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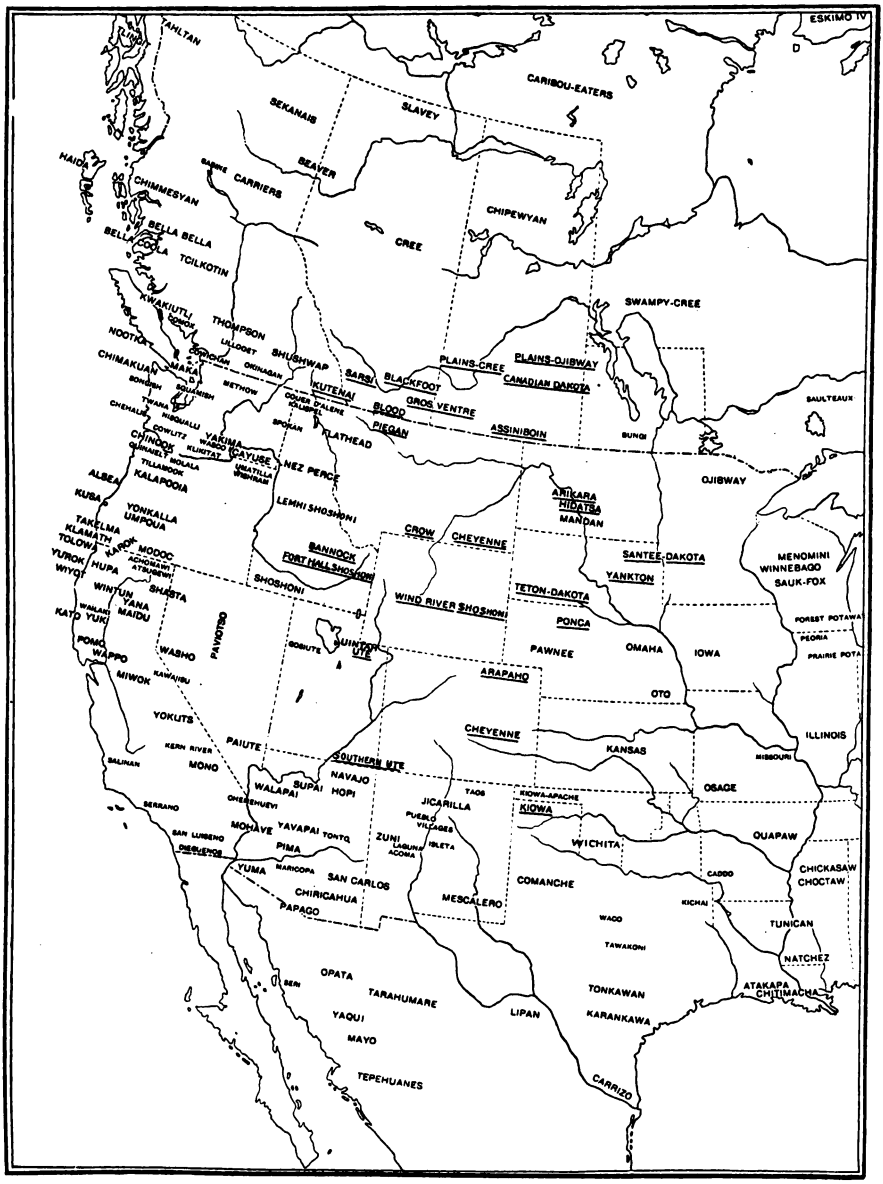

Distribution of Tribes having the Sun Dance.
(The tribes underlined have this ceremony.)

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFUSION

BY

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFUSION.

By Leslie Spier.

PREFACE.

Most Plains tribes had the sun dance: in fact, it was performed by all the typical tribes except the Comanche. Since the dance has not been held for years by some tribes, viz., Dakota, Gros Ventre, Sutaio, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow, and Kiowa, the data available for a comparative study vary widely in value.

The chief sources of information outside of this volume are the accounts by G. A. Dorsey for the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Ponca; Kroeber for the Arapaho and Gros Ventre; Curtis for the Arikara; and Lowie and Curtis for the Assiniboin. There is no published information for the Fort Hall Shoshoni, Bannock, Kutenai, or Sutaio.

So far as I am aware there has been no general discussion of the sun dance. Hutton Webster in his "Secret Societies" considers it, without giving proof, an initiation ceremony. It is the aim of the present study to reconstruct the history of the sun dance and to investigate the character of the factors that determined its development. By a discussion of the distribution of traits—regalia, behavior, ideas of organization, and explanatory myths—it will be shown that the ceremony among all the tribes has grown chiefly by intertribal borrowing. It will be demonstrated further that the center of development has been in the central Plains among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala, and that the original nucleus of sun dance rites probably received its first specific character at the hands of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, or of this couple and the Village tribes. The character of transmission has been such as to produce a greater uniformity throughout the area in the distribution of regalia and behavior than of the ideas, organizing and mythical, associated with them. The corollary of this is that tribal individuality has been expressed principally in pattern concepts of organization and motivation. Since there is no difference in the character of borrowed or invented traits which are incorporated in the sun dance and those which are rejected, it follows that the determinants must be sought in the conditions under which incorporation proceeds. It will be shown that the character of individual contributions to the ceremonial complex and the diversity in receptiveness and interest, explain in part the elaboration and individualization of the several sun dances.

I am under obligations to Dr. Clark Wissler and Dr. Robert H. Lowie, who have generously placed their abundant knowledge at my disposal.

May, 1920. LESLIE SPIER.

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Distribution of Tribes having the Sun Dance . . . . . Frontispiece

THE SUN DANCE COMPLEX.

No Plains ceremony is more popularly known than the sun dance, and with justice, since it ranks all other ceremonies that combine the spectacular with the sacred. Among the Arapaho, for example, it easily takes precedence in native esteem over the performances of the age-societies, with which it is classed, while, on the other hand, it rivals in seriousness the unwrapping of the sacred flat pipe, the tribal palladium, a proceeding which is entirely lacking in the spectacular. In fact it is everywhere considered so important for their welfare that the entire tribe is involved in its undertaking. Among some tribes, as the Cheyenne, Oglala, and Kiowa, the attendance of every able-bodied adult of the tribe is compulsory.[1]

Incidentally, "sun dance" is a misnomer, since the dance is by no means connected solely with the sun. On the contrary, it probably is concerned with it to no greater degree than is Plains religion as a whole. Its popular name is presumably derived from the Dakota *wiwanyag wacipi*, "sun-gazing dance", which is applied particularly to the torture dance.

The sun dance is found throughout the Plains area, except among the southern and the southeastern marginal tribes. It has been reported for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot, Sarsi, Kutenai,[2] Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Arikara, Hidatsa, Crow, Wind River and Fort Hall Shoshoni,[3] Bannock,[4] Uintah and Southern Ute, Oglala, Yanktonai,[5] Wahpeton[6] (including the Canadian group) and Sisseton Dakota, Arapaho, Cheyenne (both northern and southern groups), Sutaio,[7] and Kiowa.[8] Among all of these groups, except the Canadian Dakota, the sun dance is a tribal ceremony. The apparent exceptions are the Crow, where the River and Mountain divisions usually held separate ceremonies, and the Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway, where the dance may be given simultaneously by several bands; but these instances only emphasize the fact that it is the political unit which functions at this time as a ceremonial unit.

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[1]Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 247–248; Dodge, *Plains of the Great West*, 277; Fletcher, *Sun Dance of the Ogalalla* Sioux, 580; Battey, *Quaker among the Indians*, 311; Methvin, *Andele*, 59; cf. Lowie, *Kiowa Societies*, 843; this volume, p. 437.

[2]Boas, *Kutenai Tales*, 50.

[3]Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216.

[4]Communication from Dr. Edward Sapir: information from Charlie Mack, a Northern Ute, 1909.

[5]Curtis, *North American Indian*, III, 122.

[6]Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 115, 141.

[7]*Handbook of American Indians*, I, 252.

[8]We have definite information that it does not occur among Kiowa Apache (Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 253), Comanche (Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 363; cf. Mooney, 322), Wichita (not listed by Dorsey, *Wichita Mythology*), Caddo (Scott. *Notes on the Kado*, 354), Osage (Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 355), Lemhi Shoshoni (Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216), Nez Percé (Clark, 363; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, 267), Flathead (Curtis, VII, 77), and probably the Kansa, Oto, Iowa, and Missouri.

