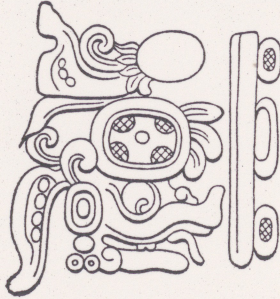


Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America

Selected Papers
of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists

Edited by
SOL TAX



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

1955

A SURVIVAL OF THE EURASIATIC ANIMAL STYLE IN MODERN ALASKAN ESKIMO ART

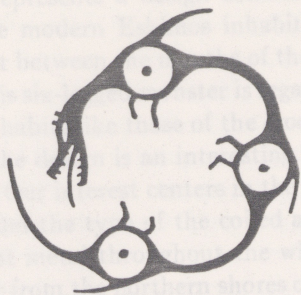
CARL SCHUSTER

In their recent study of Ipiutak, a prehistoric Eskimo culture discovered at Point Hope on the arctic coast of Alaska (252, pp. 126, 159), Larsen and Rainey call attention to a number of sculptured motives which are obviously derived from the bronze- and iron-age animal style of the Eurasiatic steppes. The authors lay special stress on the engraved markings of an ivory animal, on which the ribs are indicated and the hip is emphasized by a pear-shaped boss surrounded by a groove with raised edges (Fig. 12) (252, fig. 31). They point out that these two features occur together in metal representations of animals from places as widely separated as the Urals (Fig. 13), Finland (Fig. 14) and Denmark.¹ Other motives of the Eurasiatic animal style recognized by Larsen and Rainey in their Ipiutak material include griffins' heads, the representation of the fore-part of a bear with outstretched paws seen from above, and certain general traits, which they summarize as "the frequent use of realistic and fantastic animal heads as a terminal decoration of many kinds of artifacts, the use of inlays, and the combination of various animals or of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motives on the same object."² This startling series of correspondences undoubtedly justifies the authors' statement: "there can be little doubt that the sculptural art [of Ipiutak] is a branch of the Eurasiatic or Scytho-Siberian animal style, which has, for the first time, been recognized in the New World" (252, p. 145). The discovery thus heralded is bound to have a bearing of great importance on the study of ancient and modern Eskimo art, and perhaps even wider consequences which can not yet be foreseen. In this paper we wish to call attention to the correspondence between a modern Eskimo design and a type of motive well known and widely distributed in the ancient animal style of the Eurasiatic steppes—and then to draw certain inferences which may be of help in understanding features of the prehistoric art of the Eskimos.

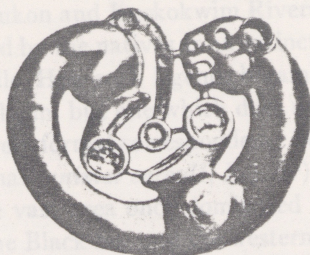
1. Our Fig. 14 is from the source cited by Larsen and Rainey (252, p. 126, n. 3). Our Fig. 13 is from Spitsyn (456, Fig. 397): a bronze "toad" from Perm. Spitsyn dates it eighth to ninth century.

2. Larsen and Rainey, 252, p. 145. Possibly this list can even be extended. For example, the detached animals' legs or hoofs (252, Pl. 51, Fig. 7; Pl. 52, Fig. 12) may be likened to the detached hind quarters of animals, which are a recognized, if still enigmatic, entity in Scythian art (Borovka, 53, Pl. 19). Again, the manner of carving the ends of antler tubes with animals' heads in Ipiutak art (252, Figs. 28, 45; Pl. 26/17, Pl. 76/11) is sufficiently like a similar treatment of the ends of curved bone objects or boars' tusks in Scythian art (53, Pl. 31, B; and especially 487, Fig. 13) to deserve special mention, even though this correspondence may be subsumed under the heading of the "general traits" listed by Larsen and Rainey.

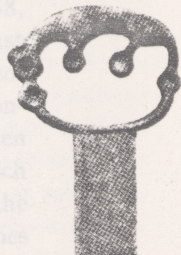
Figure 1 represents a design commonly painted on the inside of wooden dishes by the modern Eskimos inhabiting the lower Yukon valley and the Alaskan coast between the Yukon and the Chukchi rivers (33, Fig. 153). The design is a stylized animal head with large eyes and a wide, open mouth showing sharp teeth. The design is painted in black on a light background.



