

THE GREAT LONG TAILED SERPENT

An iconographical study of the serpent in Middle Woodland
Algonquian culture

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Abstract

The Great Serpent Mound, more than just the representation of a snake, has cosmological, mythical and ethno-cultural significance which can only be apprehended in the context of native Amerindian cultural world view and mind set. The Great Serpent Mound could be a microscopic figuration of the larger physical and metaphysical surroundings. Some have tried to solve the riddle by equating the monument with the commemoration of catastrophic events while others see the ophidian as guarding an underground treasure while still others have linked its symbolism to the stars. Is the mystery as simple as Dinosaur graveyards against the Rockies or are there deeper spiritual roots? In order to explore the hidden meaning of this fascinating monument, the method of compared myths and languages seemed the best approach.



An early aerial photograph of Serpent Mound (Ohio Historical Society).

The River, Water and the Snake, in Algonquian cultures

Knowledge of the great central North-American watershed is inseparable from the native Algonquian and Iroquoian cosmological and geophysical cultural identity. The snake is the allegorical totemic animal most often identified with rivers and this, for many self-evident reasons. The snake coils and meanders much like a river through the low lands. Throughout North-America, the indigenous peoples have told of the Great Serpent and the Flood. The Serpent has been depicted as a deity or spirit of catastrophe and evil. Many myths and legends associate the snake with the great waters. Rock Art specialist, LaVan Martineau, in *The Rocks Begin to Speak*, has also drawn attention to this theme. According to Martineau, the spiral image is indicative of flooding, there having the direct meaning of "moving", "coming", "going around". A descending coil means "coming down" while an ascending coil means "going up". The serpent or snake icon in Amerindian Art is very widespread and seems to carry the same meaning in most of their cultures, even when non-related and distant. The snake is believed to "have, and have had, an influence upon certain deities for the grant of water. After all, in the words of Hopi informants: "it can survive in the driest deserts throughout the hottest summers." (Martineau, 1973, p.109) The snake therefore represents water and should not be confused with the animal, proper, as a definitive or resident sign of evil.

But if that is what the Hopis believed, what meaning did it have for the Mound builders? Archaeologists now better understand how around 1500 to 1300 B.C. the Middle Woodland Adena tradition spread from Ohio on through the Appalachians and maintained their cultural characteristics further East and Northeast on to the Atlantic seaboard. Indeed, there is a correlation between the central Algonquians and the eastern Algonquians. One of the Proto-Algonquian terms, *kenwepyikwa for 'snake', was constructed using the Ojibwe kine:pik, Menominee kenu:pik, Miami-Illinois kineepikwa and Cree kene:pik words (Hewson 1993, Costa 1992). Etymologically, the term literally means "long tailed water animal" (*kenw- 'long', with the link vowel *-e-, *-epy 'water' and *-ikw 'animal with prominent tail'). Although most snakes are land animals, they are occasionally seen in water and are mythologically linked to the water spirit.

Therefore, if the snake can intercede with spirit deities for water, then, there had to be a snake god. Again, the Old Algonquian language is very useful: *maneto:wa spirit maneto:wiwa "he has spirit power", for "the Spirit Being". Matchi Manitou¹, the Evil Spirit, should not be confused with the benevolent Great Spirit Creator. The Great Spirit was called Gitche Manitou in Algonquian and Wakan Tanka in Sioux. The Iroquoians had many names for the Great Spirit: Adekagagawaa, Areskoui, Haewnniyo, Shagodyowehgowah, Tareyawagon and Tarhuyiwahku. Tareyawagon was the God who led the Iroquoian people from the Underworld into the Mohawk valley, a tributary of the Hudson River.

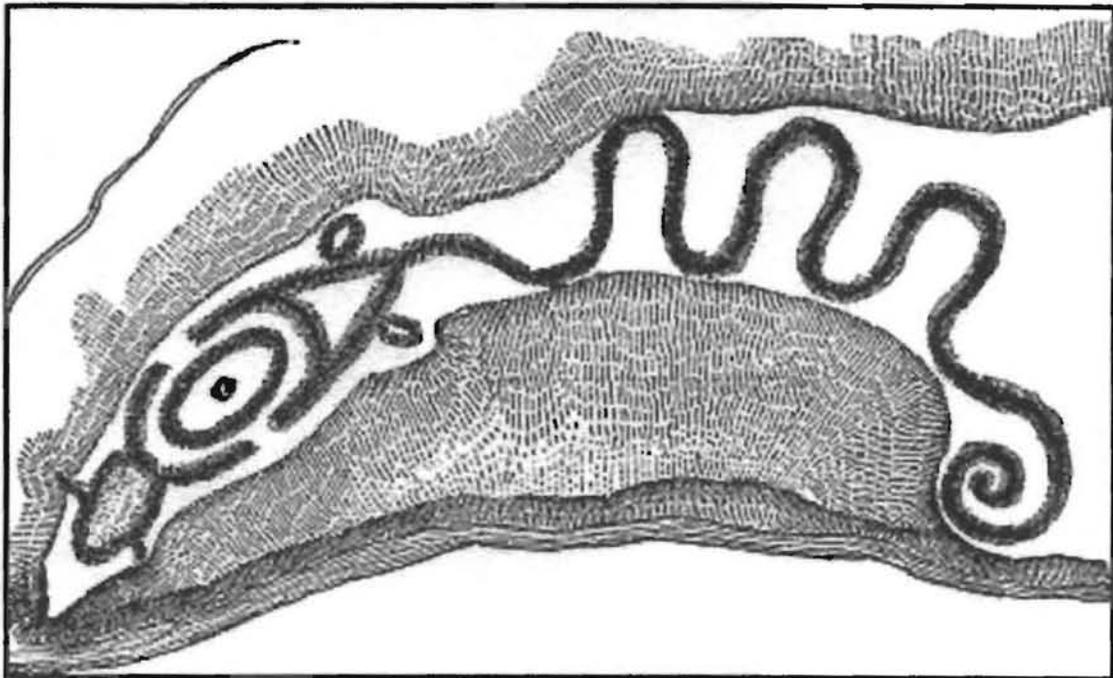
The Kickapoo manetoa 'snake, god', 'snake, spirit', Fox maneto:we:ha 'little snake' and Shawnee maneto 'snake, are derivatives of Maneto:wiwa the "Snake bearer", a theme akin to the Greek Ophiucos also found in native art. Most evidently, anyone having the mastery over such an animal must have great magic and spirit power:

*Kenwepikwilenyiwa is the "snake sorcerer" Cree kinepikoyiniw "snake person", Menominee kenupikineniw "sorcerer who has a snake as his familiar". The Great Snake, as the one represented at Serpent Mound, has, according to the different Algonquian languages, many similar and distinct names:

- **Misi-kinepikw** ("Evil Snake") - Cree
- **Misi-ginebig** ("Evil Snake") - Oji-Cree
- **Mishi-ginebig** ("Evil Snake") - Ojibwe
- **Maji-skok** ("Evil Snake") - Abenaki
- **Msi-kinepikwa** ("Evil Snake") - Shawnee

Another figure found at the Mound site is the egg. It comes as no surprise to anyone that the serpent's egg is a universal creation symbol. The Proto-Algonquian root for egg is *wawali or *wawi (Ojibwe wawin). The snake then swallows the egg: *wi'theniwa "he eats".

In many dialects the snake and the frog, as cold blooded animals, share the same name: *athkoka "cold blooded animal" i.e. "snake / frog"; Abenaki skok "snake, adder", Ottawa googsenh and Miami-Illinois akooka "frog". A frog figure was also found at the tip of the cliff just over the serpent's egg.



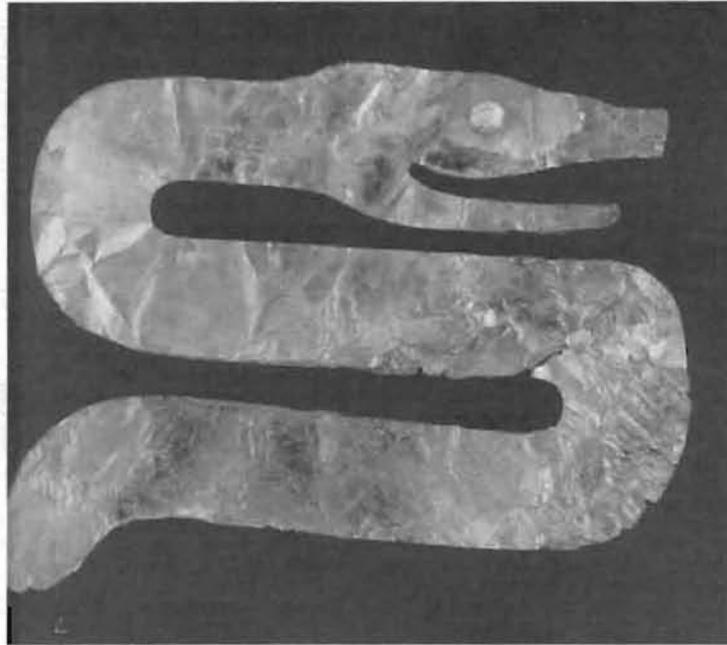
BIG SERPENT MOUND

The coils of the Serpent could represent the water course of the Great Lakes along lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie and Ontario, while the spiral could represent lakes Superior and Nipigon end waters. The Serpent's mouth is the opening of the lower St. Lawrence into the Gulf and the frog, Newfoundland Island.

