QUARRELS AND ENMITY BETWEEN
THE SUN AND THE MOON

A Contribution to the Mythologies of the Philippines,
India, and the Malay Peninsula

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Introduction. In the Philippines, in India, and also in the Malay peninsula there exists a mythological cycle which deals with quarrels and an enmity between the Sun and the Moon.1 In this paper the writer wishes to present the material which he collected from ethnological literature, especially as far as the Philippines is concerned, and to make a tentative comparison of the main features of this cycle as it is found in the three regions of an area that has many cultural elements in common.

A Philippine Version of the Myth. Percy A. Hill publishes the following astral myth:

In the beginning the Sun God, Arao, and the Moon Goddess, Buan, had both a numerous family of stars. Those of Arao were of a golden yellow color, and extremely brilliant, while those of Buan were of silvery white with no heat at all. Buan became obsessed with the idea that her stars would be unable to withstand the heat and light of Arao and his progeny. She therefore made a compact with Arao that they both destroy their stars as a measure of safety. This they mutually agreed to do.

After the Sun had devoured his stars, the Moon hid hers in the obscurity of the clouds, from which ever and again they emerged. The Sun seeing this was filled with righteous rage at the cunning deception of the Moon. In consequence the Sun is eternally in pursuit of the Moon to destroy her for having deceived him to protect her progeny.

The chase has lasted since the dawn of time. Sometimes the Sun gets close enough to bite her. This is an eclipse. Time heals the wound, for the Moon is continually waxing and waning, as the pursuit closes on her and she takes refuge behind the higher obscurities.

The Sun returns and devours the stars at dawn or puts them to flight, while the Moon hides them during the day and only brings them forth when she is advised by her eldest daughter, Tala, the Evening and Morning Star, that the Sun is far away and cannot pursue them.2

1) For the sake of uniformity the names of the two great luminaries are capitalized in this paper, including direct quotations from sources in which this is not done.
2) Hill, Philippine Short Stories, pp. 65f.
Parallels in India and the Malay Peninsula. This myth has very close parallels, as already indicated, in northeastern and middle India, and in the Malay peninsula. Not having at his disposal at the present time most of the literature concerned, the writer gives the general contents of this myth from the summary that appeared in his study on the deities of the non-Aryan tribes of northeastern India. In India the myth is found among the Santal, Munda, Turi, Savara, and Birhor. All these tribes speak Munda languages. The myth is known furthermore among the Bhuiya who speak an Aryan language, but seem to be an ancient Munda people.3

The myth in question contains in general the following elements. The Moon gets hold of the children of the Sun, makes a sweet dish of them and serves this to the Sun; or the Moon induces the Sun to kill its own children and to eat them. The motive for the Moon's action is the unbearable heat on earth, caused by Sun's numerous progeny.4 Among the Santal, and apparently also among the Savara, Sun and Moon appear as husband and wife; among the Munda and Turi they are sisters, and among the Birhor brother and sister. Among the Bhuiya the Sun is male and the Moon female; their relation to each other is not mentioned.5

The Munda version of the myth tells that the Sun was so enraged about the deed of her sister, the Moon, "that she caught hold of a sword and chased her sister, overtook and cut her in two." The two halves unite again at certain intervals; however, Sing Bonga, the (present) High God of the Munda, a solar deity, has ordained that the wound opens again regularly in order that men on earth may see what punishment the Moon received for her deed.6 The connection which Sing Bonga, the Sun god, has with the myth, is somewhat incongruous and can hardly, therefore, be an original element. As a matter of fact, the characterization of the High God as solar

3) Rahmann, Gottheiten, pp. 55-57. This paper will be quoted below as Gottheiten. The references given there are: for the Santal: Mitra, p. 70; Bodding, p. 73; Monfrini, pp. 17 f.; Census 1931, VII, I, 297; for the Munda: Mitra, p. 70; Bhaduri, pp. 76 f.; for the Turi: Russel, IV, 591; for the Savara: Thurston VI, 333; for the Birhor: Roy, pp. 486 f.; for the Bhuiya: Russell II, 317 f.