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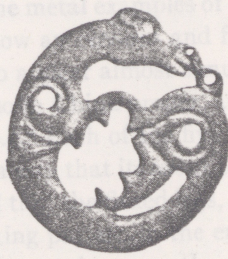
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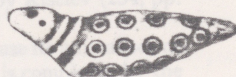
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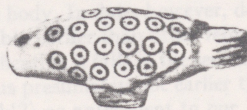
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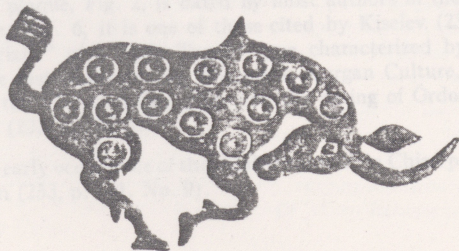
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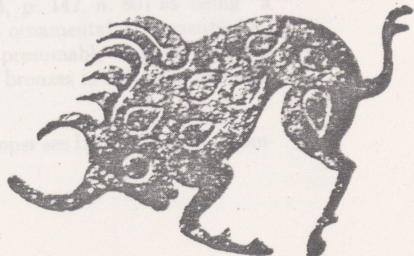
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FIGS. 1-11

Figure 1 represents a design commonly painted on the inside of wooden dishes by the modern Eskimos inhabiting the lower Yukon valley and the Alaskan coast between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers (338, Fig. 155). This six-legged monster is regarded by the natives as an extinct beast of prey with habits like those of the crocodile. How such legends became associated with the design is an interesting problem, but one which does not concern us here. Our interest centers in the purely formal correspondence between this design and the type of the coiled animal (*animal enroulé*, *Rolltier*) which occurs in cast metal throughout the whole vast area once dominated by the animal style: from the northern shores of the Black Sea and the western slopes of the Urals to Western Siberia (Fig. 2), the Minusinsk basin of the upper Yenisei (Figs. 3–5), and the Ordos border region between Mongolia and China (Fig. 6).³ Though from region to region the metal examples of this motive vary somewhat in style and in detail, they show an obvious and fundamental uniformity of conception. The type seems to appear almost simultaneously in all of the areas mentioned, and probably also in China proper, around or just before the middle of the first millennium B.C.⁴ Each of the five examples here illustrated shows a beast coiled up in such a way that its snout touches, or almost touches, its tail. The body is so stretched that the flexed legs, which sometimes end in rings, generally form an interlocking pattern in the enclosed space. Of special interest in the light of the Eskimo analogy are the concentric circles marking the shoulder and hip of the Ordos beast (Fig. 6) and the perforated bosses in the same position on the Minusinsk bronze (Fig. 5). These have their obvious counterpart in the first two round expansions on the body of the Eskimo beast. It seems very likely that the third bodily expansion of the Eskimo beast arose through a misunderstanding (at some undetermined point in the trans-

3. Our Fig. 2 is from 53, Pl. 45; Fig. 3 from Merhart (311, Pl. 8/5); Fig. 4 from Klements (236, Pl. 8/18); Fig. 5 from Tallgren (486, Fig. 68); Fig. 6 from Salmony (410, Pl. 15/9).

Most comprehensively, perhaps, the motive of the *animal enroulé* has been treated by Tallgren (487, pp. 10–20). Most recently, the theme has been handled again by Kiselev (234, pp. 142–44).

We have included among our illustrations the knife-handle, Fig. 3, because its animal seems prototypic for those of the plaques, Figs. 2, 4–6, in that the circular form is completed by the animal's tail rather than by its inordinately extended body. In date, however, despite Brehm (57, p. 42), it seems that this knife is hardly appreciably earlier than other representations of the coiled animal (311, p. 128). In Teploukhov's classification it falls in the second phase of the Minusinsk Kurgan Culture (136, Pl. 19, Fig. 87); thus presumably not earlier than the sixth century. Our Fig. 4 is regarded by Kiselev (234, p. 142) as antecedent to our Fig. 5, which most authors (234, p. 142; 311, pp. 128 f.; 57, p. 43) seem to agree is "relatively late." The Siberian gold plaque, Fig. 2, is dated by most authors in the sixth century B.C. As for the Ordos plaque, Fig. 6, it is one of those cited by Kiselev (234, p. 142, n. 80) as being "a late Han variant" of a "late Tagar" type characterized by ornamental treatment—i.e., one from the last phase of the Minusinsk Kurgan Culture, presumably approaching the beginning of the Christian Era. However, the dating of Ordos bronzes is still controversial. See Karlgren (223, pp. 97 ff.).