These several sun dances are not only complex in ideation and procedure, but their composite character is easily recognized, for like other widely distributed ceremonies, they have a varied content. Furthermore, many of their rites are repeated in other complex ceremonials of the same tribe, as in the Blackfoot and Arapaho women's dance, the Eastern Dakota round dance, and one of the Hidatsa Above-woman ceremonies. Some Plains tribes, which cannot be credited with the sun dance, have ceremonies closely resembling it in some respects; such as the Mandan *ōkī'pə*, the Omaha *hedewatci*, and the Pawnee four-pole ceremony. Finally, many of the rites, such as sweatbathing, smoking the pipe, etc., are quite common among all these Plains tribes and even beyond the limits of the area. These considerations suggest that the sun dance is a synthetic product.

The problem presented then is essentially historical: to trace the relations between the various sun dance ceremonies. This should provide some notion of tribal reactions to the diffusion of a ceremonial complex.

While the native views his ceremony as a unified whole, it is convenient for the present purpose to differentiate several aspects. In fact, the character of the data makes it expedient to do so. Thus, there is reasonably adequate information on the purely objective features, the procedure and its material counterpart; that concerning the methods whereby performers join the dance is much less satisfactory; while systematic data on the native theory of the dance, its symbolism and significance, is available from only a few tribes. However important the study of native theory may be for a psychological interpretation of the dance, the data on this point are not sufficiently extended for historical analysis. For this reason I deal in this paper almost exclusively with procedure and organization.

The method to be employed does not differ essentially from that followed by Dr. Lowie in his recent study of Plains age-societies. But the problem presents certain new difficulties. In making his major point, viz., that the graded systems have arisen from a congeries of ungraded societies, Dr. Lowie could operate with societies, i. e., whole complexes, as units. In such a case an insufficiency in the data for any particular society did not operate as a bar to forming historical conclusions. Conditions here are different; arguments must be based on the distribution of specific traits, and where data are missing, and there are many such lacunæ, historic conclusions cannot possibly be drawn. This is really an important consideration, because while the number of such

specific features—significant because shared by a particular group of tribes—is not small, they are relatively insignificant, and therefore likely to have been overlooked by observers. As the essentials of the ceremony are everywhere very similar—this is at least true of the procedure—we must look to these details for historical implications.

In order that the analysis which follows may be intelligible, I may sketch a generalized sun dance. The performance of the ceremony coincides very nearly with the summer buffalo hunt, on which occasion the entire tribe comes together from their separate winter quarters and camps in a great circle. The sun dance week is also the occasion for a host of minor ceremonies, many of which are considered necessary accompaniments of the dance. McClintock's account of the Blackfoot festivities, for example, clearly shows that this is the time *par excellence* for the performance of ceremonies, the opening and transfer of medicine bundles, social dances, etc. The tribe as a whole is involved in the undertaking, both by reason of its seriousness and through the participation of great numbers of people.

The sun dance is usually initiated by some man or woman in fulfilment of a vow made at a time of distress, when supernatural aid is invoked and received. It is however not so much a thanks-offering as a new occasion for supplicating supernatural power. On the formation of the camp circle, a tipi is pitched near its center in which the secret preliminary rites take place. Here the pledger and his associates are instructed in its esoteric significance by the priests conducting the ceremony, regalia are prepared, and painting and songs rehearsed. At the same time more public preliminary activities are going forward. Some tribes prepare buffalo tongues for use during the dance, while special hunters are sent out to obtain a buffalo bull hide. Other parties are engaged in gathering timbers and brush for the dance structure, which they erect at the center of the camp circle. The spectacular performance begins when the great mass of people set out to fetch the center pole for the dance lodge: they scout for a tree, count coup on it, and fell it as if it were an enemy. The pledger and priests now leave the secret tipi for the dance lodge. A bundle of brush, the buffalo bull hide, cloth, and other offerings, are tied in the forks of the center pole; the pole is raised, and the structure soon completed.

Before the serious dancing commences, warriors dance in the lodge and an altar is built there. The pledger and his associates, who deny themselves food and drink throughout this period, now begin to dance in supplication for supernatural power, steadily gazing the while at the sun

or the offerings on the center pole. This lasts intermittently for several days and nights. Their sacrifice culminates in the so-called torture feature: skewers are thrust through the flesh of breast or back; by these they are tethered to the center pole, dancing and tearing against these bonds until the flesh gives away.

PROCEDURE.

The largest body of data available for analysis and comparison comprises the purely objective phases of the dance, relating to procedure, structure, and regalia. These do not prove altogether satisfactory in indicating historic relations. In the first place there is considerable uniformity even in detail in all the dances. Then again, isolated elements, rather than complexes of which they form a part, are shared by a number of tribes. The general impression is that the ceremony has undergone a process of leveling in the course of a long and varied history. On this account, in making the following comparisons, I am forced to pass over the more general procedures and confine attention to detail. On the other hand only such features as have comparative value are considered, that is, details peculiar to a single ceremony are ignored for the present.

There are at least three types of name for the dance. "Thirsting-dance" is that of Ute, Wind River, Plains-Cree, and Plains-Ojibway, "sun-gazing-dance" that of Oglala, Sisseton, and Ponca.[1] The Gros Ventre, Arikara, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne[2] seem to refer to the lodge as a ceremonial structure: usually their names are similar to Arapaho "sacrifice or offerings-lodge". Undoubtedly somewhat different concepts are at the bottom of Hidatsa *naxpikë'*, "hide-cover", or *u^{u}xi karicta*, "Small Antelope", Sarsi *tsisdal'uwu'*, "twined?", Assiniboin *wō'tijax*, rendered "make-a-home" and said to refer to the brush "thunderbird's nest" by Curtis,[3] and Crow *acki'cirúa*, which refers to an imitation or miniature lodge. Approximate phonetic identity is found in the names of Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway, of Sisseton and Oglala,[4] and of Gros Ventre and Arapaho.[5] There is also some phonetic resemblance between Crow *acki'cirúa*, or better *ak'ō'oce*, the whistler, and Arikara *akŭchĭshhwn'ahu*,[6] and between Blackfoot *okán* and the Mandan *ōkłpə*.[7]

Tongues for later feasting are accumulated prior to the dance by the Oglala, Gros Ventre,[8] Blackfoot, Sarsi, Crow, and Wind River Shoshoni. The Assiniboin equivalent is a tribal hunt.[9] The feast is preliminary

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[1]Cf. Skinner, *Ponca Societies*, 789.
[2]Cf. Petter, *English-Cheyenne Dictionary*, 1028.
[3]Curtis, III, 128.
[4]Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 451.
[5]Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 261; *The Arapaho*, 153.
[6]Curtis, V, 76.
[7]Curtis, VI, 31.
[8]Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Ethnology*, 261.
[9]Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 55.

to the dance among Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Oglala, but takes place during the dance of Crow and Wind River. Among the Blackfoot[1] the tongue rite is an occasion for the public avowal of feminine virtue: first their preparation is a magic test, and later, as with the Sarsi, purity is again asserted when the tongues are distributed. Public assertion of the same type also occurs among Southern Cheyenne,[2] Oglala, and Arikara[3]; so that the Blackfoot and Sarsi have clearly coupled two disparate concepts.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Name																			
"Thirsting-dance"		×	×													×	×		
"Sun-gazing-dance"											×	×						×	
Ceremonial structure							×	×		×			×						
Tongues and Virtue																			
Tongues accumulated			×	×	×	×	×				×				?				
Tongue feast			×	×	×	×					×								
Avowal of virtue					×	×				×	×		×						
Buffalo hunt																			
Hunt	×		×	×	×		×	×					×						
Single shot	×			×			×	×					×						
Whole skin				×	×		×	×											
Back strip	×		×										×						
Thong cutting					×	×	×												
Preliminary tipi																			
Enlarged					×		×								×	×		×	
Boughs					×			×			×								
Altar					×			×		×	×	×			×				
Drumming on hide					×		×	×							×				

Another preliminary series of activities is to obtain a buffalo hide which is later hung on the center pole. A special hunt is made by Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot,[4] Gros Ventre, Arikara, Arapaho, and Kiowa, and in each case, except Wind River and Blackfoot the animal must be

[1]Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, 445, 447.
[2]Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 158.
[3]Curtis, V, 79. Such public avowal forms the core of several Arikara ceremonies (Clark, 45; Brackenridge, 168) and also Oglala (Wissler, *Oglala Societies*, 76; Beckwith, *Notes on the Customs of the Dakotahs*, 251.)
[4]Curtis, VI, 50, but compare this volume, 254.

killed with a single shot. There are four hunters among the Wind River, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventre, two or four among Crow, one or two among Kiowa, and three among Arapaho. The returning Crow hunters are met by scouts, the Arikara hunters by priest and dancers. The whole skin of the animal is secured by Crow (who obtain two), Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho, while only a portion, comprising head, a strip down the back, and tail, are taken by Kiowa, Wind River, and Arikara. The Hidatsa also make use of such a strip, but a special hunt for it has not been noted. In most cases this skin is later placed in the forks of the center pole. The exceptions are Blackfoot and Gros Ventre, who cut the hide into thongs with which the dance lodge is tied. The Sarsi do the same, although the special hunt is not noted for them.

