an atigi [parka] made of raven skin would give strength to

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the baby. In other contexts, it would facilitate polar bear hunting (Randa 1994: 315).

Rasmussen related that a raven's head and claws ensured good shares during a hunt, because the raven has the peculiarity of always being present where the quarry is brought down (Rasmussen 1931: 43; see also Weyer 1932: 311; Thalbitzer 1914: 633).

Raven skin may also have healing properties. Rasmussen provided an example:

> My father had got a walrus with its unborn young one, and when he began cutting it out, without reflecting that my mother was with child, I again fell to struggling within the womb, and this time in earnest. But the moment I was born, all life left me, and I lay there dead as a stone. The cord was twisted round my neck and had strangled me. Ardjuaq, who lived in another village, was at once sent for, and a special hut was built for my mother. When Ardjuaq came and saw me with my eyes sticking right out of my head she wiped my mother's blood from my body with the skin of a raven, and made a little jacket for me of the same skin. 'He is born to die, but he shall live,' she said. (Rasmussen 1929: 116–117)

More recently, Saladin d'Anglure recorded from Ujarak, son of the shaman Aava, and Iqallijuq, the sister of Kaujjajjuk, that little Kaujjajjuk had received her names from her namesake (Aava, Kaujjajjuk) and that the raven had been a very effective protector of the latter. At his birth she was clothed in raven skin and feathers and he had preserved that first garment as an amulet. He was saved from death by a raven that he had invoked in despair after falling into the sea. Clinging to a piece of ice he heard the flapping of a wing and saw a raven. The bird came to him from the east at night when dawn lighted the sky, and circled above him. The piece of ice changed direction and floated to the firm land. He was saved and at the same time obtained qaumaniq [vision], thanks to the raven, his protective spirit (Saladin d'Anglure 1988: 66–67; 2006: 80). In South Baffin Island, A. Kilabuck made a tapestry that depicts a raven frightening sea spirits that might attack human beings (Von Finckenstein 2002: 110–111). Raven skins were also used in aarnguat [amulets].

Rasmussen related:

> A woman in childbirth for instance must use a raven's claw as toggle in the strap which fastens her amauti [carrying bag for a child] at the bottom. It is afterwards given to the child as an amulet, and brings vitality and success in hunting. But even though these powers of good luck do not emanate from the claw itself, but from the soul of the raven, an amulet made from another part of the raven's body would be of no avail. (Rasmussen 1929: 149–150)

The raven claw often is mentioned as an aarnguaq [amulet]. Ramussen (1930: 96) depicts a complex aarnguaq used by the Caribou Inuit (Fig. 2).

Rasmussen also related that when the mother came home after her residence in the kinirvik [birth hut] the child received new clothing (Rasmussen 1930; 175). At this time also the child must have new clothing, before being allowed to enter the father's house, but the old garments, that is, the child's first clothes, are afterwards kept in the serluaq [the small apartment where skins and furs are kept], and must remain there until an opportunity occurs to place them either in a raven's nest or in a gull's nest, or out on a small island in a stream.

Fig. 2. Amulets, composed of a raven foot with the claws, insects sewn into small skin bags and two ermine skins (Rasmussen 1930: 96).

Parts of the raven might be used as aarnguat [amulets]. The Nattilingmiut had a rich aarnguat tradition. The boys Tertaq and Nânaoq had raven skins to make them invisible to the caribou at the crossing places. The old woman Kagtârssuk, for the benefit of her little adoptive son Ûnaq, wore two raven heads bringing good hunting shares sewn to her amulet belt (Rasmussen 1931: 271–272; 275–276). The little girl Qaqortingneq wore an amulet belt on the outside of her coat for the benefit of her future sons. The claw and stomach of a raven were sewn to it. They would bring luck to his hunting companions, so that he would receive many hunting shares when he did not make a kill himself: the raven has the peculiarity that it will always be present where a kill is made (Rasmussen 1931: 276).