The Great Snake in neighboring cultures

The Great Serpent is a widespread motif in all of the North-American cultures. One of these was the Cherokee or Tsalagi nations. Much like the Muscogean, they were mound builders. They called themselves Aniyunwiya (*Aniyvwiyaʔi), which means "Principal People." Their Iroquoian neighbors called them Oyata'ge'ronoñ, "the cave country dwellers". For the Cherokee nations, the horned snake was known as the Uktena. The Uktena is a monstrous horned serpent, as large as a big tree trunk with a bright blazing diamond shaped crest on its forehead. The crest, called ulun'suti, "transparent", marks its vital area. The hunter-warrior who captures the fiery diamond becomes the tribe's supernatural hero. But performing this is no easy task for the serpent's bright gaze is highly hypnotic and its putrid breath expels a deadly poisonous gas. Just being in the presence of this monster spells death to the hunter and his people. The Sioux also entertain such terrible stories with the Unktehila water dragon. These accounts conclude with its destruction by the fiery Thunderbird. The Seneca call the horned serpent Doonongaes. According to their myths and legends, it resides in the bodies of lakes and ponds. An inimical water spirit, it has the ability to take any shape and form, even that of a human. Because of it, people fear to put their hands in the water where it is said to reside. It is found in the association of Skahnowa, the turtle spirit and is opposed to Hinon, the thunder spirit. Another of its companions is Hagonsadji "The Dark-Face", a totemic rattle-snake spirit. The Gaasyendietha are lizard fire meteors. These creatures also dwell underwater and are only seen when moving from one lake to another. They easily catch fire when out of water and exposed to the sun. They are also considered dangerous but can be benevolent towards humans. Huron-Wendate or Wyandot (Quebec and Oklahoma) legends speak of the water serpent as well. A young hunter captures a grass-snake to which he feeds rabbits. The adder gradually grows larger and larger until it starts eating people. On its right side, there is a heart-shape spot. To kill it, the hero must shoot an arrow at the spot. After having killed it, the snake spirit appears to the boy in a dream where it confesses its plan to destroy humans by taking an innocent form. Upon awakening, the boy cuts through the serpent's belly and delivers the devoured Wendats. Finally, from the serpent's bones were made charms to protect the nation from evil. Interestingly, the etymology for Wendat / Wyandot is Ahwendoe which literally means "Island". The Ahwendoe people were made up of a five nations confederation comprised of the: Attignawantans "the Bear nation", the Attigneonongnahacs "the Cord nation", the Arendahronons "the Rock nation", the Tahontaenrats "the Deer nation", and the Ataronchronons "the other side of the Marsh nation". The Ahwendoe formed a distinct Iroquoian culture which should not be confused with the Five or Six Nations league: the Seneca (Onondowahgah) "the Great Hill nation", the Cayuga (Guyohkohnyoh) "the Great Marsh nation", Onondaga (Onoñda'gega) "the Hills nation", Oneida (Onayotekaono) "the Standing Stone

nation", Mohawk (Kanien'kehá:ka) "the Great Flint nation" and the Tuscarora (Skaruhreh) "the Hemp Gatherers".



A Serpent Carved from Micah by the Adena or Hopewell Mound builders (Photo: Ohio Historical Society).

The Great Snake River

The Abenakis called the St. Lawrence River Wezôgenaizibo which literally means "The Tailed One River". That is, wzogena or ozogena means "tail" and wezogenaid "tailed one" which also stands for "shooting star". The Iroquoian Wendat (Huron) called it Laooendaoena « Great River », Great River was also the name given to it by the St. Lawrence Iroquoians until Jacques Cartier gave it its definite name on the 10th august 1535 in honor of the Catholic calendar saint Lawrence. But for the Algonquins proper the Great River was not the Saint Lawrence:

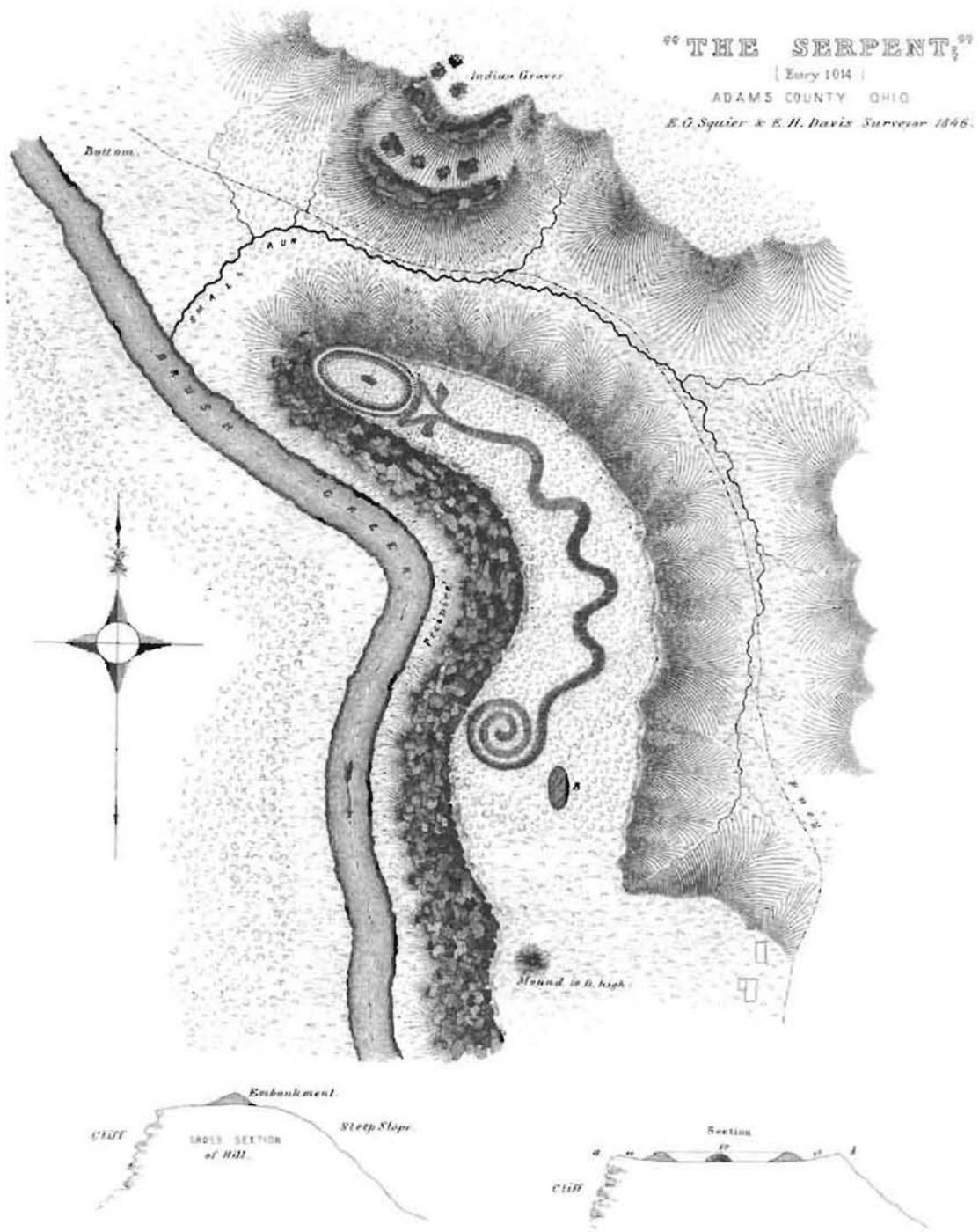
Wiskedjak's adventures are always located within the territory of the band whose member is telling the story. In Ben McKenzie's story of the giant beaver, he refers specifically to the Dumoine and Coulonge Rivers, "Pembroke lakes" (i.e. lower and upper Allumette lakes), and the Calumet chutes or rapids. The larger river, down which Wiskedjak finally proceeds, says Dr Speck, was the Kichi sipi, literally "big river". This has always been the Algonquin name for the Ottawa River, an obvious reference to its length and breadth. Samuel de Champlain and other early French explorers identified the band who occupied the immediate vicinity of the Allumette lakes and Calumet portage, and whose summer village on Morrison Island Champlain visited in 1613, as the Kichispirini (Kichi sipi irini), literally "big river people". Exactly three centuries later, Frank Speck was told that the bands living along the Ottawa were still known as the Kichi sipi anishnabeg, "big river people".³ The Algonquin name of the