The activities in the preliminary tipi are essentially for preparing dance regalia, rehearsals, etc. The tipi is sometimes (Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Sisseton) a temporarily enlarged structure of joined tipi covers. It is uniformly placed within the camp circle and is sometimes further distinguished by boughs placed around it (Blackfoot,[1] Oglala, Arapaho). It is possible that the tipi rites occur on four nights, or at four stages, among Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Oglala, and Assiniboin; but this is not clear.[2] An altar, usually an excavated or cleared area, is built in the tipi by Blackfoot, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, and Assiniboin. Drumming on a hide occurs in the tipi among Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Assiniboin.[3]

In every sun dance a forked tree is set up as the center pole of the dance lodge. The Crow, of course, form an exception as they have no center pole, but nevertheless they carry out a performance on one of their tipi poles similar to that of other tribes in connection with the center pole. The tree is scouted for, as though an enemy, in every tribe except Blackfoot, Northern Cheyenne, Plains-Ojibway, and Canadian Dakota. The returning scouts are received as enemies by Arapaho, Oglala,[4] Ponca, and Plains-Cree, while a less martial reception is given them by Arikara, Gros Ventre, and Wind River, the details among the last two being quite similar. Sham battles also center around the tree:

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[1]McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 202.

[2]Cf. remarks by Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 303.

[3]This also occurs later in the dance lodge of the same tribes and Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Hidatsa, and Kiowa as well. It is a frequent practice outside of the sun dance, being associated with a war party among Nez Percé (Spinden, 256), Wind River, Comanche, (Lowie, *Shoshoni Societies*, 811, 820), Lemhi Shoshoni (Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 194), Kiowa (Lowie, *Kiowa Societies*, 851; Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 312), Pawnee (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 597), Crow (Lowie, *Crow Social Life*, 236, 237, 244), Blackfoot (McClintock, 243), and also in ceremonies of Crow, Blackfoot (Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 190, 206; *Blackfoot Societies*, 373, 376, 379, 432), and Arikara (Curtis, V, 75).

[4]Wissler, ms. *Field Notes on the Dakota Indians*, 178.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Center Pole Activities																			
Scouting	×	×	×	×			×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	
Returning scouts met			×				×	×			×	×	×			×			
Sham battle	×	×	×					×			×		×						
Leader			×	×				×			×		×	×	×				
Riding double	×			×										×	×	×			
Men tree-fellers		×	×	?	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Woman tree-feller	×	?		×				×			×		×						
Counting coup		×	×	×	×		×	×							×	×			
Shouting	×								×	?	×	?	×	×				×	
Stripping twigs					×		×	×			×				×				
Race											×	×		×					
Center Pole Decorated																			
Brush bundle	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×		
Called "nest"				×	?	×	×	×	×	×		×	×		×	×	×		
Buffalo skin	×		×	×				×			×		×	×	×			×	×
Rawhide images										×	×							×	
Cloth	×		×		×	×	?	×		×	×	×			×	×			?
Digging-stick	×				×	×		×		×									
Center pole painted		×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×							
Lodge poles painted							×	×	×	×									
Center Pole Raised																			
Coupled tipi poles			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				×	×	×			
Feints		×	×	×			×	×		×	×								
Magic or prayer					×		×	×		×				×		×			
Mounting pole				×	×					×			×			×			
Speed				?	×		×	×		×									
Dance Lodge																			
Roofed	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×				×		×			
Semi-roofed											×	×							?
Tipi				×															
East entrance	×	×			×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×						
Altar																			
Buffalo skull	×			×			×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×		?
Excavation					×	×		×	×	×	×	×			×	×			
Screen	×		×		×	×	×	×		×			×		×	×			

a party impersonates the enemy before the tree is felled by Kiowa, Ute, Oglala, and Arikara; it is fought over on the dance site by Arapaho, Ute, and Wind River. The last claim to have substituted this second fight for that which formerly took place in the standing timber.

With the exception of Plains-Ojibway and Canadian Dakota, the center tree is felled with some ceremony. Among a number of tribes (Kiowa, Wind River, Crow, Arapaho, Oglala, Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin) some principal in the dance, director or pledger, accompanies the tree-gathering party. At this time young men and women ride double: a trait shared by Kiowa, Crow, Hidatsa, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree. The tree is everywhere felled by specially qualified persons. This party includes one or more men if we assume the Crow berdache their analogue. Some tribes add women tree choppers (Kiowa, Crow, Arapaho, Oglala, Arikara): among Crow and Arikara one must be chaste, the other a captive. The Kiowa woman is a captive and perhaps also virtuous.[1] An equivalent appears in the Ute practice of bestowing public recognition on a returned captive woman when the pole is brought to the dance site. The tree is identified with an enemy; the cutting is often accompanied by the recital of martial deeds, and finally, as the tree topples, the bystanders rush in to count coup and shoot at it (Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree), or simply greet its fall with a shout (Northern and perhaps Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, Oglala, Sisseton, Arikara). The Ute and Wind River practice is of the first type, although it takes place after the logs have been cut and collected. The Hidatsa merely shout when they cut the drift log: the charge on the tree seems to be the equivalent of the Oglala and Ponca race referred to below. The Ponca recite martial deeds and count coup on the standing tree: this may be an action of the first type. When the tree has fallen, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Oglala,[2] and Assiniboin men or women rush in to strip off twigs or leaves as trophies or symbols of luck.

The center pole is carried with some ceremony to the partially completed dance lodge. Kiowa, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Hidatsa, and Sisseton advance with it by the characteristic four stages punctuated by prayer. At this juncture the Oglala, Hidatsa, and Ponca have a race, the winners of which are entitled to coup privileges. The Oglala race to the as yet unoccupied site of the center pole. The Ponca and Hidatsa rites are similar: men race to the center pole as it rests in a temporary position and immediately after carry it by four stages to its proper place.

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[1]Scott, 261.
[2]The Teton take the bark too (Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 116).