Moreover, an amulet woman with an infant son would wear a raven's claw or a piece of hard wood used as a toggle on the amauti [strap]. 'When the boy grows up he will use this strap as a belt, and the raven's claw or the piece of wood as a belt buckle; this will give him a strong life' (Rasmussen 1931: 277).

According to Rasmussen, the raven was also referred to or invoked in irinaliutiit [shamanic formulas] intended to protect a person:

> The sledges were piled with goods to the height of a man, and just as we were about to start, I had an opportunity of seeing how a new-born infant enters upon its first sledge journey. A hole was cut in the wall from within at the back of Kublo's house, and his wife crawled out through it with her little daughter in her arms. Then she stood in front of the snow hut, waiting, and Aua, who as the angakoq [shaman] had to see that all needful rites were properly observed, went up to the child, bared its head, and with his lips close to its face recited a magic prayer as follows:
> 'I arise from rest with movements swift
> As the beat of a raven's wings
> I arise
> To meet the day
> Wa-wa.
> My face is turned from the dark of night

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

To gaze at the dawn of day,
Now whitening in the sky.'

This was the child's first journey, and the little girl, whose name was Kâgjagjuk (named after Aua himself), had to be introduced to life by means of the magic formula here given (Rasmussen 1929: 47).

Giving a further instance, Rasmussen related that when one sees a raven fly past, one must follow it and keep on pursuing until one has caught it. If one shoots it with bow and arrow, one must run up to it the moment it falls to the ground, and standing over the bird as it flutters about in pain and fear, say out loud all that one intends to do, and mention everything that occupies the mind. The dying raven gives power to words and thoughts. The following magic words, which had great vitalising power, were obtained by Angutingmarik in the manner above stated:

Earth,
Earth,
Great earth,
Round about on earth
There are bones, bones, bones,
Which are bleached by the great Sila
By the weather, the sun, the air,
So that all the flesh disappears,
He-he-he.
Spirit,
spirit, spirit,
And the day, the day,
Go to my limbs
without drying them up,
Without turning them to bones
Uvai, uvai, uvai. (Rasmussen 1929: 114–115)

Alliance, competition and transformation

Rasmussen related the story concerning the raven that married wild geese that he obtained from Ivaluardjuk. It emphasizes the contrast between water and land (see also the raven and the loon) as well as between migratory (geese) and non-migratory birds (ravens). The raven is an apt subject for the topic of alliance as ravens often live in couples (see Parry 1824: 177).

There was once a raven that married wild geese. It took two wild geese to wife. When the time came for the wild geese to go off to their own country, where there is no winter, they begged the raven stay behind, fearing lest the way should be too long for him. They told him how they flew over lands far away and distant one from another, and they explained:

'The way we have to fly is so long that you will grow tired; you had better stay behind, and when we come back, we can meet again.'

But the raven was so fond of its wives that it would not part from them, and when the day came for them to set out, it went with them. Off they flew towards the south. Soon the wild geese were so far ahead of the raven that it could not see them at all, then again it could just make out where they were. Sometimes they flew away from him, sometimes he would overtake them a little, and when at last the wild geese grew tired and sat down on the surface of the sea to rest, the raven managed to come up with them, but had to keep hovering in the air above them, and could not get any rest itself. As soon as the geese had rested, they went on again. The raven followed after. Then again the wild geese grew tired and sat down on the water to rest, and once more the raven hovered in the air above them. As soon as the wild geese had rested sufficiently, they flew on again. This happened four times; four times they sat down on the water to rest, and four times they flew on again when they had rested enough. Then, when they settled down on the water for the fifth time, the raven had grown so tired that it could do no more, and said to its wives:

'Wives, place yourselves close together.'

And the wives placed themselves close together on the water, and the raven sat on top of them. But it was afraid of the water, and kept on saying:

'Dear wives do keep close together.'

After a short rest, they flew on again, and when the wild geese once more wanted to rest, they did as before; the raven's two wives placed themselves close together, and the raven sat down on top of them. But it clutched at their necks so hard that all the feathers were worn away. Their brothers noticed it, and were afraid their sisters might freeze to death if they lost their feathers, so they said to them later on, when the raven had dropped behind and was far away:

'Next time he comes and begs you to sit close together so that he can sit on top of you, wait till he has settled himself comfortably and then swim suddenly apart.'