4. On the early occurrence of the "coiled animal" in China proper see Loehr (275), and compare Karlgren (223, p. 101, No. 9).

mission of the motive) of the ring-like expansion which occurs either at the tip or the base of the animal's tail in all of the illustrated metal examples (and, in Fig. 2, also in the middle of the tail). The third pair of legs in the Eskimo design has no analogue among metal prototypes of the Old World; and we may assume that they represent a fanciful addition by the Eskimos.⁵ Certain features of the Eskimo design raise puzzling questions, which we cannot answer in terms of the metal prototypes here assembled, but which should be stated as problems awaiting solution. Thus the wing-like protuberance extending outward from each bodily expansion of the Eskimo animal, and the rudimentary horns on its head, have no counterpart in the "animal style" of the steppes: they suggest the possibility of a Chinese prototype of dragonesque form, which, if it existed, must have been under the influence of, or closely analogous in conception to, the steppe type of coiled beast.⁶

Now, it may be said that there are two possible ways of understanding the occurrence in modern Eskimo art of a design obviously derived from the ancient animal style of the Eurasiatic steppes. Either we have here an isolated freak of survival; or the Eskimo animal is an integral part of a larger inheritance, which has been thoroughly assimilated into Eskimo tradition. The observation made by Larsen and Rainey of extensive influences from the animal style upon the ancient Eskimo art of Ipiutak clearly restricts our choice to the second alternative—and thus forces upon us an interesting and, I believe, significant conclusion. Undoubtedly the most striking feature of the Eskimo animal is the series of round expansions of the body at the points where the limbs are attached. On the one hand, as we have seen, these expansions have their counterpart, or prototype, in the joint-markings of animals similarly represented in the Eurasiatic animal style; but on the other hand, they show the form of a distinctive, ancient, and typical Eskimo design—that of the nucleated circle. If the whole design is inherited from the animal style, then it is hardly likely that the nucleated circles, which form an integral part of it, are derived from any other source; and if these particular nucleated circles are derived from prototypes in the animal style, the question automatically arises whether the Eskimo motive of the nucleated circle *per se* is not simply a part of the same inheritance—in

5. It must be mentioned that the Eskimos who painted the coiled animal of Fig. 1 also paint a much larger version of the same six-legged creature in straight form along the sides of their sea-going *umiaks* (338, Fig. 156). This raises an interesting question. As the Eskimo coiled animal is certainly derived from an ancient Asiatic prototype, one might be led to assume that the straight version of the six-legged creature was also inspired from the same source. However, until and unless we find such a prototype in the Siberian animal style (which is very unlikely), we seem forced to the conclusion that the Eskimos themselves straightened out the coiled beast, extra legs and all, for application to their boats.

6. As a possible explanation of the "wings" of the Eskimo coiled animal, Fig. 1, it may be mentioned that certain Ordos bronzes, and certain Chinese bronzes under the influence of the animal style (275, Fig. 3), show the coiled animal viewed from *above*, with the two left legs projecting inward and the two right legs projecting outward from the periphery. It seems, however, rather unlikely that the "wings" of our Eskimo beast are to be explained in terms of such outer limbs.

other words, whether the motive of the nucleated circle, so deeply rooted and widespread in Eskimo tradition, did not come to the New World originally in the form of a joint-marking on representations of animals. If this is so, it would obviously give us a valuable clue to the understanding of much that is now enigmatic in both ancient and modern Eskimo art.