Before the pole is raised various objects are fastened in its fork. A bundle of brush is almost invariably placed there, although not specified for Ute, Hidatsa, Sisseton, and Canadian Dakota (see below). It is called a "nest" by Sarsi, Gros Ventre, and Assiniboin, an "eagle's nest" by Crow and Arikara, and a "thunderbird's nest" by Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Ponca, Plains-Cree, and Plains-Ojibway. In the case of the Blackfoot the symbolism is open to question: McClintock's informants also called it an "eagle's nest,"[1] but Wissler's and Curtis's authorities not only denied all symbolism, but provided the latter with the rationalistic explanation that its sole purpose was to prevent the rafters splitting the fork.[2]

A special hunt for a buffalo skin was referred to above. This is hung in the fork with the brush bundle (occasionally the Canadian Dakota follow this custom), although Blackfoot and Gros Ventre, like the Sarsi, dispose of it as thongs to tie the dance lodge beams. The Crow use two such hides in forming the "nest". The Hidatsa, like Arikara and Wind River, hang up a strip of buffalo skin head, back, and tail, the head of which is prepared to resemble that of a living animal. The Kiowa skin was hung covering the brush bundle so as to form a rude image of a buffalo.[3] Occasionally the Oglala also covered the brush with an entire skin,[4] and the same idea is at the bottom of the statement that among the Assiniboin the bundle is "tied with a skin".[5] The Sisseton usage contains, to my mind, the explanation for this custom. Here an entire calfskin is stuffed to represent a buffalo and placed in the fork. It may be that we have in skin and bundle a disintegrated image, or that the two used together finally coalesced in an image: the latter seems more probable. At any rate this would explain the absence of the bundle, as a separate feature, among the Sisseton, for there it appears at the stuffing of the image, as well as the lack of the "nest" symbolism among the Kiowa. The history of this image may be more complicated, since a miniature rawhide image of a buffalo is used in its place by the Southern Cheyenne, by the Oglala by preference, and on occasion by the Sisseton. The first two place a similar rawhide image of a man with it.[6] These images are without doubt historically related to that used in the Eastern Dakota round dance: a birchbark figure representing an eagle or the

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[1]McClintock, 310.
[2]P. 254; Curtis, VI, 51.
[3]Battey, 170.
[4]Curtis, III, 94.
[5]Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 61.
[6]Compare similar human images hung from the wrists of Ponca dancers (Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance*, 84) and those used in a Pawnee ceremony (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 602.)

thunder which is hung from the center pole, shot down, and destroyed in a manner similar to the Oglala sun dance custom.[1] The Cheyenne claim that they formerly suspended a live captive from the center pole. This is corroborated by a Gros Ventre tale in which Cheyenne are represented as tying a captive boy at the fork of the pole with his arms drawn back around the tree. The Crow tell a similar tale referring to the Sioux, but the word "Sioux" in Crow parlance may mean any enemy.[2] In this case the substitution of image for captive is clear: it suggests that the rawhide buffalo image was similarly substituted for the built-up image of Sisseton type.[3]

Offerings of cloth are the only other objects placed in the forks that have wide distribution (Kiowa, Wind River, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, and possibly Gros Ventre and Canadian Dakota). This does not appear to have particular significance, but is one of a series of offerings—food, cloth, clothing, etc., hung on the lodge or transmitted to the powers above through it. Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne thrust a digging-stick through the bundle of brush. That of the Arapaho impales a lump of fat, but this is held in place by an arrow in the Cheyenne, and a precisely similar object is tied in the brush bundle by the Teton.[4] This probably originated in the Blackfoot digging-stick connected with the natoas bundle, where the stick has at least some reasonable significance, and the same source probably accounts for the digging-stick or cane of the Sarsi and for the image-stick of the Kiowa.[5]

The center pole is further decorated before it is erected. Encircling bands of black and red paint are drawn by Ute, Wind River, Blackfoot, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and Ponca.[6] The Crow paint either a black or red band on their first tipi pole before it is felled. The Oglala, Gros Ventre, and Northern Cheyenne also paint the pole, but at least in the Oglala case in a different style. At the same time Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and both Cheyenne groups paint other lodge poles. Further, incised decoration is used by Gros Ventre and Assiniboin, and painting of a similar style by the Plains-Cree (p. 303).

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[1]Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 126–128.

[2]Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, 123–124; Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians*, 240, 242. The same story is told by the Arapaho without reference to either a suspended captive or the sun dance, *vide* Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, 261.

[3]This custom of suspending a captive does not bear much resemblance to the Pawnee sacrifice of a captive girl to the Morningstar.

[4]Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 118.

[5]Scott, 350; Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 241.

[6]Compare the painting of the Omaha *hédewatci* pole (Fletcher and La Flesche, 254).

When these preliminaries are completed the center pole is raised. Ponca and Kiowa effect this result without further ado. Customarily the pole is lifted into place with the aid of coupled tipi poles, often with ritualistic procedure (Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Northern and Southern Cheyenne). Three feints are made to lift the pole prior to a successful fourth trial by Ute, Wind River, Crow, Gros Ventre, Oglala, Arapaho,[1] and Southern Cheyenne. This is a more widespread procedure than its supposed erection by magic: the Southern Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho participants motion the pole to rise with sacred pole and wheel, and the Blackfoot sacred women "steer" the rising pole with their robes. To the same category belongs the recital of prayer by Plains-Cree and Hidatsa: perhaps this is more general than noted. Presumably the mounting of the rising pole by an eagle imitator has the same notions always at bottom, that of the Crow bird man who flaps his arms like wings and so "raises" the poles. The Plains-Cree have a close parallel to the Crow practice, while Blackfoot[2] and Arikara also stand on the pole and flap their arms. The Southern Cheyenne crier and lodge-maker merely step on the pole.

When the pole is in place the dance lodge can be completed: this is done with speed—a specific procedure—by Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne, to which there is a Crow equivalent.

There are three types of dance lodge: the roofed type of the Arapaho, the semi-roofed structure of the Oglala, and the tipi of the Crow. The roofed structure is used by Kiowa, Ute, Wind River, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Hidatsa, and Plains-Cree. The semi-roofed type is used by Oglala and Ponca, although the Ponca structure is little more than an encircling wall of boughs. The Assiniboin build a structure of poles and brush, but there is no information as to which of these two styles is used. The Crow alone use a tipi structure of poles, partly covered with brush or hides for protection. The Canadian Dakota do not build a dance lodge, the nearest approach being two concentric circles of leaves and feathers which mark out a dance enclosure on the ground.

The entrance to the dance lodge is usually on the east side, but that of the Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, and Hidatsa opens to the south.[3] While the Plains-Cree have two entrances, it is clear that the northern

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[1]Seven trials among the northern Arapaho (Kroeber, 289).
[2]Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 247.
[3]Walker (p. 103 above) states that the Oglala entrance faces south, but J. O. Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, Pl. XLV). Fletcher (*Ogalalla Sun Dance*, 583) and Wissler (ms., 177) give east as its direction.

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door is for the use of dancers alone since it leads directly to the dance booths.[1]

Auxiliary parts of the dance lodge include altars, screens, and dancing booths. Most tribes (Ute, Wind River, Arikara, and Sisseton may be exceptions) have an altar, that is, a formally arranged group of sacred objects, on the side of the dance lodge opposite its entrance (corresponding to the place of honor in the tipi). It consists of one or more prepared buffalo skulls (the Blackfoot providing the only exception), usually placed near an excavated or cleared area decorated with a formal arrangement of brush, etc.

An excavated or cleared area forms the center of the altar among Blackfoot, Sarsi, Arapaho, Northern and Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree. That of the Assiniboin is the simplest, a rectangular area with a buffalo skull.[2] The Ponca have a round area bordered with an arc of sage on which the skull rests.[3] That of the Oglala is similar: an oval area, according to Fletcher, before which the skull is laid on the cut-out sod, or a half-moon area on which the skulls stand according to Dorsey.[4] The altars of Arapaho and both Cheyenne groups are the most elaborate and are nearly identical. The Blackfoot and Sarsi altars are probably related to this type, particularly that of Southern Cheyenne, since the screen of boughs forms a booth in all three. Further evidence lies in the fact that the principal dancer dances in the altar only in these four tribes.[5]

The altars of other tribes are simpler. The Plains-Ojibway, like the Plains-Cree, plant hooked sticks before the skull. Kiowa and Hidatsa build two crater-like pits or mounds to contain the incense-smudges:[6] those of the Hidatsa suggest the brush decorated sods of the Arapaho altar.

The central object of Crow and Kiowa altars is the medicine doll supported on a staff and set against a tree or screen. Minor dolls and other medicine objects may be grouped about the Kiowa image. In addition, there is evidence of their common origin in their similar appearance, their duplication in similar dolls in the same tribe, and their uses outside of the sun dance; for they are essentially war medicines to which supplication is made for aid and they might even be carried on the

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[1]Paget, *People of the Plains*, 34.
[2]Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 61.
[3]Dorsey, 77.
[4]Fletcher, *Ogalalla Sun Dance*, 583; Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 460. The area is square according to Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 122.
[5]Blackfoot sun dance songs reminded Mr. James Murie of certain Cheyenne songs (Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 272).
[6]Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 127, 128.

warpath. Beside this internal evidence, the Kiowa state that two of their images were obtained from the Crow and a third from the Blackfoot.[1] The doll in the Blackfoot natoas headdress was probably copied from the Crow. The two specimens in the Museum (50–6166a, 50–5718) resemble the Crow and Kiowa: for example, like the Crow, the stuffing is tobacco seed (p. 245), while the ancient Kiowa image had a tobacco stalk for a headdress. Further, the doll has no logical connection with the rest of the natoas bundle. The Sarsi hat is the equivalent of that of the Blackfoot medicine woman.