It was not long before the raven came, and cried pitifully to his wives:

'Place yourselves close together, wives, place yourselves close together.' And the wild geese placed themselves close together, but the moment the raven sat down on them, they suddenly swam apart, and the raven fell into the sea. It called after the wild geese in despair:

'Oh, come and help me, come and hold my chest above water.' But, no one heeded the raven's words, and so it was left behind far out at sea. (Rasmussen 1929: 280–281)

Rasmussen also collected a Nattilik version of the story from Manêlaq that ends with a dialogue between the raven and his wife:

[. . .] the raven fell into the water and at once began to sink. And while it sank deeper and deeper into the sea, people say, he and his wife talked:

The snow goose: 'Where does it reach you now?'

The raven: 'Right to my feet!'

The snow goose: 'Where does it reach you now?'

The raven: 'Right to my ankles!'

The dialogue continues as the raven sinks deeper and deeper. Finally.

The snow goose: 'Where does it reach you now?'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> The raven: 'Right to my mouth!'
>
> Bubble! Bubble! Splash! And the raven sank to the bottom and drowned. (Rasmussen 1931: 400–401)

This type of dialogue is a recurrent feature of raven stories (see also the dialogue between the raven father and son in Boas 1901: 301–302). If Lévi-Strauss (1971: 201) identifies the raven as always thirsty in north American mythology, among the Inuit of the eastern Arctic such a feature is not marked. What is made obvious, however, is the incapacity of the raven to stand water. This contrast between raven and water is also a recurrent feature of ritual and of amulets since ravens are good to be used on board boats (Soby 1970: 49). Thus, Randa relates that if storms prevent the hunting of sea mammals, a raven is killed and thrown into the sea. As the raven cannot land on water, the sea will become smooth (Randa 1994: 316; see also Randa 2002). Pitseolak evoked such a procedure:

> When I was growing up I also heard that when the weather was very, very bad in the summertime and the waters were rough for many days, the men would go looking for a raven. They would hope for a raven that was very, very fat. . .a raven with a lot of fat in the stomach. That was the best. They took the fat and pounded it with a rock. Then they threw the fat into the sea and hoped for calm waters. (Eber and Pitseolak 1993: 119)

One may also mix fat taken from the intestines of a raven with part of the crop from an aqiggiq [ptarmigan] and throw the mixture into the water. In a course at the Nunavut Arctic College, Aalasi related an interesting example to the students:

> There was another man who caught a raven in a trap. He tied a rock onto its claw, put it in a bag, and put it in the water. The man who did that was mentally deranged for approximately a year. All he could talk about were the claws. That is all he saw.
>
> [. . .] He drowned the raven in the water by tying a rock to its claws. We are advised not to put animals that belong on the land into the water.
>
> [. . .] We were also advised never to put land animal bones into the water. God created the animals and we have to dispose of them properly. Our parents taught us to treat animals with respect as they were given to us for food. That raven sought revenge towards the man who had put him in the sea. (Therrien and Laugrand 2001: 240–241)

A story told by Ijjangiaq, from Igloolik, describes a raven owner of a place in the land taking revenge upon those who intruded:

> One time we were followed by a raven that might have belonged to that place. From that time on ravens scare me a little. We were trying to catch iqalugait [fish], there was the mother of Kipumi who had just gotten married, [. . .] then there was Amak&ak with his sister who were but a children at that time], and myself. My nutarannaasakuttuk [very small baby] was still a baby then, [. . .] when we saw a shadow of a large raven. When it landed near us it was all wet and was jumping around and cleaning itself at the same time. We had to make a detour around it for we were got scared of it. Our tent was close on a rise. As we started to leave the lake it followed us and landed right in front of us. At first we did not join hands as we started for home but we all joined our hands and proceeded on home yelling all at the same time. We started to head to the wrong way to the side of the tent as we continued to make a detour avoiding the raven. We all started to take our footwear off for some reason. I do not know how. Timuuti's late mother was also a child at the time, she lost her footwear. [. . .] At that same time my mother came to us after handing my nutarannaasakuttuk to their mother. In those days they used to smoke a pipe, so she was making a mouth piece for a pipe when she decided to come over and see what was happening. She had used a pocket knife for whittling the mouth piece; she had just put the pocket knife in her pocket when she decided to come over. When she came over the raven took to the air and landed to the side of us. We could not get anything to throw at the raven. She decided to use the pocket knife to throw at the raven but she could not find it even after turning her pocket inside out. The other lady came over also, she notice that (Timuuti's late mother) did not have her footwear on. We looked and looked but never did find her footwear.
>
> That late afternoon, my father arrived from his hunting trip on foot while the others still had not arrived. He had caught a caribou that day so as he was flensing the caribou he suddenly felt really tired and sleepy so he had lain down next to the caribou carcass that he was flensing and fell asleep. He felt something so he woke just to find a raven trying to take his eyes out. I think it was the same raven. (Ijjangiaq 1991b; see also Ijjangiaq 1991a)

A widely spread myth related that a man married a fox in human appearance. When raven wanted to exchange wives with him, he told him not make any reference to the smell of the woman. Of course, raven did not heed the warning and as a consequence the woman changed into a fox again (Boas 1901: 222; see also Rasmussen 1929: 223). A story related by B. Ivarluk depicted the raven as a deceitful husband.

> A raven and his wife had two children. He was a good provider and never came back from a hunting trip with an empty bag. He got sick and died asking that his bow, quiver and tool-kit be put in his grave. His wife brought his body halfway up a cliff. It was hard work, and while she was pulling, she farted; the two children said: 'Daddy nearly laughed. . .how come a dead man can laugh?' The children were acting silly! Later on, while they were gathering berries to eat, a red fox came towards them: 'What are you doing?' he asked, 'We have nobody now to hunt fox for us', the woman answered. 'Your husband is not dead: he took a sea-gull for a wife', declared the fox.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> The real wife got mad, left her children behind and started searching for the sea-gull and finally found her house. She went in and offered to clean her ears by taking out the wax but she pierced them right through and killed her.
>
> She placed the body up outside as though it was looking at a returning hunter and put a mitt full of lice in the bed.
>
> Soon a raven came in sight; he was dragging a seal on the ice and called out to the sea-gull for help. As she did not move, he pushed her on the back and she fell down on her face. Inside the house, everything was full of lice. He was itching all over even when he was in his bed. He cried loudly, put his pants on and went out. But he had put them from back and was always tripping on his tail. He fall head first at every step he made. (Métayer 1973: 707–710, text 107: 810–11)

Rasmussen related a song duel between the raven and the gull in the Kiviuq myth. Kiviuq is looking for his wife, a wild goose and witnesses a song feast celebrated by animals:

> The raven's song of derision:
> You dirty-white gull,
> Where do you think?
> You are plumping yourself?
> You are no match for me,
> So leave me in peace!
> The gull's reply:
> When the ice breaks up
> In the rivers,
> I take my salmon-leister,
> And so easy is it
> To spear salmon!
>
> Thus the gull mocked the raven, because it cannot catch salmon; but the raven replied:
> Where do you get to?
> When the icy cold comes
> to the one who can endure being out?
> Turd and scum!
> Nothing impossible
> To the one who can!
>
> The gull could not reply to that, and so the raven had won. When the feast was over Kivioq went home with his wife. Kivioq takes unawares some wild geese in human form and gets a wife (Rasmussen 1931: 371–373).

In other stories, the raven is associated with a power of transformation that always allows him to help others in finding unexpected solutions. Boas relates the story of 'The Woman who became a Raven'.