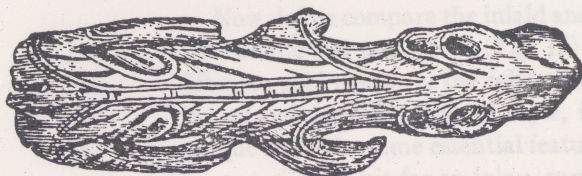
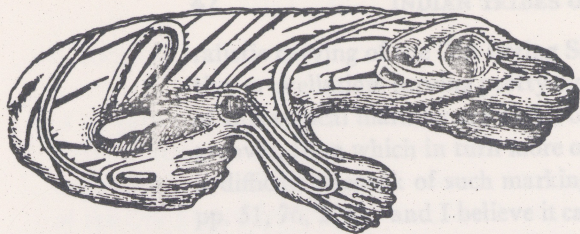
Let us examine the evidence for an Old World derivation of the nucleated circle as a joint-mark in Eskimo art. It may be said that a good deal of attention has been paid to the motive of joint-markings in various phases of the Eurasiatic animal style, but often without a clear appreciation of their specific character. In the more sophisticated or more "naturalistic" phases of this style, the joint-mark often appears as a mere decoration, and is generally so understood by art-historians. Actually the motive of the joint-mark has a very ancient prehistory, stretching back several millennia before the rise of the animal style of the steppes.⁷ And throughout this long prehistory, as well as in the relatively late style which here more especially concerns us, the joint-mark has a tendency to be either rationalized as a superficial spotting of the animal's skin, or treated inorganically as an incidental and fanciful decoration. The underlying symbolic quality of the joint-mark—what we may call its indispensability to the theme of animal representation (or perhaps even its magic significance)—has been obscured throughout its history by the rationalizing tendency of an art under the more or less direct and constant domination of the early urban civilizations of the Ancient East—an art forever bent upon naturalistic representation. The fact that the motive of the joint-mark nevertheless persisted, in ever-changing form, for several thousand years throughout so many phases of Near Eastern and Mediterranean art suggests that there must have been a more primitive strain of artistic expression, unaffected by the civilized ideals of the great urban centers, probably flourishing contemporaneously in remote and peripheral areas (perhaps in the far north, or in various Asiatic mountain regions), in which the motive of the joint-mark was more closely integrated with and more obviously inseparable from the animal representation. This popular strain of art remains unknown to us archeologically because of the perishability of the materials in which it was expressed. It is from such a primitive and conservative tradition, underlying the "animal style" as known to us largely in metal remains, that we may presume our Eskimo design to be derived. Though we must hypothecate such a tradition, we cannot "pinpoint" it or the culture which carried it. We can only refer to the obvious relationship between the Eskimo design and the whole widespread group of *animals enroulés* in metal, while noting that the closest congeners of the Eskimo motive, in respect to the essential feature of the joint-marks, seem to occur in certain bronzes of Minusinsk

7. On the prehistory of the animal joint-mark in the early civilizations of the Ancient East and the Mediterranean, see, among others, Bossert's (54) remarks in explanation of his Fig. 55; Kantor (22), and especially Christian (72, p. 15). His Fig. 19 shows a stone steer from Uruk with deep depressions for colored inlays on the shoulder and hip.

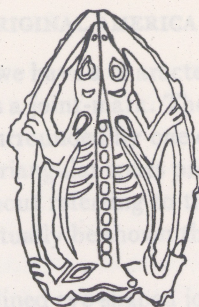
and the Ordos.⁸ Presumably these metal representations are not the immediate prototypes of the Eskimo design, but themselves go back to prototypes in wood, bone, birchbark, felt, or other such materials. The fact that the Eskimo design is painted in itself suggests the general character of its probable prototype.