river has survived (in translation) as "Grand River" or "Grande Rivière", a term first recorded by the Sulpicians Dollier de Casson and Bréhant de Galinée on the map legend illustrating their 1669-70 voyage of discovery through part of the great lakes. That particular name for the river was still in common use among European traders and settlers in the 18th and 19th centuries." (Morrison, James, in *Algonquin History in the Ottawa River Watershed*, p. 20)

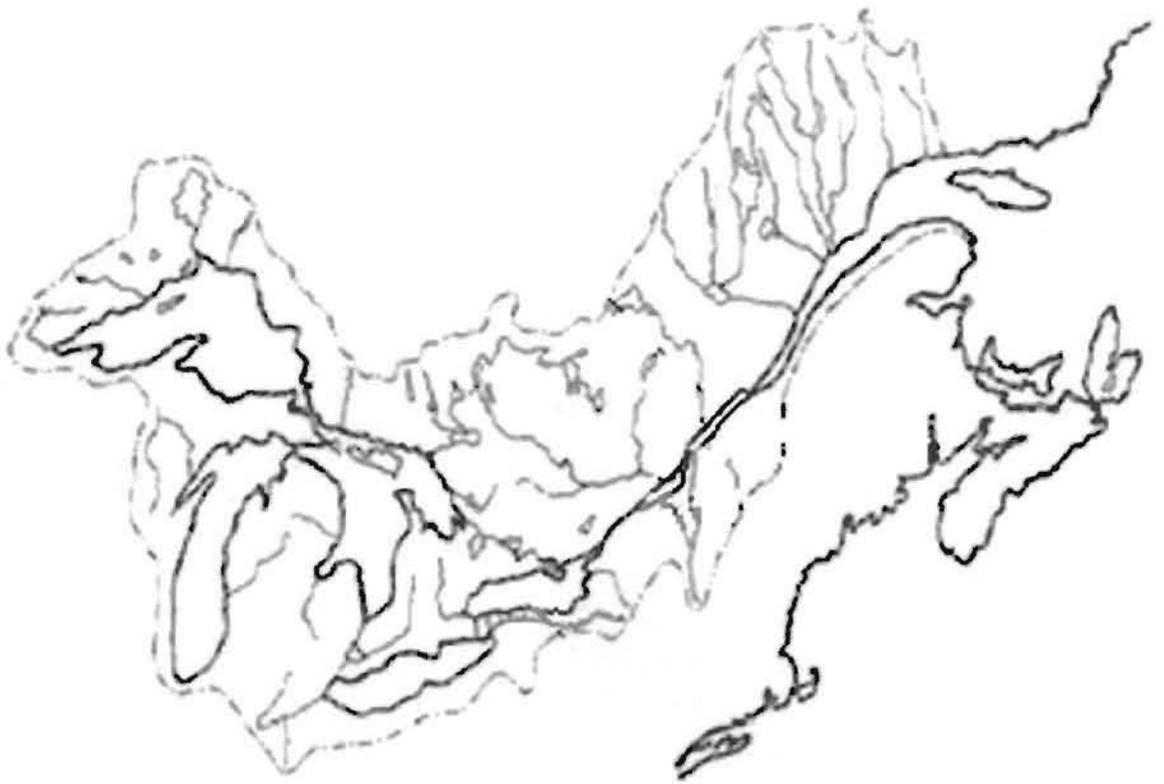
For some reason, the old Abenaki name for Algonquian is Wezôgena (pl. Wezogenak) "Tail (one)". This could infer that their ancestors were from the Great Lakes region. Or again, it could probably come from the Old Algonquian root *ašawakam-apew "person from across, from the opposite shore". The French missionaries usually referred to them as Algonquins. Though, at that time, they called themselves Anishinabemowi. And in the Algonquin language proper, Anishinabeg was the common denomination. The name carries both the general meaning of "human being", "man" and the specific meaning of "person belonging to the community" as someone different from outsiders. Historically, the Anishinabemowin idiom was a very largely spoken lingua-franca. Various dialects of Anishinabeg include the Ojibwe (also known as Ojibway, Chippewa and Saulteaux), the Odawa (Ottawa) and the Potawatomi nations, among many others. The fact that the language was so widespread, however, has caused considerable confusion when interpreting historical records. The Ojibwe are one of the most populous and widely distributed Algonquian peoples. Ojibwe or Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa call themselves Anishinaabemowin in their language. The Ojibwe and Ottawa Indians are members of a longstanding Anishinabe (Anishnabe) alliance which also includes the Potawatomi tribe.