> The husband of a woman named Peqaq was angry with her. She left her home and went away, walking on the ice, and weeping bitterly. Her husband followed her on his sledge; and when she saw him, she said, 'Oh that I might become a raven!' She was turned into a raven, and flew to the top of an iceberg. Her husband drove along by the side of the iceberg, but, since he did not see his wife, he returned home. As soon as the man had returned home, the raven flew away, and in the evening alighted on a rock near Niutang. The people were surprised, and said to each other, 'What is that on top of the rock? Is it the moon?' – 'No', said some, 'it is a man.' Now these people went to sleep, and while they were asleep the raven came down. She peeped through a hole in a tent and saw a man in the rear. She thought, 'Oh that he might come out and ease himself!' She had hardly thought so, when the man put on his garments and went out to ease himself. The raven had resumed the shape of a woman; and when he saw her, he took her for his wife. (Boas 1901: 303–304)

Another story recorded by Boas relates: 'Once upon a time an old woman who had died was buried, and then a raven came and began to eat her. Her soul entered the body of the raven, and she became a raven. The raven laid its eggs; but a man came and shot the bird, took it into his house, and gave it to a dog to eat. Then the woman's soul entered the dog' (Boas 1901: 321). The story constitutes an interesting variation of the Arnaqtaaqtuq myths as the transfer of the soul is made through eating. In this myth, the raven opens a long cycle of incarnations by eating the flesh of the woman. The myth extensively describes the life among the seals constituting an interesting variation on the seal boy myth discussed by Fienup-Riordan among the Yup'ik (1994).

Discussion and conclusions

In the eastern Arctic, the raven shares many features with his counterpart in the west. It is not a cultural hero that created mankind as well as the cultural and social organisation of the world, but it is still considered as the creator of light. In the eastern Arctic, light is valued as a condition for hunting. Rasmussen relates that the ancestors could hunt by making light with their fingers (Rasmussen 1929: 253). But light also played an important part in the shamanic complex as qaumaniq [vision] enabled a shaman to see what was hidden. Qaumaniq implied true knowledge and the relation between light and knowledge is still emphasized in modern concepts such as qaujimajatuqangit [traditional knowledge that is still useful today]. According to the tuurngait list of Peck the raven could also bring the shamanic light, but it is by no means exclusively connected to it. A third form of light is provided by the qulliq [the lamp that lighted the igloo] and often seems to be connected to the tarniq [the small miniature image of a being that could be hidden in the lamp]. The raven is not directly associated with the qulliq, but he is covered with the soot produced by the lamp. The raven thus appears to encompass the beginning of light by creating it and the end product of the lamp, just as it encompasses day and light by setting up their alternation. The raven may bring the light, but it cannot be identified with it. Neither can it be identified with knowledge. He may have isuma [intelligence], but just as his counterpart in the west he appears as very shrewd in some tales and very stupid in others. In that respect its

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

intelligence appears to be closely linked to its capacity to see and find meat caches.

The masked raven plays a central part in the western Arctic. The raven can transform itself, by taking off or putting on his mask. In the eastern Arctic we find the masked raven in the Sedna feast, either as the masked dancer creating pairs of men and women or as the nunagisaktut [type of shamans performing in the Sedna feast] that cleans the land and leaves the imprints of the raven on it. The raven was the first one to be tattooed and the question can be raised to what extent the tattoo itself represents a mask protecting the women from non-human beings. The motif of the raven claw as a tattoo, which is also known from Alaska, at least suggests an analogy with the raven imprints on the land. The imprint of the raven claws cleans the land and the women and prepares them for hunting and child-birth. Thus the raven is effectively involved in crucial temporal transitions; the annual renewal of the land and the transition of a girl into a young woman. Meletinsky emphasized the temporal dimensions of the Asian raven myths. It was not a migratory bird and its temporary alliances with migratory birds such as the geese failed miserably (Meletinsky 1973: 149–155). Temporal dimensions were also acknowledged in Greenland. 'Whenever they believe that something they are waiting for will not happen within reasonable time they use the expression tulugkat qaqortigpata [when the raven gets white]' (Kleivan 1971: 38). Thus the whiteness of the raven is at the beginning and end of time and encompasses its blackness, associated with the tattooing of women. It also plays an important part in another process of transition: birth and the development of the hunter. Raven aarnguat [amulets] were worn by mothers on behalf of their sons and by young boys to protect and make them good hunters and could establish lasting relations between them and the raven who could come to protect them in times of need. Irinaliutiit [powerful words], derived from the raven, gave protection and strength.