Now that our attention has been called to the important role of the joint-mark in the relationship between Eskimo art and the Eurasiatic animal style, we may examine certain other possibilities of relationship between the two arts in terms of this feature. In pointing out metal analogues for the Ipiutak walrus (Fig. 12), Larsen and Rainey dwell upon the shape and double outline of the "pear-shaped boss" on the animal's flank, thus stressing a stylistic criterion of comparison. We wish to shift the emphasis now to what might be called the concept rather than the form of the joint-mark, and to re-examine the material in these terms. Besides the pear-shaped boss in the region of its flank, the Ipiutak walrus (Fig. 12) shows a number of perforations—one for the eye, another for the ear, one just below the shoulder, and one on each paw. Some of these holes are slotted, evidently, as the authors say, to accommodate thongs for attaching the object, perhaps to a shaman's clothing. Several of the holes obviously correspond to anatomical features of the animal; but one of them, the hole under the shoulder, whatever function it may have served, can hardly be explained in terms of normal anatomy. We suggest that this hole is, in fact, the somewhat misplaced and misunderstood joint-marking of the shoulder, just as the "pear-shaped boss" is the joint-mark of the hip. This becomes clearer in the light of comparison with the analogous representation of a polar bear from the Old Bering Sea phase of ancient Eskimo culture (Fig. 15) (80, Fig. 7). Here there is no representation of the ribs, and the backbone, a prominent feature of the Ipiutak walrus, is reduced to a short "ladder" near the rump. The "pear-shaped boss" with multiple outline here appears, without marked protuberance, a little higher on the back of the animal, in the region of the kidneys. The eye-holes are perforated clear through the head; a number of other holes at various places on the body were probably plugged originally with inlays of baleen or wood. The holes in the rudimentary legs evidently communicated with slots for attachment—analogueous to the slots in the flippers of the Ipiutak walrus (80, p. 49). What interests us especially in this animal is the presence of a hole for an inlay behind the shoulder—and the decorative embellishment of this hole with a certain arrangement of lines characteristic of Old Bering Sea art. In view of all the other similarities between this bear and the Ipiutak walrus, it is obvious that this hole, despite its slightly different position, corresponds to the hole on the fore-flank of the Ipiutak walrus—and in all probability, like the latter, represents the joint-mark of the animal's shoulder. This is an important circumstance, for it means that on at least one relatively natu-

8. The occurrence of joint-marks on the coiled beast is, however, not confined to Minusinsk and the Ordos. It occurs also west of the Urals: for example, on a well known plaque from Anan'ino (53, Pl. 64, D; 487, 1932, Fig. 10) and on a fragmentary specimen found in 1936 at Turbino, near Perm (371, Fig. 15/3), the latter showing perforations at the hip and shoulder.



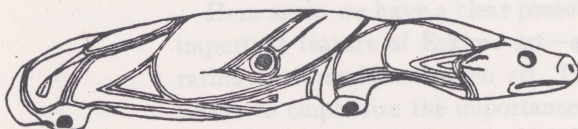
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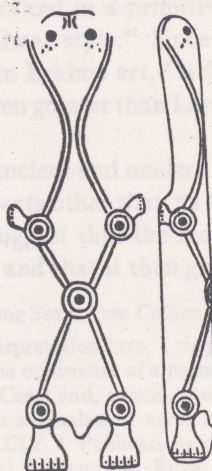
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FIGS. 12-17

realistic carving of the Old Bering Sea art we have a characteristic eye-like motive or ocellation, serving pretty clearly as a joint-mark. The essential features of this typical marking are a disc or pit surrounded by one or more concentric grooves, from which in turn more or less triangular spurs project outwards.⁹ It is difficult to speak of such markings without referring to them as "eyes" (80, pp. 51, 76, 298)—and I believe it can eventually be shown that that is precisely what they are.¹⁰

Now, let us compare the inlaid and outlined eye-shaped joint-marking of the Old Bering Sea polar bear (Fig. 15) with the joint-markings on a well-known Siberian gold plaque in the collection of Peter the Great (Fig. 16).¹¹ Disregarding superficial differences of style, it is obvious that the joint-marks of this plaque show the same essential features as the shoulder-marking of the Eskimo bear: a circular pit for an inlay, surrounded by a contour line, and flanked by two triangular "spurs." That these spurs are inlaid on the gold plaque but without inlay on the Eskimo carving may be regarded as a minor and unessential difference between the two markings.

Here again we have a clear prototype in the Eurasiatic animal style for an important feature of Eskimo art—and this time the parallel is with ancient rather than modern Eskimo art. The second analogy confirms the first, and serves to emphasize the importance of the joint-mark as an essential feature of the primitive animal style which found its way from Asia to the New World.

Drawing together the inferences from these two comparisons, we believe it justified to conclude that the Eskimo motive of the nucleated circle, in all its stylistic variants, both ancient and modern, and in all its variant usages, is really derived from a joint-marking, as practiced in a primitive strain of art presumably underlying the Eurasiatic "animal style." Since the nucleated circle is one of the most important motives in Eskimo art,¹² it follows that the debt of Eskimo art to the "animal style" is even greater than Larsen and Rainey first proposed.