In the meantime Elwin published a number of tales of this type in his work Myths of Middle India; cf. pp. 53, 55, 56 f., and 74 f. In other tales, recorded by Elwin (pp. 51-77), other motifs appear. These may be said to be partly "Aryan," and some are in particular Hindustically colored. The bibliographical notes in Elwin's Myths and the writers' Gottheiten are complementary, but Elwin's are much more comprehensive, according to the scope and more recent date of his work. In this paper Elwin's Myths will be referred to as "Elwin."

4) "The great heat that emanated from the Sun and his children troubled all creation" (the Birhor version; see Elwin, p. 75, quoting Roy, pp. 486 f.)

5) Elwin remarks: "About the sex of the Sun and the Moon there is much confusion" (p. 52). A little later he writes that "many tribes regard the two great luminaries as man and wife" (pp. 54 f.).

6) Gottheiten, p. 56.
being is probably a later element in Munda religion.7 About the Munda, (Ho and Bhumij, both closely related to the Munda) Dalton relates another variant which must even be younger than the one just given: "He [Sing Bonga] is said to have married Chando Omol, or the Moon, but she deceived him on one occasion and he cut her in two, but repenting on his anger, he allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty. The stars are her daughters." 8

In the myth of the Birhor, who belong to the aboriginal population of India and are partly still food collectors, it is said that the morning star [Venus] had just gone to a distant dancing place, when the Sun devoured the other stars, and thus she was saved. In the Savara version the Moon likewise is able to hide Venus.

In the Malay peninsula the myth occurs, according to the unspecified report of Mitra, among the Malays,9 and according to Schebesta among the Jahai-Semang10 and the Ple-Sakai.11 The Semang belong to the Negrito population and the Sakai to the Negritoid population of southeast Asia. According to Mitra, the Sun is male and the Moon female, but they do not appear to be husband and wife. Among the Jahai-Semang the Sun is female and the Moon male; among the Ple-Sakai both are female. The Ple-Sakai say in their myth that the Moon was hiding her children in her armpit and made the Sun believe that they had died, and then induced the Sun to devour hers. In the myth of the Jahai-Semang it is told that the Moon had "zwei jüngere Geschwister" (a younger brother and a younger sister?) whom he hid in his armpit when the Sun was devouring the other stars. There can be no doubt that by these two hidden stars Venus is meant, counted twice as morning and evening star.12 The parallel with the Birhor who are, broadly speaking, on the same cultural level as the Semang and Sakai is striking. Of course, a detailed investigation would be necessary to ascertain whether this parallel is an old element or not.

Nature and Contents of the Myths. The tales forming this cycle are profane; and moreover, they are etiological myths. The astronomical facts explained are: first, the appearance of the Moon in the sky together with stars, and the appearance of the Sun without them—except the morning and

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7) Ibid., p. 93.
8) Ibid., p. 56, referring to Dalton, p. 186.
9) Gottbeiten, p. 56.
12) Elwin, p. 74, quotes Bompas, p. 403, who reports a Santal version according to which the Sun devoured all her children "but two and the two that were saved are the morning and evening stars." A version of the Baiga likewise contains this motif (Elwin, loc. cit.). Concerning the latter see also Elwin, The Baiga, pp. 331 ff. (reference from the writer's notes).
evening star; and second, the waning and waxing of the Moon and its slower movement in the sky.

The Relation between the Philippine myth and the myths of India and the Malay peninsula. To return to the Philippine version of the myth: the writer was not able to find out from which part of the archipelago this version was collected. This is a point still to be made sure. But a genetic connection of the Philippine tale with that of India and the Malay peninsula cannot be doubted, the more so because most of the tribes of the Asian mainland, mentioned above, belong to the same linguistic family.