The raven's role in the Sedna feast highlights its complex position; initiating the asocial relations between temporary non-married partners that allow society to establish good connections with the sea game and the sea woman. In many respects it is responsible for society but without being part of it. Thus its position reflects contemporary conceptions of the bird: the raven is living in Inuit society but without being part of it. It can only be a predator and a scavenger eating dirt, excrement and human flesh. And yet it created light enabling people to see and invented tattooing enabling women to marry.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Fonds Québécois de la Recherche sur la Société et la Culture (FQRSC), the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) in Wassenaar for providing us with their support and facilities during the preparation of this paper. We are grateful to John MacDonald for allowing us access to the Igloolik oral history database and to many elders who shared their knowledge with us. Finally, we thank the colleagues who supported us in the field (Alexina Kublu, Mary Thompson, Susan Sammons) or reviewed an earlier version of this paper.

References

Arnatsiaq. 1993. Recorded on 10 March 1993. Igloolik: Oral history database: IE 258.

Bilby, J. 1923. *Among unknown Eskimos. An account of twelve years intimate relations with the primitive Eskimo of ice bound Baffin Land, with a description of their ways of living, hunting customs and beliefs*. London: Seeley Service.

Bilby, J. 1926. *Nanook of the north: the story of an Eskimo family*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 2nd Edition.

Boas, F. 1888. The central Eskimo. Washington: Smithsonian Institute. Sixth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. for the years 1884–1885. (Reprint edition. 1964. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).

Boas, F. 1901. The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. From notes collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James S. Mutch and Rev. E.J. Peck. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15(1): 1–370.

Boas, F. 1907. The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson's Bay. New York. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15/2: 374–570.

Bogoras, W. 1904–9. *The Chukchee*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Bogoras, W. 1913a. Chukchee mythology. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 12 (The Jesup north Pacific expedition 8(1)): 1–197.

Bogoras, W. 1913b. The Eskimo of Siberia. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 12 (The Jesup north Pacific expedition 8(3)): 417–456.

Charrin, A.-V. 1983. *Le Petit monde du Grand Corbeau, récits du Grand Nord sibérien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

D'Argencourt, L. 1977. Atuat's tattoos. *Inuit Today* 6(4): 56–61.

De Josselin de Jong, P.E. 1984. *Unity in diversity. Indonesia as a field of anthropological study*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Drive, J.C. 1999. Raven skeletons from paleoindian contexts, Charlie Lake Cave, British Columbia. *American Antiquity* 64(2): 289–298.

Eber, H.D., and P. Pitseolak. 1993. *People from our side. A life story with photographs and oral biography*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Egede, H. 1818. A description of Greenland by Hans Egede, who was a missionary in that country for twenty-five years. Translated from the Danish. London: T. and J. Allman.

Fienup-Riordan, A. (with M. Meade). 1994. The boy who went to live with the seals. In: Swann, B. (editor). *Coming to light: Contemporary translations of the native literatures of North America*. New York: Random House.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Freuchen, P. 1935. *Arctic adventure: my life in the frozen north*. Translated from the Danish. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart.

Hawkes, E.W. 1913. The 'Inviting-In' feast of the Alaskan Eskimo. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau (Department of Mines, Geological Survey Memoir 45, Anthropological Series 3): 1–20.

Hawkes, E.W. 1914. The dance festivals of the Alaskan Eskimo. *University of Pennsylvania Museum: Anthropological Publications* 6(2): 7–41.

Hawkes, E.W. 1916. The Labrador Eskimo. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau (Department of Mines, Geological Survey Memoir 91. Anthropological Series 14): 1–164.

Hall, C.F. 1864. *Life with the Esquimaux*. London: Sampson, Low, Son, and Marston.

Holtved, E. 1962. Otto Fabricius' Ethnographical Works. Translated from the Danish by W. E. Calvert. Introduction by W. Thalbitzer. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 140(2): 4–139.