The Algonquin terms Ilini (misspelled as Irini, morphed as "Inini" < *elenyiw "person, man") and Anishnabeg are synonyms. Both are still in use today. The Timiskaming Algonquins call themselves Saugeen Anishnabeg while the Algonquins of Barrière Lake call themselves Mitcikinabikinik and the lower Ottawa tribes called themselves Omamiwininiwak or "downriver people" (Cuoq 1886: 298).

Algonquians, spiritually, culturally and economically, are River People in the true sense.

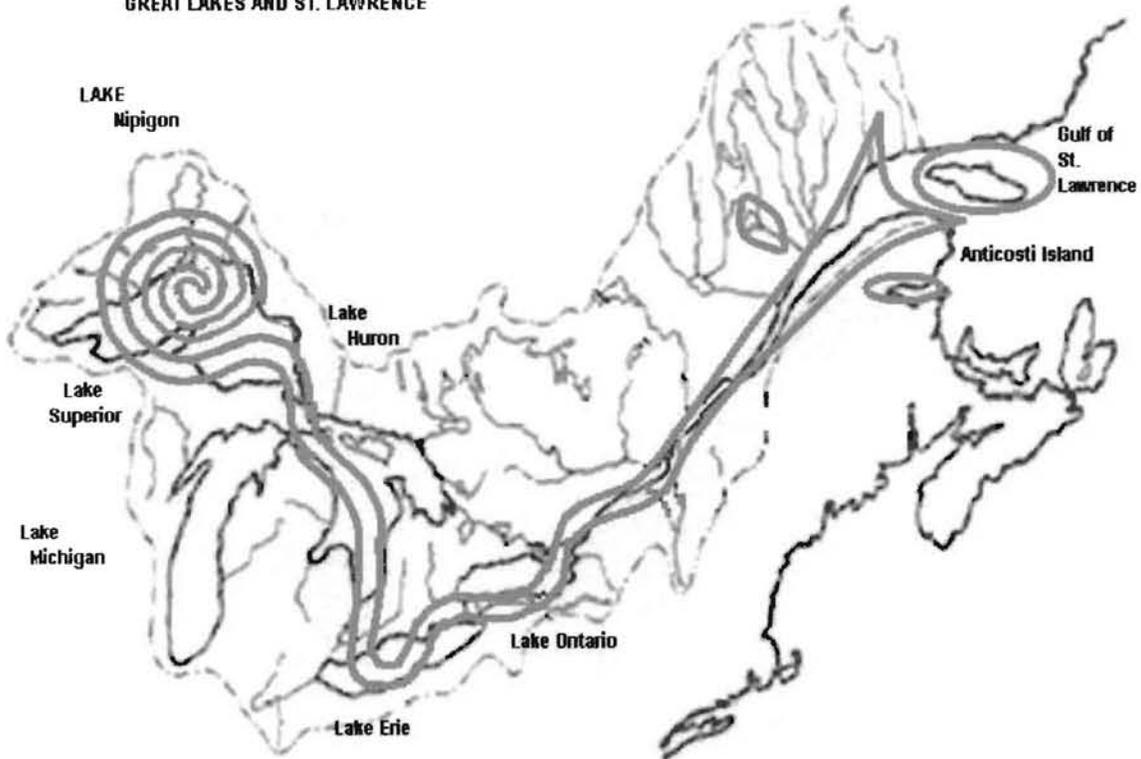


The Serpent Mound is located in Adams County, Ohio, Ohio Historical Society. We now refer to this culture as the Adena (800 BC-AD 100). A third burial mound at the park and a village site near the effigy's tail belong to the Fort Ancient culture (AD 1000-1550).



The St. Lawrence and Great lakes water shed.

GREAT LAKES AND ST. LAWRENCE



The St. Lawrence and Great Lakes with the Serpent Mound figure.

The Proto-Algonquian Homeland

Why should the Abenaki river name for the St. Lawrence River have any bearing for interpreting the symbolic meaning of the Serpent in the context of Adena-Hopewell culture?

In the late sixties, Frank Siebert had proposed the area of the eastern upper Great Lakes as the possible Algonquian homeland and origin of the subsequent dispersal. Following Sapir's Age-Area hypothesis to the effect that "the area of greatest diversity in a family is likely to point to the original homeland of the family", many Algonquianists have positioned their place of origin in the Southwest. This being that the greatest linguistic divergence is found between the Blackfoot and the Anishinabe nations. However, another important divergence is also noticeable between the Innu and Beothucks languages.