Since it is at least probable that those Asian mainland-variants of the myth, in which the Sun and Moon are not considered as deities, are the older forms, we may consequently assume that the Philippine tale, in which Sun and Moon are deities, represents, as far as this motif is concerned, a younger version of the cycle. The conception of Sun and Moon as married deities is found also in India, viz. in the just-mentioned second version of the Munda.

The motif of the too intense heat emanating from Aräo and his progeny has its Indian parallels as already mentioned.13

The special position that Tala, the evening and morning star, has in the Philippine myth, corresponds to the role of Venus in the version of the Birhor, Savara, and Jahai-Semang.14

13) In one Santal version there is found a further development of this motif. "The Sun, who seems to be identified with the Supreme Being, having decided to destroy mankind on account of its wickedness, blazed with such a fierce heat that man and beast writhed beneath its torment" (Elwin, p. 53).

In a version of the Oraon, who are Dravida-speaking neighbors of the Munda, seven brothers appear as Suns. "Complaints went to the Moon that the world was melting from the heat of the Suns, unless she took measures to stop it." The Moon then induces the (first) Sun to eat his own brothers (Elwin, p. 53). A myth of the Batak of Sumatra is very similar to that of the Oraon (cf. Benedict, p. 47, fn. 102, citing Warnock, pp. 43-44). In a version of the Lepcha in Sikkim there are two Sun brothers (op. cit., p. 54). In a tale of the Ao Naga "the Sun grew angry because men complained of its heat and a cock had to trick it into shining again" (loc. cit.). The motif of the trick played by the cock links this tale type with another cycle which is widespread among such peoples as the Katchin, Lolo, Miao, and Thai. To this cycle belongs furthermore the shooting at the Sun by men, preceding the intervention of the cock, a motif that also occurs in the just-mentioned Lepcha version in which the toad shoots the elder Sun brother with an arrow. This motif (shooting at the Sun with an arrow) is also found in one of the Nabaloi versions (see infra), and it has its parallel among the Atayal of Formosa (Scheerer, pp. 47 f., and Norbeck, p. 9). In the genuine cycle to which the "arrow and cock motifs" belong, the opponent of the Sun is not the Moon, but Man (as in the just-mentioned Agaria myth). The writer hopes to give the details of this cycle in another paper.

14) C.W.J. van der Linden draws the writer's attention to the fact that tala must be related to Sanskrit tara which means star, shining, etc., and which is also an epithet of Rudra and Vishnu (cf. Monier-Williams, p. 370). This particular correspondence is, of course, of a special interest. However, it seems that it can hardly be alleged to determine the age of the Philippine type of this legend as such.
Other Philippine Versions. Besides the myth given in the beginning of this paper, there exist in the Philippines tales about the Sun and Moon, which lack some of the motifs of the first myth and contain others.

In a myth of Pampanga (Luzon), which Fansler considers "to be old genuine tradition, unmodified by Christianity," Sun and Moon appear as the two children of the Creator and Ruler Bathala, namely as his son Apolaqui and his daughter Mayari. Bathala loved them tenderly and was always with them. But when he had become old and feeble, he could no longer keep up with their activities. He therefore asked them to stay with him but they did not heed his wish. One day Bathala died suddenly without leaving any written will. Apolaqui wanted to rule the earth alone. His sister refused to consent to such a plan, and a bitter conflict arose between the two. "For a long time they fought with bamboo clubs. At last Mayari had one of her eyes put out. When Apolaqui saw what he had done to his sister, he felt very sorry for her, and said that they should exercise equal power on the earth, only at different times. Since that time, Apolaqui, who is now called the Sun, has ruled the earth during the day, and from his eyes we receive bright light. Mayari, who is called the Moon, rules the world at night. Her light, however, is fainter than her brother's, for she has but one eye."