Holtved, E. 1963. Tôrnâssuk, an Eskimo deity. *Folk* 5: 157–172.

Ijjangiaq, 1991a. Recorded on 28 March 1991, Igloolik: Oral History database: IE 192.

Ijjangiaq, 1991b. Recorded on 29 August 1991, Igloolik: Oral history database: IE 196.

Jenness, D. 1922. The life of the Copper Eskimos. Ottawa: King's Printer (Report of the Canadian Arctic expedition, 1913–1918. Volume 12 (A)).

Kleivan, I. 1971. *Why is the raven black? An analysis of an Eskimo myth*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard (*Acta Arctica* XVII).

Kolb, S., and S. Law (editors). 2001. Dream and dreams interpretations. Iqaluit: NAC/Nortext (Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century 3).

Kroeber, A. 1899. Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo. *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 12(46): 166–182.

Lantis, M. 1947. Alaskan Eskimo ceremonialism. New York: J.J. Augustin (American Ethnological Society, Monograph 11): 1–121.

Laugrand, F. 1997. Siqqitiqpuq. Conversion et réception du christianisme par les Inuit de l'Arctique de l'est canadien, Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, Laval University.

Laugrand, F., and J. Oosten. 2002. Canicide and healing. The social position of the dog in the Inuit cultures of the Canadian Arctic. *Anthropos*, 97(1): 89–105.

Laugrand, F., J. Oosten, and F. Trudel. 2001. *Representing Tuurngait*. Iqaluit, Nunavut Arctic College/Nortext. (Memory and history in Nunavut volume 1).

Laugrand, F., J. Oosten, and F. Trudel. 2002. Hunters, owners and givers of light: the tuurngait of South Baffin Island. *Arctic Anthropology* 39(1–2): 27–50.

Laugrand, F., J. Oosten, and F. Trudel. In press. *Apostle to the Inuit. The journals and the ethnographical notes of E.J. Peck, the Baffin years, 1894–1905*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1971. *L'homme nu*. Paris: Plon. (Mythologiques 4).

Lyon, G.F. 1824. *The private journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, of H.M.S. Hecla, during the recent voyage of discovery under Captain Parry*. London: John Murray.

Mary-Rousselière, G. 1969. *Les jeux de ficelle des Arviligjuarmiut*. Ottawa: Musée nationaux du Canada (Bulletin 233).

Mathiassen, T. 1928. *Material culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921–1924 VI (1)).

Mathieu, R. 1984. Le corbeau dans la mythologie de l'ancienne Chine. *Revue d'histoire des religions* 201(3): 281–309.

Mauss, M., and H. Beuchat. 1979. *Seasonal variations of the Eskimo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Meletinsky, E.M. 1973. Typological analysis of the palaeo-Asiatic raven myths. *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22(1–2): 107–155.

Meletinsky, E.M. 1980. L'épique du corbeau chez les Paléoasiates. *Diogène* 110: 120–135.

Métayer, M. 1973. *Unikpat. Tradition esquimaude de Coppermine, TNO, Canada*. Québec: CEN. (Collection Nordicana 40–42).

Nelson, E.W. 1899. The Eskimo about Bering Strait. Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office. (18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology).

Nelson, R.K. 1983. *Make prayers to the raven. A Koyukon view of the northern forest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Okomaluk. no date a. Reel VI, no. 2: min. 33–36, Reel VII, no. 1: min.1–5. Ottawa: Archives Deschâtelets (Recorded by G. Mary- Rousselière).

Okomaluk. no date b. Reel IV, no. 2: min 10–13, text no 7. Ottawa: Archives Deschâtelets (Recorded by G. Mary-Rousselière)

Oosten, J. 1986. Male and female in Inuit shamanism. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 10(1–2): 115–137.

Panikpakuttuk. 1992. Recorded on 24 March 1992. Igloolik: Oral history database: IE 227.

Parry, W.E. 1824. *Journal of a second voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific performed in the years 1821–1822–1823*. London: Murray.