According to Ives Goddard (in *Comparative Algonquian*, 1979), Eastern Algonquian is the only obvious subgroup within the Algonquian family and that Blackfoot is too divergent and not yet well understood to cite as an example. It is generally assumed that their homeland was somewhere in the Lake Huron or Georgian Bay area. This is but a hypothesis since there are no solid material archeological facts to support this.

Also, given the high mobility of these swift river people on their birch bark canoes, it is difficult to pin-point them at any given time or place. From recent DNA evidence, it is clearer now that, after the glacial retreat, the early Algics migrated from west to east. The Proto-Algic (before the Proto-Algonquian phase) were somewhere in the Rocky Mountain foothills between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. Then, the Proto-Algonquian culture developed in the Mississippi region prompting the Mound builder Adena-Hopewell culture which was latter displaced by the southern Mississippian Proto-Iroquoian (Wyandot, Laurentian, Five Nations, Cherokee) culture. In 1991, Denny suggested that the populations of the Hopewell culture were descendants of proto-Algonquians. Then in 1995, preliminary data suggested that it was unlikely that the Fort Ancient individuals analyzed by Merriwether et al. were ancestral to the Cherokee.



Author's proposed model for the Proto-Algonquian homeland.

In order to assess the posited homeland further west, we must also take into consideration catastrophic events such as flash floods occurring after a moraine rupture. At the end of the last Ice Age the Laurentide Ice Sheet retreated northward

through the Great Plains and Midwest area of North America. Massive amounts of melt water drained southward toward the Gulf of Mexico through the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries. Most of these glacier lakes were unstable and this resulted in their sudden and catastrophic drainage. These lakes released massive volumes of water on the scale of some of the present-day Great Lakes. Evidently, these events also had an impact on the people who witnessed and survived them. And of course, these myths were not acquired through the diffusion of Old World Biblical Deluge legends. Flood myths in indigenous cultures, symbolically represented by a horned serpent, relate of these catastrophes. In all parts of North-America, from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, native peoples told stories about the Great Serpent. In their myths and legends, the serpent was considered to be "a genuine spirit of evil."

The following story relates of the Flood and the Great Serpent.



Horned snake with coil: Rock art found on the Dry Wash Panel within the San Rafael Swell in Utah. Notice the tiny anthropomorphic figure at the top left of the snake.

The Great Serpent, a Chippewa (Ojibwa) Legend

Nanabozho² is the Algonquian cultural hero and is in many of the stories told by the Chippewa. At one time, the Chippewa lived on the shores of

Lake Superior in what are now the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin and the province of Ontario.

"One day, Nanabozho returned to his lodge only to notice that his cousin had disappeared. Looking for tracks, he noticed that the ground was depressed as if a large snake had passed.

He was quick to realize that his cousin had been taken by his enemy, the Great Snake. This evil spirit resided in Manitou Lake, which is Spirit Lake.

Nanabozho followed the serpent's trail on to the water's edge.

At the bottom of the lake, the home of the Great Serpent could be seen. It was filled with the serpent's evil spirit companions. In the center of this abode stood the Great Serpent coiled around Nanabozho's cousin.

The Serpent's head was red as blood. His fierce eyes glowed like embers. His entire body was armed with hard and glistening scales of every hue and color. Nanabozho was very motivated to destroy the monster and avenge the death of his cousin.

He commanded the clouds to disappear and the sky became blue.

He cried: "Winds, be still at once!" And the winds died.

When the air over Spirit Lake had become stagnant, Nanabozho said to the sun, "Shine over the lake with all brilliance and make the water boil."

Nanabozho hoped the Great Serpent would leave the lake to seek the shade of the trees on the lake shore. There he would seize the enemy and get his revenge.

After commanding the elements, Nanabozho took his bow and arrows and placed himself where he thought the serpents would come to seek the shade. Then he changed himself into the broken stump of a withered tree.

The winds ceased, the air became stagnant, and the sun shot hot rays from a cloudless sky. The sun's rays had penetrated into the serpents' den and the water of the lake started to bubble. As the water boiled, the snakes came to the surface. They listened for Nanabozho, not hearing him, they plunged beneath the waters.

Nanabozho ordered the sun to get hotter and the water boiled from its very depths. The Great Serpent, with its following, left the lake for shore. So great was their number that they soon covered the shores of the lake.

Catching sight of the broken stump, one of the snakes catches Nanabozho's sent. It wound its tail around it, and tried to drag it down

into the lake. Nanabozho, who could hardly breathe, stood firm and remained silent. The others moved on in the company of the Great Serpent. All but one snake found the shade. It remained near the shore to listen for Nanabozho's footsteps.

Nanabozho watched from the stump until all the serpents were asleep. He then silently drew an arrow and shot it at the heart of the Great Serpent. It reached its mark. The monster awoke with a howl that shook the mountains and startled the wild beasts of the forest. Bleeding and coiling furiously, the Great Serpent plunged into the water to the bottom of the lake where the body of Nanabozho's cousin still lay. In their fury, the serpents tore it into a thousand pieces. His shredded lungs rose to the surface and covered the lake with whiteness.