The fight between Sun and Moon is also the topic of two short Pampangan cradle-songs which Fansler considers likewise as old Pampanga lore. One of them sounds:

*Ing bulan ilaning aido*
*Mitatagalan la babo*
*Pangaras da quetang cuarto*
*Nipag sundang, mipagpusto*

"The Moon and the Sun chases each other above. When they came into a room, they took their daggers from their sides and were ready to fight each other."16

In a version of the Visayan islands Sun and Moon are married, and the stars are their numerous progeny. "The Sun was very fond of his children, but whenever he tried to embrace any of them, he burned them up. This made the Moon so angry that finally she forbade him to touch them again . . . " But one day, when the Moon had gone to the spring to do some washing, the Sun again approached his children and several died from the intense heat emanating from him. The Moon, in turn, tried to strike her husband with a banana tree, but he threw sand into her face, and to this day the dark marks can be seen on the face of the Moon. "Then the Sun started to chase her . . . Sometimes he gets near that he almost catches

15) Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales*, p. 406. A Tagalog myth and a Pangasinan myth likewise explain why the Moon shines more faintly than the Sun (ibid., pp. 405 f.).
16) *Loc. cit.*
her, but she escapes, and by and by she is far ahead again.”

The version of the proto-Malayan Manobo of Mindanao is practically identical with that of the Visayas. The Sun, in his anger, throws taro leaves at the face of the Moon.

This perpetual pursuit of the Moon by the Sun with changing situations between the two is also one of the motifs of a tale of the Mandaya of Mindanao. For the rest the tale explains the existence of the stars as the result of an angry act of the Sun: the first child of the Sun and Moon was a large star which the Sun cut into many pieces,—the present stars. Another child of the couple was a gigantic crab who lives in a large hole at the bottom of the sea. The movements of his eyes cause lightning; his leaving the hole causes low tide, and his moving about great waves. Of the same temperament as his father, he sometimes tries to swallow his mother; people on earth avert the menace of such a calamity by beating gongs. The crab tale belongs to two other cycles, viz. that of the support of the earth (although this function is not clearly stated) and that of the causes of eclipses.

About the Bagobo of Mindanao Fay-Cooper Cole reports briefly that “the Sun and Mon were once married and all the stars are their children.”

The details given by Benedict show that this “widely-told story” is very similar to the Mandaya version: “Each star is one small fragment of the body of the Moon’s little daughter, whom the Sun killed at her birth and cut into small pieces, because of his bitter disappointment that the child was not a boy. He shattered the sherds by handfuls over the sky, and they became the stars.” As a consequence of their altercation over the fate of the baby, they no longer wished to journey together.

We now turn to the proto-Malayan tribes of the Mountain Province (Luzon). The Sun-Moon fight is one of the most popular myths of the Ifugao. “It is one of those that small boys and girls can repeat” and one of the legends through which children are taught “to have a tremendous reverence for the Sun and the Moon.” In order to settle their dispute as to who of

17) Mabel Cook Cole, p. 201.
19) Mabel Cook Cole, pp. 145f.; see also Fay-Cooper Cole, The Wild Tribes of Davao, p. 172, and Benedict, p. 47 with fn. 101. The motif-terms “support of the earth,” and “causes of eclipses” were taken from Elwin, pp. 509 and 508. The eclipse motif is also contained in the tale published by Hill. “Sometimes the Sun gets close enough to bite her [the Moon]. This is an eclipse.” (Hill, p. 66; see supra).
21) Benedict, pp. 46 f. Benedict gives the full story (together with “several other myths associated with natural phenomena”) in the Journal of American Folk-lore, 26:15-19, 1913. Citing Martin, Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel, p. 977, the same author refers (p. 46, fn. 99) to “a Mantra legend which represents the Sun as engaged in a perpetual attempt to destroy the star-children.”
the two was the brighter, the Sun and the Moon decided to fight it out. It is in keeping with the importance ancestors have in Itugao society\textsuperscript{22} that the people, siding with the Sun, offered different animal sacrifices to the ancestors, "beseeching them to interfere in the fight in favor of the Sun." Finally the Sun took lime (used for betel chewing) from his pouch and poured it into the eyes of the Moon, thereby blinding his rival.\textsuperscript{23}