Petitot, E. 1981. *Among the Chiglit Eskimos*. Translated from the French by E. Otto Höhn. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. (Occasional Publication 10).

Piugaattuk. 1986. Recorded on 12 December 1986, Igloolik: Oral history database: IE 009.

Piugaattuk. 1989. Recorded on 23 November 1989. Igloolik: Oral history database: IE 058.

Randa, V. 1994. Inuillu uumajuillu. Les animaux dans les savoirs, les représentations et la langue des Iglulingmiut (Arctic oriental canadien). Doctoral thesis. University of Paris, EHESS.

Randa, V. 2002. Perception des animaux et leurs noms dans la langue inuit (Canada, Groenland, Alaska). In: Colombel, V., and N. Tersis (editors). *Lexique et motivations. Perspectives ethnolinguistiques*. Paris: Peeters: 79–114.

Rasmussen, K. 1929. *Intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921–1924 VII(1)).

Rasmussen, K. 1930. *Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo texts*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921–1924 VII(3)).

Rasmussen, K. 1931. *The Netsilik Eskimos: social life and spiritual culture*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921–1924 VIII(1–2)).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Rasmussen, K. 1932. *Intellectual culture of the Copper Eskimos*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921–1924 IX(1–2)).

Saladin d'Anglure, B. 1978. *La parole changée en pierre. Vie et oeuvre de Davidialuk Alasuaq, artiste inuit du Québec arctique*. Québec, Gouvernement du Québec: Centre de documentation de la direction de l' inventaire des biens culturelles.

Saladin d'Anglure, B. 1988. Kunut et les angakkut iglulik. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 12(1–2): 57–80.

Saladin d'Anglure, B. 2006. *Être et renaitre inuit. Homme, femme ou chamane*. Paris: Galimard.

Schneider, L. 1985. *Ulirnaisigutiit. An Inuktitut-English dictionary of northern Quebec, Labrador and eastern Arctic dialects*. Québec: PUL.

Schwartz, H. 1970. *Elik and other stories of the Mackenzie Eskimo*. Toronto: The Canadian Publisher, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Soby, M. 1970. The Eskimo animal cult. *Folk* 11–12: 43–78.

Sonne, B. 1982. The ideology and practice of blood feuds in east and west Greenland. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 6(2):21–50.

Spalding, A. 1979. *Eight Inuit myths*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man (Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service 59).

Swanton, J.R. 1909. Tingit myths and texts. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin No. 39).

Thalbitzer, W. 1914. Ethnographical collections from east Greenland (Angmagsalik and Nualik). Made by G. Holm, G. Amdrup, and J. Petersen and described by W. Thalbitzer. In: Thalbitzer, W. (editor). The Ammassalik Eskimo: contributions to the ethnology of the east Greenland natives. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 39(7): 321–667.

Thalbitzer, W. 1925. Cultic games and festivals in Greenland. XXIe Congrès International des Américanistes, Gothenburg, 1924: 236–255.

Thalbitzer, W. 1941. Social customs and mutual aid. In: Thalbitzer, W. (editor). The Ammassalik Eskimo: contributions to the ethnology of the east Greenland natives. Translated from the Danish by Norman Heath Beale and Annie I. Fausbøll. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 40(4): 569–739.

Therrien, M., and F. Laugrand (editors). 2001. *Perspectives on traditional health*. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College/Nortext (Interviewing Inuit Elders Series 5).

Turner, L. M. 1888. On the Indians and Eskimos of the Ungava district, Labrador. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the Year 1887* 5(2): 99–108, 118–119.

Turner, L. M. 1894. Ethnology of the Ungava district, Hudson Bay territory. In: Murdoch, J. (editor). 11th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889–1890. Smithsonian Institution, Washington: Government Printing Office: 159–350.

Von Finckenstein, M. (editor). 2002. *Nuvisavik. Là où nous tissons*. Toronto: Musée canadien des civilisations.

Weyer, E.M. 1932. *The Eskimos. Their environment and folkways*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247406005341 Published online by Cambridge University Press