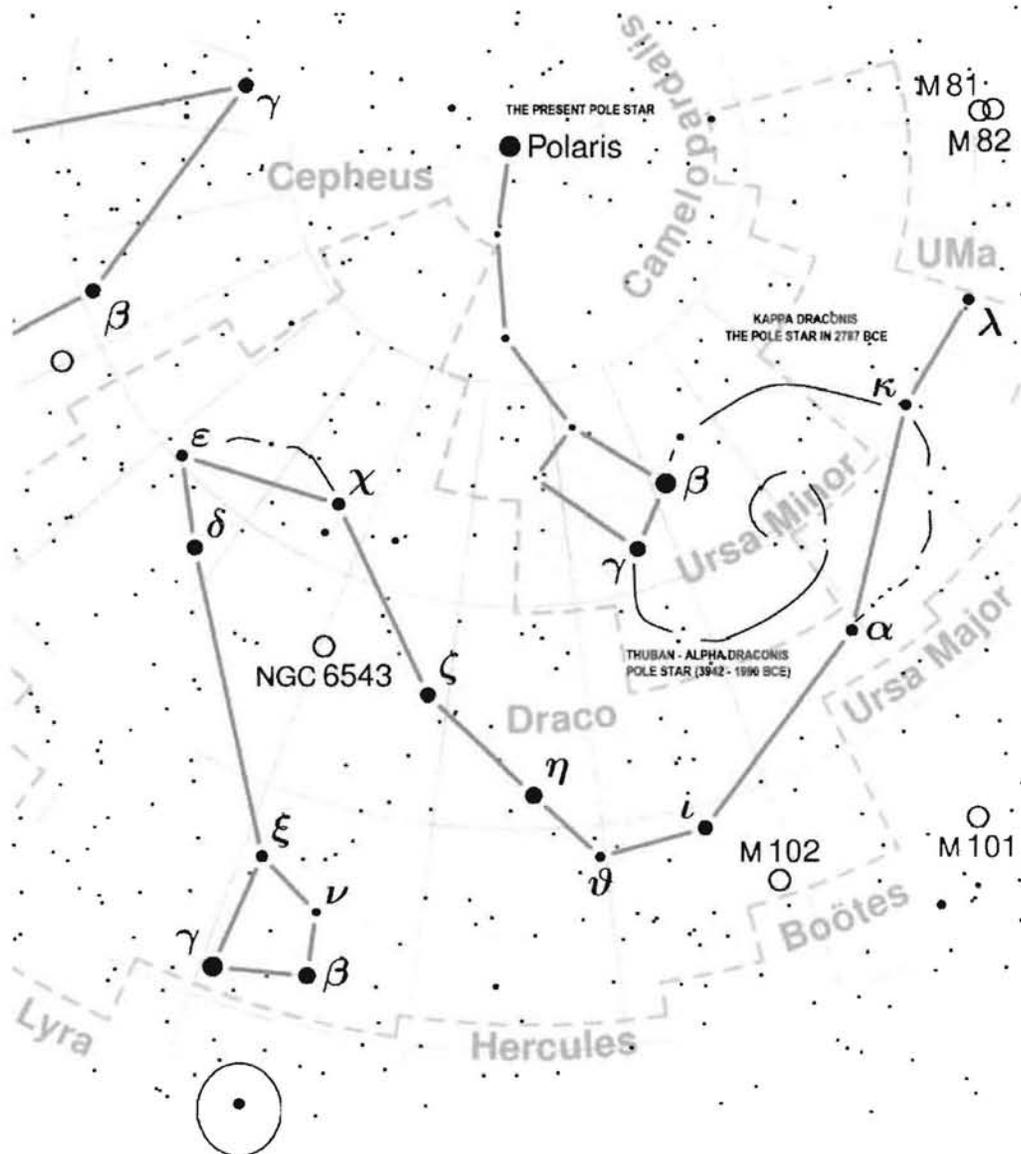
Despite his wound, the Great Serpent and companions were determined to kill Nanabozho. They made waves that pounded against the shore with thunderous sound. A great flood rolled over the land, over the tracks of Nanabozho, carrying with it rocks and trees. High on the crest of the highest wave floated the wounded Great Serpent. His eyes glared around him, and his hot breath mingled with the hissings of his many snake companions.



Northwest Ohio petroglyph (Ohio Historical Society).

Nanabozho, fleeing before the angry waters, thought of his kin folk and children. He ran through their villages, shouting, and «Run to the tops of the mountains! The Great Serpent is angry and is flooding the Earth! Run! Run!» They picked up their children and found safety on the mountains. Nanabozho continued his flight along the base of the western hills and then up a high mountain beyond Lake Superior, far to the north. There, he found many humans and animals that had escaped from the flood. Still the waters continued to rise covering the valleys, plains and highest hills. Soon all the mountains were under the flood, except the high one on which stood Nanabozho. He gathered floating timber and made a raft. With him, the men and women and animals placed themselves upon it. The mountaintop also disappeared as they floated along on the surface of the waters. They drifted for many days before the flood began to subside. Then the mountains, hills, plains and valleys began to show. When the water subsided, the people who survived learned that the Great Serpent

was dead and that his companions had returned to the bottom of Lake Manitou. There they remain to this day. For fear of Nanabozho, they have never dared to come forth again."