Barton gives a somewhat different version of the Ifugao tale. Sun and Moon "get drunk and boast, after which the Sun hangs up a bag of lime over the Moon's road home and dares the Moon to poke it. Moon accepts the challenge, whereupon the lime burns out his eyes. He recovers however, and retaliates by setting a spear trap in Sun's road; the Sun walks into the trap, is struck and dies, but recovers." In another version the Moon falls into the Sun's trap.\textsuperscript{24}

The Nabaloi-Igorot have three tales about the brightness of the two heavenly bodies. According to the first, Sun and Moon were once of equal brightness. "Each in turn shined on the earth, and each in turn shined on the underworld. Therefore it was always day." But the Moon always laughed at the god Kabunian\textsuperscript{25} because he was not married. One day Kabunian in his anger "threw ashes into the face of the Moon. Now there is day and night which is better."\textsuperscript{26} The second tale likewise contains the motif of equal brightness. But in it the Moon laughs at the Sun's bachelorship, and the Sun in his anger throws fiery ashes into one of the two faces of the Moon. "The face of the Moon was burned out and became black. Therefore only one face of the Moon could shine. That face did not shine like the sunlight, because of the ashes; and the Moon would not shine nightly."\textsuperscript{27} According to the third story, the Moon was long ago brighter than the Sun, and people worked and slept according to the then prevailing situation. The Sun, however, was jealous of the Moon's brightness. He played a trick on the Moon, which resulted in the latter's face being hit by the limb of a tree. "Since then the Moon has not been bright."\textsuperscript{28} In another tale which seems to belong to a different cycle, \textit{viz.} to that of the "hierarchy of worlds"\textsuperscript{29},

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Lambrecht, pp. 359 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Sals, p. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Barton, pp. 67 f. When the writer showed the manuscript of this paper to H. Otley Beyer, he learned that the professor, about 1912, translated from Spanish into English and annotated a detailed version of this Ifugao myth, which had been originally collected by Father Juan Fernandez Villaverde, O. P. Beyer is now preparing this myth for publication.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Moss gives his views on Kabunian in \textit{Nabaloi Law and Ritual}, pp. 280 f.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Moss, \textit{Nabaloi Tales}, p. 239.
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 241.
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 239.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Motif-term taken from Thompson, p. 488.
\end{itemize}
a man of the underworld hits the Sun with an arrow.\textsuperscript{30}

With the problems of brightness, and day and night also the following tale of the \textit{Isneg}\textsuperscript{31} in the northernmost part of the Mountain Province seems to be concerned:

"The Sun and the Moon, being at odds, decided to fight it out. The Sun threw a . . . firebrand at the Moon, hence the scars in the latter’s face. The Moon threw a broom at the Sun, hence its rays, which affect the eyes as the twigs of a broom. The Sun got the upper hand, as he covers the Moon, according to the Isneg, and henceforward he walks in daytime."\textsuperscript{32}

A brief version recorded by Wilson likewise contains the elements of the quarrel, the throwing of the firebrand and of the broom respectively, the dimmer light of the Moon and the scar in its face.\textsuperscript{33}

In the mythology of the \textit{Tinguian} of the Province of Abra, Sun and Moon were created by the great spirit Kadaklan. They "chase each other over and under the earth. Sometimes the Moon almost catches the Sun, but it always gets tired and gives up before it succeeds."\textsuperscript{34} Another version contains clearly the motifs of the fight, the great heat of the Sun, and the throwing of sand into the Moon’s face by the Sun. In this version the Sun says to the Moon: "... if I give you no light, you are no good," a statement that seems to betray modern astronomical knowledge.\textsuperscript{35}