Pipes are a formal element in the altars only of Southern Cheyenne, Oglala,[2] Ponca, Plains-Ojibway, Canadian Sioux and possibly Plains-Cree, but the ceremonial use of a pipe is so general that this may not be a specific trait. Screens behind which the dancers may retire form a background to the altar in Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Assiniboin, and Plains-Cree lodges, and occupy a similar position in those of Sarsi, Wind River, and Arikara. It is reasonable to assume that the bower built over the altar by Southern Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Sarsi is simply this screen extending around three sides of the altar.

The preliminary tipi is abandoned and the participants proceed ceremoniously to the dance lodge before the altar is constructed. The procession is an occasion for blessing spectators, particularly children, among Blackfoot,[3] Cheyenne, and Oglala. Since this is really one of the preliminary tipi activities, a similar Arapaho custom occurring at the tipi is probably an equivalent.

Before the votaries occupy the dance lodge, a preliminary dance with war mimicry is held in it by Kiowa, Crow, Arapaho, both Cheyenne groups, Oglala, and Hidatsa. Possibly this dance had its inception in the Oglala practice of dancing until all uneven spots in the dance ground are leveled (p. 110). At the beginning of the dance proper the Southern Cheyenne designate chiefs,—there is a somewhat similar ceremony among the Kiowa, while the Arapaho do so at a later stage.

The sun dance dance step is invariable among all the tribes: the line of dancers remains in one place while they rise on their toes with a springing motion, all the while piping on whistles held in the mouth. Among Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Sarsi the leader dances in or over the altar excavation. The Crow pledger's dance on a bed of white clay (pp. 42, 45) is somewhat comparable to that of the

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[1]Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 239–242; Scott, 348.
[2]Fletcher, *Ogalalla Sun Dance*, 583; Bourke, in Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 464.
[3]McClintock, 305.

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian Dakota
Procession																			
Blessing					×			×	×	×	×								
Dance																			
Preliminary dance	×			×				×	×	×	×			×					
Chiefs designated	×							×		×									
Dance in altar				?	×	×		×		×									
Sun gazing											×	×						×	
Sunrise dance		?	×					×	×	×	×	×						×	
Sustained by pole		×	×				×	×							×	×	×	×	
Dancing out								×		×									
Circling										×			×	×					
Fanning	×									×			×						
Torture				×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Pledger tortured											×	×							×
Tethering to posts				×			×				×								
Objects suspended				×	×		×			×	×	×	×	×		×	×		×
Animals led							×				×	×		×		×			
Flesh sacrifices				×	×	×				×	×	×	×	×	×	×			
Drumming on hide	×				×		×	×		×	×			×					
Sham battle				×	×														
Warrior's fire			×	×	×		×	×		×						×			
Ears pierced								×		×	×								
Wife surrender								×	×	×				?					
License								×			×								
Food offerings								×	×	×		×							
Children's clothing	×		?			?	×	×											
Blessing spectators					×										?	×			
Prayer for principals		×	×															?	
Prepared drink	×		?					×		×		?							
Vomiting induced			?					×		×									
Regalia																			
Feather	×	×		×			×	×		×	×	×		×					
Wreath	×				×	×	×	×		×	×								
Jackrabbit headdress	×													×					
Sage bands	×				×	×	×	×		×									
Finger plume		×		×	×														
Sage in belt	×							×		×									
White paint	×		×	×		×		×	×	×				×					
Successive paints			×					×	×	×		×							

Blackfoot and Sarsi principal dancer. The dancers fix their gaze on some object of veneration on the altar or the center pole, or, as among the Oglala, Ponca, and Sisseton (?), on the sun: a practice which has given its popular name to the sun dance. Gazing at the sun is not prominent among other tribes, but a dance toward the rising sun is fairly common (Ute?, Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, and Sisseton.)

During the dance some lean against the center pole and cry in supplication (Arapaho, Plains-Cree, Sisseton) and thereby alleviate their thirst (Ute, Wind River), while shamans even produce water from it for the dancers (Gros Ventre, Assiniboin of Montana,[1] and Plains-Ojibway). The close of the dance presents some interesting parallels. The Arapaho dance out of the lodge after three feints. The Arikara dancers join hands and race around the center pole until exhausted, while the priest waves his fan about. The Southern Cheyenne perform first the Arapaho type of dance, then that of the Arikara. The Hidatsa leave the lodge and run in a circle until exhausted.[2] This culminating circling clearly finds its analogue in the Mandan *ōkī'pə*[3] and the fanning in the Kiowa "killing".

The most widely known feature of the sun dance is the so-called "torture". It is, of course, not torture but one of a series of acts of self-mortification performed by the votaries: fasting, thirsting, continuous staring, dancing without cessation, scarification, severing flesh, fingers, etc. It is lacking entirely among Kiowa, Ute, and Wind River. Only the Oglala, Canadian Sioux, and Ponca torture the principal dancer. Among the Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Sisseton, and possibly Sarsi, some of the other dancers may specially vow to torture themselves. Other individuals enter the dance only for this performance among Crow, Blackfoot, and Southern Cheyenne. The forms of torture vary somewhat, but I am not sure that this is significant of anything other than the extent to which some tribes carry the rite. The common mode is tethering or suspending the dancers from the center pole (not noted for Arikara); but in addition, Crow, Gros Ventre, and Oglala tie them to auxiliary posts. In most tribes skulls, shields, or other heavy objects are hung from incisions in the flesh, and horses and dogs are led about by Gros Ventre, Oglala, Ponca,[4] Hidatsa, and Plains-Cree. Sacrifice of fingers and flesh is, like scarification, undoubtedly a common practice, but it is noted only for

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[1]Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, 205. A similar shamanistic trick is recorded for the Ojibway of Lac du Flambeau.
[2]Maximilian, II, 377.
[3]Ibid., 332; Catlin, 29; Curtis, V, 36-37.
[4]Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 378, 462.

Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca,[1] Arikara, Hidatsa, Assiniboin,[2] and Plains-Cree. Oglala, Ponca, and Sarsi bury the bits of flesh at the foot of the center pole.

Other incidents in the dance have comparative interest. Such is drumming on a hide preliminary to the entrance of the votaries and later during the dance: a trait shared by Kiowa, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, and Hidatsa. War mimicry is fairly common but only Crow and Blackfoot have a sham fight at this time.[3] A fire being often built in the lodge, it becomes the function of warriors of certain tribes (Wind River, Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Crow) to feed it a stick for each coup they can recount: the most esteemed warrior among Blackfoot, and possibly Gros Ventre and Wind River, is he who builds the fire high enough to scorch a buffalo tail hanging from the center pole.[4] Children's ears are pierced during the dance by Southern Cheyenne, Oglala, and Arapaho who learned the custom from the Cheyenne.[5]

The pledger's wife is surrendered to his ceremonial grandfather during the preliminary activities and the dance proper by the Arapaho, Southern and possibly Northern Cheyenne.[6] There is probably a Hidatsa equivalent (p. 417). While the ordinary restraints may not be enforced during this period of festivity, a definite time when sexual license is permitted occurs among only two tribes: Oglala, at the preliminary dance, and Arapaho, on the night of torture.[7]

People and materials are blessed during the dance. Portions of food are offered to the powers represented by the dance lodge by Arapaho and Cheyenne, with a cognate custom among the Ponca.[8] Children's clothing is hung on the lodge as a sacrifice at the conclusion of the ceremony by Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and possibly Sarsi and Wind River Shoshoni. The dance directors among Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, and possibly Assiniboin pray over such spectators as wish it; while at the conclusion of the dance Ute, Wind River, and probably Sisseton dancers call upon old men to pray for them.