The Great Sky Serpent

Great Serpent Mound is impressive by its scale and size. The head of the snake is oriented towards the Northwest in the general direction of Lake Superior. Was this not the direction given in the Chippewa legend of the "high mountain beyond Lake Superior far to the north" where Nanabozho took refuge? A mountain peak far to the north; could this imply the pole star? There are no mountain peaks in this general area, just plains and rolling hills. We have seen how the snake theme in most native cultures is symbolically linked to the element of water, could it also

represent a constellation, as is the case in the Old World? Other snake representations in indigenous Art can also give clues for the meaning of this mysterious monument.

A cosmological link to the skies should also be considered. In central North America (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Wyoming, Montana, along the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, etc.), there are many archaeological sites displaying rock alignment forming turtles and snakes. These are termed petroforms by the Art specialists. Some field petroforms are oriented towards certain celestial markers such as lunar events, solstices, sunrises and sunsets. They are also located on hills, mounds, ridges and natural rock formations. The higher vantage point allows for better astronomical observation. The oral traditions inform of ritual ceremonies in tune with astronomical events and mythologizing. Special spiritual healing power was given by the Midewiwin societies, the Grand Medicine Society of the Anishinabe, to the petroforms rock alignments. Details of these traditions and rituals were most often recorded on birch bark scrolls. The Rock Serpents of the Whiteshell are enormous petroforms sprawling over the rocks of the Whiteshell Forest Reserve on the Ontario Manitoba border. Figured at this site is a turtle, snakes and birds. The Historic Sites Advisory Board of Manitoba had this sign put up for the visitors:

"You are about to enter a ceremonial ground of the Ojibwa (Salteaux). This area was a sacred rendezvous where they sought aid from the Great Spirit. Enter it then, and remember you walk upon ground hallowed by the veneration of our native people" (Adelaide Leitch, *Rock Serpents of the Whiteshell*, pp. 182-183).

Petroforms can mirror the night skies and star patterns thus giving telltale information on the Amerindian traditional perception of constellations. The native people of North America knew the Great Bear and the Morning Star. The Lakota Sioux also knew the Bear along with the Turtle, the Snake and the Eagle.





Rock Serpents of the Whiteshell, Photo: Adelaide Leitch.

Due to the precession of Earth's rotational axis, over time the aspect of the night sky changes. Polaris, the present pole star was not always at that position. From 3942 to 1900 BCE, Thuban, Alpha Draconis, was the Pole Star. Then, Kappa Draconis was closer to the North Pole in 2787 BCE. The bright star Kochab also approached the Pole. In 20346 Thuban will again be at the Pole (Jim Kaler).

We also know that comets and meteors are seen as serpents in native cultures. Therefore, another possibility is that snake Erpressens a meteor impact of major force.

The following passage has been adapted to modern usage from an old account given by Tuscaroran Chief Elias Johnson.

"A Great Horned Serpent also next appeared on Lake Ontario who, by means of his poisonous breath, caused disease, and caused the death of many. At length the old women congregated, with one accord, and prayed to the Great Spirit that he would send their grandfather, the Thunder, who would get to their relief in this, their sore time of trouble, while at the same time burning tobacco as burned offerings. And so finally the monster was compelled to retire in the deeps of the lake by thunderbolts.

Before this calamity was forgotten another happened. A blazing star fell into their fort, situated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and destroyed the people. Such a phenomenon caused a great panic and consternation and dread, which they regarded as ominous of their entire destruction. Not long after this prediction of the blazing star it was verified.

These tribes, who were held together by feeble ties, fell into dispute and wars among themselves, which were pursued through a long period, until they had utterly destroyed each other, and so reduced their numbers that the lands were again overrun with wild beasts.

At this period there were six families who took refuge in a large cave in a mountain, where they dwelled for a long time. The men would come out occasionally to hunt for food. This great cave was situated at or near the falls of the Oswego River.

The Holder of the Heavens then came and extricated these six families from the subterraneous bowels and confines of the mountain. The people always looked to this divine messenger, who had power to assume various shapes as emergency demanded, as the friend and patron of their nation.

This company was a particular body, which called themselves of One Household. Of these there were six families and they entered into an agreement to preserve the chain of alliance which should not be extinguished under any circumstance."

To Conclude, Dinosaur Graveyards

Around 176-million-years ago, in Alberta Canada, there was a massive destruction of Dinosaurs due to a cataclysmic storm. Bones such as those of duck-billed dinosaurs, horned dinosaurs including triceratops, ankylosaurs and raptors related to Velociraptor, and tyrannosaurids such as Albertosaurus and Tyrannosaurus rex. Even mammalian teeth marks were found on the massive reptilians bones. Where there are teeth marks, there are rodents!

"Because of their size and the scale of the flooding, dinosaurs could not escape the coastal floodwaters and would have been killed in large numbers," David Eberth explained. "In contrast, fish, small reptiles, mammals, and birds may have been able

to escape such seasonal catastrophes by retreating to quiet water areas, the safety of trees and burrows, or simply by flying away."

Early Paleontologists who arrived at the foothills of the Rockies discovered large reptilian grave yards; some of the bones were as massive as tree trunks.

Monstrous reptilian graveyards exposed after glacier retreat could have sparked native peoples' imagination and fire the legends of the Great Serpent and evil snake companions. Their bones lay there as a reminder of truth... And did not Nanabozho disguise himself as a stump?

NOTES

1. **Matchi Manitou**, the Evil Spirit often associated with the Snake Spirit.
2. **Nanabozho** / Nenabush / Manabozho < *Nenaposwa, an Algonquian mythic hero and magician who, during a great flood displaced himself on the back of a giant she-turtle.

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