\textit{Summary of the Preceding Philippine Versions.} Of the preceding versions those of Pampanga, the Visayas, of the Manobo, Bagobo, Ifugao, Isneg, and Tinguian contain the motif of fight; and those of the Visayas, of the Manobo, Mandaya, Isneg, and Tinguian also that of the flight. The motif of the marring or darkening of the Moon’s face by the Sun occurs in the versions of the Pampanga (putting out of one of the Moon’s eyes), the Visayas (sand), the Manobo (taro leaves), Ifugao (lime), Nabaloi (ashes, one tale fiery ashes, and branch of a tree), Isneg (firebrand), and Tinguian (sand).

The existence of a cosmic order that was different from the present is reflected in the versions of Pampanga, the Ifugao, Nabaloi (in the three versions), Isneg, and perhaps also in those of the Visayas and the Tinguian

\textsuperscript{30} Moss, \textit{op. cit.} p. 233. See supra, fn. 13, last paragraph. In a myth of the \textit{Bontoc Igorot} the quarrel between the two great luminaries is connected with head-hunting. The Moon cuts off the head of the Sun’s son. The father replaces it and the boy returns to life. Then the Sun says to the Moon: "See, because you cut off my son’s head, the people of the Earth are cutting off each other’s heads, and will do so hereafter" (Jenks, p. 221). Norbeck (p. 9) sees in this tale the elements "the Moon once also a Sun" and "it was always day." The writer is of the opinion that these motifs are not contained in it.

\textsuperscript{31} Also called Apayao.

\textsuperscript{32} Vanoverbergh, p. 1012.

\textsuperscript{33} Wilson, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{34} Fay-Cooper Cole, \textit{Traditions of the Tinguian}, p. 189; \textit{cf.} p. 221.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 192; \textit{cf.} p. 223. Mabel Cook Cole, p. 65.
(Sun too hot?).

**Indian Motif-Parallels.** Looking again to India we now confine the comparison to the motifs of fight, darkening the Moon's face, and a different cosmic order.

As concerns the motif of fight, there exists, according to Elwin, in middle India a cycle of legends which explain why the Sun and Moon are always separated, although they are regarded as husband and wife. "The obvious explanation is that there has been a quarrel and this is often connected with the trick whereby the Moon made the Sun destroy his children, the stars which used to shine by day."\(^{36}\)

The motif of *darkening the Moon's face* occurs in the versions of three Assam tribes. In a tale of the *Lakher* an angry widow throws the refuse of her beer-pot into the Moon's face; before the Moon was bright and hot like the Sun. A legend of the *Khali* relates that the Moon desired to marry his sister the Sun,\(^{37}\) but in protest against the former's incestuous intention she threw hot ashes into his face (which reminds us of the fiery ashes of the Nabaloi and the firebrand of the Isneg). "Ever since then the light of the Moon has been pale, . . . and that is the reason he does not show his face in daytime."\(^{38}\) In a legend of the *Lhota Naga* the luminary which is now the Sun "*smears the face of what is now the Moon with cow-dung.*"\(^{39}\)

The *Buna* in Bengal narrate that during a quarrel the Sun flung mud at the face of his sister, the Moon.\(^{40}\)

The motif of a *different cosmic order* is combined with the motif of darkening the Moon's face as contained in the tales just mentioned. In the Buna tale it is said explicitly that "the Moon was once brighter than the Sun."\(^{41}\)

This motif is also found in the version of the Oraon. There is now one Sun against seven in the past.\(^{42}\) In a note to the legend of the Lhota Naga, Hutton remarks that in the version of the Sema Naga "a man throws cow-dung at the Sun and turns it into the Moon. In another Assam version ashes are thrown . . . In all the effect is the same. The hotter orb is turned into the cooler one."\(^{43}\) A development of this motif to a pedagogical level may be seen in a tradition of North India and the Central Provinces. In North India the Sun appears as an undutiful son, whilst his sister, the Moon,