At the close of the dance Kiowa, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Ponca and Wind River, prepare a drink with which the dancers

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[1]Dorsey, 82; Skinner, *Ponca Societies*, 801.
[2]Curtis, III, 128, 129.
[3]Clark, 72.
[4]Compare the tail suspended by the Sarsi (p. 279).
[5]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 180.
[6]Curtis, VI, 125, 128.
[7]There is a corresponding feature in the *wabano* ceremonies among the Ojibway (Tanner, 135).
[8]Dorsey, 82.

end their period of abstention; and some of the dancers (Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and possibly Wind River) thereupon induce vomiting.[1]

The regalia of the dancers are quite uniform in all tribes, and within each tribe there is little variation among them, although personal medicines bring about some differences. Where we have information it appears that the dancers wear kilts and dance barefoot,[2] holding eagle bone whistles in their mouths.[3] The headdress is a feather for Crow, Ponca, Ute, Hidatsa and Kiowa principals; a sage wreath for the Blackfoot weather dancers, the Sarsi torture dancers, and perhaps the Kiowa associates while Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and Oglala may wear either. The Kiowa principals and the Hidatsa pledger wear jackrabbit headdresses. Wrist and ankle bands are worn by all tribes: those of Kiowa, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Southern Cheyenne are made of sage. A plume is hung from the little finger of each hand by Ute, Crow, and Blackfoot.[4] Sage is worn in the belt by Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and the Kiowa associates. Body paints show more individuality. White is generally the ground color, being used by all the dancers—except the pledgers in some cases—or as the first paint where there are a series, by the Kiowa, Wind River, Crow, Sarsi, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hidatsa.[5] Successive paints are used by Wind River, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Ponca. Yellow is the second paint in these cases as well as that of the Kiowa image keeper and sometimes the associates and shield owners and the Plains-Cree dancers. The pledger is usually painted differently from the common dancers. Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne details are alike; Ponca less so. The uniformity in each group of Ponca and Southern Cheyenne dancers is noteworthy.

In considering the significance of these analogies we must not lose sight of the fact that there is everywhere in the Plains a marked uniformity in the fundamental elements of the dance. Such features have been ignored above in favor of those which would provide evidence of direct historic contact. The more widely diffused features may well be summarized here.

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[1]This may be connected with a similar custom of Southeastern and Southwestern peoples (see Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi*, 131).

[2]Except the Blackfoot.

[3]Plains-Cree substitute goose bone; Plains-Ojibway the same or swan bone.

[4]Clark, 72.

[5]Oglala use red according to Curtis (III, 95) and Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, 460), but Bushotter's drawings show white, yellow, and blue (green?) as well.

The ceremony is begun in response to a vow, or dream. There is usually a period of preparation and ceremonial purification for the pledge prior to the dance. At the dance camp, a preliminary lodge is set up for preparation and rehearsal. Scouts are sent out to locate a tree for the center pole; the men dispatched to fell it treat it as an enemy. Meanwhile the dance lodge is informally built facing east. A bundle of brush and other objects is fixed in the fork of the center pole and it is formally raised at the center of the dance lodge. In the lodge an altar, including a buffalo skull, is built opposite the entrance. The participants enter the lodge in formal procession. Here the dancers usually stand in line, dancing in place with a characteristic step, piping on their whistles, and gazing fixedly at some objects. During this time they fast and abstain from water. They are barefoot, are painted white, and wear kilts, wristlets and anklets, and whistles about the neck. Those who have specially vowed perform the self-torture dance, usually tethered to the center pole.

Most of these features occur among nearly all tribes. Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala dances contain all of them, but a few are missing in the Wind River, Crow, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Arikara, Hidatsa, and Ponca, more are lacking for Kiowa, Plains-Cree, and Sisseton, and the greatest number, but none of the essentials, among Ute, Plains-Ojibway, and Canadian Dakota. Thus there is a marked uniformity in the more obvious objective features throughout the area and at the same time a somewhat greater development of them among the central group, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala.

If now we return to the less essential points brought out in the analogies detailed above, it is apparent that a similar condition exists. There are few features in any sun dance which are not shared by the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and to a lesser extent, by the Oglala.

For convenience in indicating this point I have tabulated the number of traits shared by each tribe with every other. This is based on the distribution tables given above; consequently, one must clearly recognize, in interpreting it, that complexes, such as the buffalo hunt, are given no more weight than such minor traits as the finger plume. Nevertheless, accepting the simple enumeration of traits, it is clear that in nearly every case traits are shared more often with Arapaho, Cheyenne or Oglala than with any other tribe. The special correspondence of Assiniboin and Plains-Cree with Blackfoot and Gros Ventre presents only a slight deviation, since there is an equal number of traits shared with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. It can hardly be maintained that the

ranking of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala, in the table is due to the comparative completeness of their records, for the Blackfoot, Ponca, and Plains-Cree are at least as well known, and others do not fall far short. No more striking example of difference in reporting could be found than between the single inadequate account of the Gros Ventre and the half dozen representing the Blackfoot ceremony, yet both score

NUMBER OF COMMON TRAITS

	Kiowa	Ute	Wind River Shoshoni	Crow	Blackfoot	Sarsi	Gros Ventre	Arapaho	Northern Cheyenne	Southern Cheyenne	Oglala	Ponca	Arikara	Hidatsa	Assiniboin	Plains-Cree	Plains-Ojibway	Sisseton	Canadian-Dakota
Kiowa		6	12	11	10	10	14	23	6	19	13	8	12	11	7	7	2	3	3
Ute	6		10	7	5	2	8	11	3	7	8	5	4	3	3	5	2	4	0
Wind River Shoshoni	12	10		15	13	9	17	24	9	16	14	10	11	8	12	13	5	7	4
Crow	11	7	15		19	9	19	22	8	18	17	10	13	12	12	12	6	4	5
Blackfoot	10	5	13	19		18	26	27	8	25	18	11	11	9	17	18	5	3	4
Sarsi	10	2	9	9	18		13	15	6	16	10	7	7	5	9	9	3	1	2
Gros Ventre	14	8	17	19	26	13		32	8	23	18	13	12	11	15	18	7	5	5
Arapaho	23	11	24	22	27	15	32		16	39	27	17	15	14	17	16	6	6	5
Northern Cheyenne	6	3	9	8	8	6	8	16		17	9	11	4	8	6	7	4	3	2
Southern Cheyenne	19	7	16	18	25	16	23	39	17		23	19	15	16	12	16	6	6	5
Oglala	13	8	14	17	18	10	18	27	9	23		22	14	14	13	11	5	9	8
Ponca	8	5	10	10	11	7	13	17	11	19	22		11	9	10	12	6	7	7
Arikara	12	4	11	13	11	7	12	15	4	15	14	11		9	9	10	5	5	4
Hidatsa	11	3	8	12	9	5	11	14	8	16	14	9	9		9	11	4	5	5
Assiniboin	7	3	12	12	17	9	15	17	6	12	13	10	9	9		16	6	6	5
Plains-Cree	7	5	13	12	18	9	18	16	7	16	11	12	10	11	16		8	5	5
Plains-Ojibway	2	2	5	6	5	3	7	6	4	6	5	6	5	4	6	8		3	4
Sisseton	3	4	7	4	3	1	5	6	3	6	9	7	5	5	6	5	3		3
Canadian Dakota	3	0	4	5	4	2	5	5	2	5	8	7	4	5	5	5	4	3	

alike in coincidences with the three central tribes. Where information is inadequate, the point becomes obvious. Thus, Curtis's abbreviated Northern Cheyenne account furnishes only a fraction of the correspondences that might be expected if the account was as full as that for their southern congeners. The same is true of the Sarsi: their account is so nearly identical to that of the Blackfoot so far as it goes that, with a

complete record, one might expect as full a correspondence with other tribes. But the inadequacy of data accounts for the difference between Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway only in part, for, while the data for the former are more complete, there is a real difference in the richness of detail. The more significant answer to such an objection lies, of course, in the systematic character of the coincidences. The tribes have been arranged in the table in as near an approximation to geographic position as a rectilinear arrangement will permit: The scores agree in a highly suggestive manner, being more frequent for tribes in proximity to the central group and decreasing as we approach the borders of the Plains.