Though it is, of course, true that in both ancient and modern Eskimo art the nucleated circle occurs in a great many contexts other than as a joint-mark on animals, the analogies here cited strongly suggest that the motive must have been transmitted originally as a joint-mark, and that it then gradually became

9. For variants of the eye-like motive in Old Bering Sea art see Collins (80, Fig. 15).

10. Though I cannot attempt to justify this interpretation here, I may mention two circumstances which seem to me to support it—first, the occurrence of a naturalistic eye-motive as a joint-mark in the art of the Pacific Northwest Coast and, second, the undoubted occurrence of eyes as joint-marks on *human* figures from a number of areas around the Pacific (see Carl Schuster, *Joint-Marks*, Communication XCIV. ["Publications of the Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology," No. 39.] Amsterdam: Royal Institute for the tropics, 1951).

11. After Borovka (53, Pl. 46, A). Recently a number of objects bearing this type of joint-marking has been brought together and identified as a group (see Salmony, 411).

12. On the present-day distribution of the nucleated circle in the New World, among the Eskimos and elsewhere see Smith and Spier (436).

dissociated from its original function and developed into an independent element, which has at various times been more or less freely used in various styles of Eskimo decorative art. Though we cannot trace the process of dissociation step by step, we are not entirely without clues as to the way it took place. Figure 7 shows an ancient Eskimo ivory carving, presumably from the same phase of the Old Bering Sea style as the polar bear (Fig. 15).¹³ In this carving we can sense the transition from a naturalistic animal representation to pure decoration. The species, so cleverly portrayed in the carving of the polar bear (Fig. 15), can no longer be recognized. Only the exaggerated teeth and the conventionalized reduction of the backbone to a "ladder" misplaced along the middle of the side suffice to establish the animal origin of the design and enable us to recognize one of the several nucleated circles as representing the animal's eye, and a hole behind the eye as representing its ear. Apart from these features, the rest of the carving is made up of delicately outlined ovoid panels, each containing a nucleated circle with spurs like that of the animal's eye. It would hardly require a great many transitional examples to establish the derivation of these supernumerary eyes from an ocellated joint-mark like that on the flank of the polar bear (Fig. 15). In fact, it is difficult to see how else these "eyes" can be explained except as the irresponsible multiplication of such an originally symbolical marking. A carving like Figure 7 may well represent the beginning of the process which led eventually to the typical designs of the following phase of the Old Bering Sea style (OBS III), in which the animal disappears altogether and there remains only a network of panels containing eye-like nucleated ovals, as we see them in Figure 8.¹⁴

Fortunately, this development has an instructive analogy in the Eurasiatic animal style. Karlgren has shown very clearly that the pear-shaped, or sometimes circular, markings on the flanks of beasts have a tendency, at an early date, simultaneously throughout three widely separated provinces of the animal style (South Russia or Scythia, the Ordos, and the Huai or Late Chou style of China) to multiply so as to form a pattern all over the body of the beast (223, pp. 102-12). We show only two characteristic examples of this development, from the flat relief decoration of Chinese bronze vessels of the Huai style (Figs. 10, 11).¹⁵ Though Karlgren does not use the expression, we propose to designate this development a multiplication or proliferation of joint-marks, and to see in it a close analogy to the process which takes place in the Old Bering Sea art of the Eskimos—and which may well have taken place also in other ancient Eskimo art styles. Thus, the Eskimos took over from the animal style not only the motive of the joint-mark, and the coiled beast as one of the char-

13. From a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. H. B. Collins, Jr. Published by Collins (80, Pl. 15/3).

14. From a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Collins. Published by Hrdlička (195, Pl. 21).

15. Details of photographs kindly supplied by Dr. Alfred Salmony. For the complete originals (vases of the *hu* type) see, respectively, Kelley (226, Fig. 6), Visser (508, Pl. 28), or Karlgren (223, Pl. 59/2) (Stocklet Collection).

acteristic carriers of this motive, but they obviously must have absorbed also the tendency toward a decorative multiplication, or proliferation, of the joint-marks, from whatever phase of the Eurasiatic animal style it was to which they were exposed. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that this development in Eskimo art led to very different results than in the parent animal style—that it led, in fact, to the evolution of a distinctive and characteristically “primitive” decorative style, which, apart from significant exceptions, seems very quickly and thoroughly to have lost all traces of its Asiatic ancestry.