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36) Elwin, pp. 54 f.
37) It fits into the matrilineal character of Khasi society that the Sun, the major of the two luminaries, is female.
38) Elwin, pp. 53, 55 f.
41) *Loc. cit.*
42) Elwin, p. 53.
is a dutiful daughter. The Sun would give nothing to his mother, and as a punishment "he has been doomed to burn ever since." In the tradition of the Central Provinces, the Sun, being greedy, brought nothing home for his mother from a wedding feast, whereas his sister, the Moon, did. The mother cursed her son "and said that as he had neglected to satisfy the soul of his mother, he should always burn; but as the Moon had satisfied her, she should always remain cool.  

Conclusion. These notes are meant only as preliminary remarks about a mythological cycle the comprehensive treatment of which seems to be promising. The writer is aware that some of the motifs dealt with above are widespread, and even worldwide in occurrence. On the other hand, since there exist partial cultural and linguistic relations between India and the Philippines, genetic connections are to be expected also in the field of myths, and of folktales in general.

Two more remarks may be permitted. First, among the Andaman Negritos Sun and Moon are usually considered as a married couple, and the stars are their children. It is perhaps significant that one group, the Aka-Jeru, attribute voracity to the Moon. Wilhelm Schmidt is sufficiently sure that the mythology of the North-Andamanese, to whom the Aka-Jeru belong, is influenced by an Austronesian mythology of which Philippine mythology forms part. The motif of voracity lends a special support to Schmidt's assumption, although in the myths discussed above the Moon induces the Sun to devour his children.

Second, it may be asked, although very cautiously, whether there exists

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44. Elwin, p. 54.
45. The late Dr. Fansler writes that in his unpublished manuscript collection of (Philippine) folktales there are in the group of explanatory (etiological) tales eleven stories about the Moon and three about the Sun (Philippine Folk Literature, p. 209). But Fansler's collection is apparently confined to the "major Christianized tribal" units (cf. p. 208).
46. Barton states that the myth of quarrel between Sun and Moon is "widespread in Indonesia and the Americas" (p. 39; cf. p. 67). Norbeck points out motif-parallels between the Apayao (Isneg), Nabaloi, and Bontoc (but see supra, fn. 30) on the one hand, and the (likewise proto-Malayan) Atayal in northern Formosa on the other (pp. 8 f. and 16; cf. also pp. 12 f.). As concerns America, among the Eskimo and the Indians of the Central Woodland (west and north of Lake Superior) the opposite motif is found: pursuit of the Sun sister by the Moon brother (Thompson, pp. 306, 308).

About astral mythology as such Thompson writes: "We have no assurance, nor does it even seem likely, that most primitive peoples really concern themselves much with the heavenly bodies" (p. 384; cf. p. 238, concerning western Asia and Europe; and p. 312, concerning the North American Indians). This study, although geographically limited and in itself incomplete, seems to show that parts of southern Asia and of Malaysia are one of the few exceptions which Thompson implicitly admits.
47. Schmidt, pp. 116 f.
a last remnant of this legend about the quarrel between the Sun and the Moon in a story, *The Mother Who Wants to Kill Her Children*, told among the Estonians, the Finns, and the Lapps.\(^{49}\) The question is asked, because the Finno-Ugric languages, to which Estonian, Finish, and Lapp belong, are considered as certainly related to the Munda languages.\(^{50}\) It is justifiable and inspiring to ask such a question, but the real task of the day must be the collection and presentation of all available data.

\(^{49}\) Thompson, p. 133.

\(^{50}\) *Gottheiten*, p. 62, footnote 115, where reference is made to Hevesy, “Neue finnisch-ugrische Sprachen.” Schrader states that to Hevesy belongs the merit of having proved, in a way that admits no doubt, the existence of genetic relations between the Munda and Finno-Ugric languages (review of Hevesy’s paper in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1935, cols. 637 f.).
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