Inasmuch as the majority of traits are shared with the central group, their sun dances are given an appearance of complexity or elaborateness in contrast with other tribes. Why they should share a particular trait with one or another group of tribes becomes in each case a problem in local differentiation and diffusion. Among these minor activities, a typical alignment of tribes is shown in the actions at the fall of the tree; the northern and western tribes count coup, the Village and eastern tribes greet it with a shout, and of the central group, the Arapaho fall in with the first, the Cheyenne and Oglala with the second. Similarly in the dance lodge proceedings, the central group participates with others in various unrelated activities, such as the blessings during the procession to the lodge with the Blackfoot, a preliminary dance with Crow, Hidatsa, and Kiowa, and successive paints with Ponca and Wind River. Other traits they share among themselves, as, the ceremonial wife surrender, offerings of food, and piercing children's ears.

The whole range of minor traits shows the same type of diffusion, widespread and yet somewhat random. But no matter what group of tribes shares a particular trait, we find almost invariably that some member of the central group, usually the Arapaho, shares it as well. It is significant that these minor traits are, for the most part, elaborations of the fundamental procedures which we found fairly uniform among all the tribes. Two equally plausible reasons might be advanced to account for these conditions: either these minor rites were diffused from different parts of the Plains or from the central group.

This does not imply that there is no tribal individuality nor that resemblances are always to the central group. Tribal individuality in the objective phases of the ceremony is considerable, but it lies principally in modification of the specific character of the regular procedure. To be sure, we do find a fundamental divergence from type in the two sets of principal actors in the Blackfoot dance. Further differences

come from the incorporation of unrelated complexes, such as the Kiowa buffalo imitators, and the Cheyenne Crazy Medicine dance[1] and Sacred Hat ceremony.[2] Nevertheless the uniformity in the objective features—which are the only features we are concerned with here—is impressive. Resemblances in detail that occur more or less systematically are noteworthy: Plains-Ojibway with Plains-Cree, Wind River with Southern Ute, and both pairs with Gros Ventre; Wind River and Ponca with Arapaho; Arapaho with Cheyenne; Oglala with Cheyenne and Ponca; Blackfoot with Arapaho and Cheyenne; Arikara and Hidatsa with Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Blackfoot; Kiowa with Crow, Hidatsa, and Arapaho; Eastern Dakota with Oglala; Assiniboin with Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Plains-Cree. On the whole this would imply that these cultural relations were of the usual type found in the Plains; closest with the nearest present day neighbors. The single exception is the Kiowa who have many unexpected connections with the northern Plains tribes, particularly the Crow. A somewhat closer connection of Arapaho and Cheyenne with the Village tribes than existed in historic times is also suggested.

[1]Curtis, VI, 130–131.
[2]Mooney, *Handbook American Indians*, I, 254; *Cheyenne Indians*, 369–370; cf. Grinnell, *Cheyenne Mysteries*, 563.

ORGANIZATION.

The principle underlying the organization of the sun dance is varied. For a few tribes, this subject has been adequately treated, but as no attempt has been made to systematize the data for most, I have brought together all the relevant facts.

The Cheyenne sun dance may be initiated by any individual in fulfilment of a vow made when supernatural aid is invoked in time of distress. It is therefore not necessarily annual. It may be pledged more than once by the same individual. Whether vowed by man or woman, the procedure is the same; a husband and wife are the principal actors. Former sun dance pledgers, called like the pledger of the moment or lodge-maker "reanimators," seem to form a fraternity, with rights of ownership in a medicine bundle. This right may be exercised when the bundle ritual is demonstrated, i. e., at the sun dance. The lodge-maker's military society chooses one of this fraternity, that is, a pledger of the dance on a former occasion, to serve as director and ceremonial grandfather[1] of the lodge-maker. The lodge-maker purchases participatory rights in the bundle (which is in the hands of a permanent keeper) from the director and his associates, surrendering his wife as part of the purchase price.[2] The bundle is opened and demonstrated in both preliminary tipi and dance lodge. The members of the military society are obliged to aid the pledger make the ceremony, to fast and dance with him, and assist him in purchasing the rites, under penalty of loss of horses and destruction of their tipis.[3] They fast and dance only during the ceremony in the dance lodge, where the "reanimators" participate as their ceremonial grandfathers in return for payment.[4] Others, not members of this military society, may fast, dance, and torture themselves to fulfil vows.[5] The organization of the Northern Cheyenne is identical with that of the southern group.

The Arapaho class the sun dance with their military societies, yet it differs inasmuch as men of any age or ceremonial affiliation may participate; more than once if they desire.[6] Here also either a man or woman pledges the dance for aid in sickness, danger, or because of a vision, but again the central figures are man and wife. The lodge-maker invites the

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[1]The terms for the ceremonial sponsor, transferrer, or seller have a suggestive distribution. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Oglala, and Ponca call him "grandfather"; the Blackfoot, Crow, and by implication, the Hidatsa, call him "father". This has no special significance in connection with the sun dance, however, since these terms are in general use in other ceremonies.

[2]Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 69, 76 footnote, 130, 131 footnote, 150, 165.

[3]*Ibid.*, 58, 63; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 255.

[4]Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 124, 147, 149.

[5]*Ibid.*, 128, 178.

[6]Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 151, 152, 292.

coöperation of the military society to which he belongs; they, in turn, petition the director.[1] This individual, as keeper of the sacred tribal pipe bundle, directs all important ceremonies; associated with him as directors are the members of the highest men's society, i. e., the owners of the seven sacred bundles.[2] The southern branch of the Arapaho lack the sacred pipe, but seem to have substituted the sacred wheel and use a lesser straight pipe. Here members of this society supervise the ceremonial grandfather of the dancers, and here also the office of director has become purchasable like many others.[3] The lodge-maker purchases participating rights in the ceremony and in a sense, in the sacred bundle from his ceremonial grandfather, called the "transferrer",[4] (to whom he surrenders his wife) and from all the priests, including the members of the highest men's society, the director, and other owners of specific rites.[5] Others may also vow to fast and dance in the lodge, some of them may perform the torture, but none can dance without the pledger. These dancers, like the pledger, select and pay grandfathers having rights to the ceremony.[6]

The Hidatsa sun dance is connected with a type of bundle owned by a number of men. One of them has the right to direct the dance (this function may be purchased only by members of this group). The ceremony is undertaken by a man, in response to a vision, in order to purchase the rights of ownership from his own father. Payment is made to the director and other owners, including his father. A father's clansman, who provides the articles necessary for the construction of a duplicate of the father's bundle, and others who assist in erecting the lodge are also paid by the son. The director and his fellow bundle owners officiate. Dancers other than the pledger, torture themselves in order to secure visions with the aid of their personal bundles. They are pierced by their father's clansmen.

The Ponca dance presents the only clear-cut case of a society, or better fraternity, conducting the ceremony, for it is in no way dependent on the vows of the individual. It is given annually at the call of the tribal chief by the "Thunder men" (all of them medicinemen?) who have the right to dance.[7] The "thunder men" choose the dancers, among

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[1]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 10–12.
[2]Kroeber, *loc. cit.*, 207, 309; Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 33.
[3]Dorsey, *loc cit.*, 26, 33, 53, 58, 108, 126, 129, 141, 158.
[4]The statement (Dorsey, 27) that the grandfather is normally the pledger of the preceding sun dance is not borne out by Dorsey's data: he seems rather to be any one who owns participatory rights.
[5]Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 51, 76, 101, 125–127, 172–178.
[6]Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 10, 98, 100, 116, 132, 179; Kroeber, 285, 292, 301.
[7]Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance*, 69, 77.

whom women may be included.[1] Each dancer purchases the right to dance from one of this group, his "grandfather"; repeating this purchase later at three additional performances.[2] The director of the ceremony is "the oldest and most learned of the priests and more especially . . . the war-priest of the tribe."[3]

The Oglala organization has the looseness of the Arapaho and Cheyenne in contrast to the Ponca. This sun dance is set in motion by an individual to fulfil a vow, to secure good fortune, or to acquire shamanistic power.[4] Shamans alone have the right to conduct the dance; they may even be said to be loosely associated for the purpose. Others, who are former self-torturers, have the right to participate in the buffalo dance again and to pierce the dancers.[5] Each pledger chooses a ceremonial grandfather from among them, from whom he purchases this privilege: for the shamanistic candidate this grandfather is a shaman.[6] The director is a shaman, normally the grandfather of the pledger who takes the initiative in the ceremony, or in default one chosen by the shamans. The leader of the dancers would therefore normally be the director's "grandchild", but another may be chosen by the dancers.[7] Other individuals, including women, may enter the lodge simply to dance, but all the pledgers must perform the self-torture.[8] The dancers may expect visions as the result.