In addition to the motive of the coiled beast with joint-marks (Fig. 1), we must call attention to at least one other survival of the motive of the nucleated circle as a joint-mark on animals in modern Eskimo art. Figure 17 (42, Fig. 15) shows the engraved decoration on an ivory effigy of a seal. This is no isolated example: the nucleated circle appears quite commonly in the position of a joint-mark on figures of seals, otters and walruses from the same Alaskan region where the coiled beast of Figure 1 makes its home.¹⁶ On many of these effigies, moreover, we notice, as in Figure 9,¹⁷ the same tendency toward decorative multiplication of the circular joint-mark as we observe, for example, on the Late Chou beast (Fig. 10). Thus in Eskimo art, while on the one hand the motive of the nucleated circle early became dissociated from animal representations (Fig. 8), it also persists in certain phases of Eskimo tradition in its original context—either as a joint-mark, or in multiple form as a decoration all over the bodies of animals—both manners of treatment clearly having their prototypes in the ancient Eurasiatic animal style.

Finally, we wish to make some observations about the possible spread of certain traits of the Old World animal style to the south of Alaska. In this connection it must be regarded as significant that the eye-motive (which we believe to be, in effect, the same as the Eskimo motive of the nucleated circle with spurs) is regularly used in the art of the Northwest Coast Indians as a joint-mark (40, p. 175). We will not attempt to answer the question whether this usage is directly traceable to Eskimo art. Obviously the art of the Northwest Coast represents a different stylistic development—but the fact nevertheless remains that one of its fundamental usages is identical with a fundamental usage of Eskimo art.

A second point, which perhaps involves even more difficult questions, is the fact that what appear to be typical joint-markings occur on animal representations among Indian groups living still farther to the south. In Figure 18 an ancient Ipiutak representation of a polar bear (252, Fig. 30) is juxtaposed with

16. E.g., Boas (42, 1908, Pl. 30/2-5); Hoffman (186, Pl. 56/3, p. 815); Nelson (338, Fig. 111); and many specimens in the U.S. National Museum and doubtless in other museums.

17. Fig. 9, *a, b, c*: ivory effigies of seals in the U.S. National Museum, cat. Nos. 33618, 48219, and 48642, respectively. Fig. 9, *a* from St. Michaels; 9, *b* from Sledge Island; 9, *c* from Kotzebue Sound. All collected by E. W. Nelson. Fig. 9, *a* = Hoffman (186, Pl. 43/4); Fig. 9, *c* = Hoffmann (186, Pl. 56/4). Photographs from the Smithsonian Institution, through the courtesy of Dr. H. B. Collins, Jr.

the painted representation of an otter (Fig. 19) on a modern Blackfoot Indian tipi.¹⁸ The Indians regard the spots on the hind quarters as representing the animal's kidneys, which, together with the tongue, throat and heart, are considered sources of the animal's supernatural power.¹⁹ Are we to dismiss this explanation as a local rationalization of a motive whose origin had been forgotten (for the same animal carries joint-marks on its knees), or does the Blackfoot Indian perhaps give us an insight into the still more ancient origin of the joint-

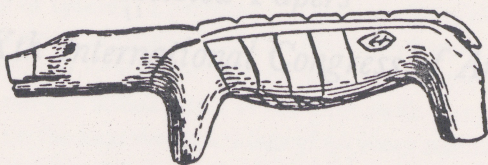


FIG. 18



FIG. 19

mark itself as the representation of a vital internal organ—such as is known to us in paleolithic animal representations of the Old World? If the latter explanation is correct, we shall obviously have to examine anew in the light of this possibility the whole background and prehistory of the Eurasiatic animal style.

18. After the original, preserved in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Length, 110 cm. Body black, shaded areas green, white areas red in the original.

19. Information kindly supplied by Mr. John C. Ewers, of the U.S. National Museum. The original informant was a Piegan Indian, and the reference was to the figure of a deer, rather than an otter. But on the Piegan (Blackfoot) lodges, both creatures are provided with similar markings.