The Arikara sun dance is initiated by a man who goes to the priest-director. The director appoints old men to paint the dancers, one for each of the three dancers.[9] The director and his "assistants" dress like the performers and dance. Others join with them only in dancing in the lodge. Some of the participants, with the assistance of old men they have chosen, practise the self-torture. The ceremony culminates in visions for the dancers.

The Blackfoot ceremony is unique in that it is organized in two unrelated parts, a bundle transfer ceremony and a dance. The first is considered the vital part by the natives. The dance, which is usually annual, may be pledged by either a man or woman in time of sickness or

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[1] *Ibid.*, 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, 69, 70, 73.
[3] *Ibid.*, 69. But White Eagle, the director of the dance witnessed by G. A. Dorsey, was "chief of the Poncas" and he may be the individual called "head chief" in 1873 by J. O. Dorsey (*Siouan Cults*, 378) or a "band chief" by Fletcher and La Flesche (*Omaha Tribe*, 51).
[4] Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, 451; Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, 101.
[5] Pp. 114, 116, 118, 119; Curtis, III, 96; Wissler, ms., 180.
[6] Pp. 62–64. It is not altogether clear whether he pays all participating shamans in addition to his grandfather.
[7] Pp. 66, 102. Cf. Fletcher, *Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux*, 581.
[8] Dorsey, *loc. cit.*, 460, 465.
[9] Curtis, V, 77, 79, mentions three, but the number may vary.

danger,[1] but the procedure is always the same, a woman always being the principal actor. In the preliminary tipi this woman and her husband purchase the right to a natoas bundle, including the right to direct the sun dance, from another couple who own such rights.[2] Should this couple not have a bundle, they act as "transferrers," borrowing the bundle from a third couple.[3] If already an owner, the woman may either perform the ritual or purchase another bundle. But a bundle may also be transferred at a time other than at the sun dance.[4] On occasion several women vow to purchase bundles, each proceeding independently.[5] The activities of the purchasers cease with the erection of the dance lodge.

The second part of the ceremony, held in the dance lodge, is directed by a medicineman having control of the weather. The right to direct can be purchased at the time of the dance.[6] Former owners of the right may vow to dance with him: to this extent there may be said to be a loose fraternity based on the right to dance. Other individuals vow to perform the self-torture and to purchase the right to pierce others from those chosen to serve as piercers.[7] The woman who "go forward to the tongues" specially vow to do so. Other rights to participate, such as cutting thongs[8] and boiling tongue skins,[9] are purchasable.

The objective similarity of the Sarsi dance with that of the Blackfoot is so very great, that a corresponding identity of organization is not surprising. This dance is pledged by a woman for the recovery of a near relative from sickness. The same woman might undertake the dance a number of times. She is assisted by her husband in a rite connected with a bundle, which is apparently an exact equivalent of the Blackfoot natoas. Their activities cease when a solitary (?) man begins his dance in the main lodge. His functions, objectively at least, are identical with those of the Blackfoot weather dancer. Unlike the Blackfoot others also danced. Those who had vowed in a crisis are tortured; although this performance does not seem to be obligatory. Former self-torturers are chosen to pierce them. Of other participants, the thong cutters purchase the rite of those who last performed this operation, while the tongue preparers are volunteers. So close is the objective parallelism that we must conclude that the Blackfoot dual organization is duplicated here.

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[1]Clark, 71; Curtis, VI, 31.
[2]According to McClintock, 179, those who gave the ceremony the preceding year.
[3]P. 247; Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 215.
[4]Pp. 233–234, 247; *Blackfoot Bundles*, 219.
[5]P. 251; Curtis, VI, 42.
[6]P. 260; Curtis, VI, 53.
[7]P. 263; McClintock, 319.
[8]P. 255, but cf. Curtis, VI, 50, and Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 265.
[9]Curtis, VI, 39

The Kiowa dance is held annually, the initiative for its performance coming either from the hereditary owner of the medicine doll, or from an individual who applies to him in response to a dream. The dance is the sole prerogative of this shaman. Four associates dance with him to four successive ceremonies, when they choose their own successors, in whom they sell their rights. The hereditary medicine shield owners are also obliged to dance. Other men may vow to dance in time of danger or to cure sickness. These do not pay the medicine owner for the privilege of dancing, and they have no future rights in the ceremony after their performance. Other ancillary functionaries have either hereditary rights, or they are appointed by the medicine owner.

The Crow sun dance is pledged by a man who desires a vision promising him revenge. He selects as director one of a number of doll owners; he obtains the vision through the doll. Sometimes this doll bundle is transferred to the pledger, but this is not essential. Others, who desire to torture themselves in order to obtain war visions, are pierced by the medicinemen or warriors[1] they select.

The Assiniboin ceremony is given annually by a man who has inherited the right.[2] He directs the dance. Vows to dance are made by other men and sometimes by women.[3] Some of these men undergo the torture, their acts culminating in visions.[4]

The Plains-Cree ceremony is given locally every year by one or more of a number of men who have dreamed of the Thunder. He initiates it as the result of a vow or in order to obtain spiritual aid. The right to give the dance is evidently transferable. A bundle appears in the ceremony, but it is not known whether this is more than a personal medicine (p. 302). Others, including women, dance in fulfilment of vows or to obtain aid for sickness; they receive visions. These dancers paint themselves. A few others perform the self-torture for similar reasons or to show their bravery, etc.; some of them are said to have "qualified" on previous occasions.[5] They are pierced by medicinemen designated by the director.

Like that of the Plains-Cree, the Plains-Ojibway sun dance is a locally annual ceremony. It is initiated by one of those who have the right by reason of having dreamed of the Thunder. This director does not dance but others do so. Ten or more men, generally *okitcita* (recog-

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[1]Pp. 44, 45, 50; Curtis, IV, 77. These are kinsmen according to Clark, 136.
[2]Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 58, cf. 34. The one who first dreamed of the dance during the year initiated it according to Curtis, (III, 128).
[3]De Smet, 937, 939; Curtis, III, 129.
[4]Curtis, III, 131-132.
[5]Paget, 35, 36.

nized warrior-police) torture themselves, some of them having dreamed of the particular form of torture.

The Wind River ceremony is not necessarily an annual performance. It is initiated in response to a dream by one of those who have (inherited?) the right to conduct it. He is joined in dancing by others who wish to cure sickness or to obtain luck and long life; they receive visions. These individuals paint each other.

There is little information on the Ute dance, but it suggests that here too the dance is controlled by a single individual. This leader is a medicineman. The dancers desire supernatural power, but only a few receive sufficient to qualify as medicinemen.

Among the Canadian Dakota the dance may be performed by any man or woman in response to a dream, the purpose being to obtain supernatural power (it is the initial step to becoming a shaman), to secure success in war, or to cure sickness. Others may dance and assist.

The Sisseton ceremony was performed by a man, aided by members of his war party, to fulfil their vows, or it was performed by a group all of whom had received visions ordering them to dance.[1] The dancers paint themselves. Many of them undergo the torture because they have specially vowed to do so.

The information on the Gros Ventre organization is so meager that there is reason to doubt the correctness of the scheme presented here, and this is emphasized by the striking difference between this scheme and that of the Arapaho. Here too the pledger gives the dance to fulfil a vow made for deliverance from sickness or danger. But unlike the Arapaho, this appears to be largely a personal performance, since the pledger is seemingly the director and uses his own medicine bundle to obtain a war vision.[2] It is not clear what priestly function is performed by the old men mentioned. One of them, the keeper of the sacred flat-pipe, gives magical aid in raising the center pole; another obtains water from this pole by magic. These are both personal medicines; sick men pledge themselves to smoke the pipe and it is carried to war.[3] Others also dance for visions; some of them (who specially vow?) are torture dancers attended by ceremonial grandfathers.[4]

In all these accounts the significant feature appears to be the manner in which those who lead or conduct the ceremony are organized. This organization is essential for the pledger's participation. Thus,

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[1]Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 141.
[2]Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 265.
[3]*Ibid.*, 263, 266, 272–274.
[4]*Ibid.*, 265.

where a group of men own the dance the pledger buys a place among them. Here the association of the group is clearly the essential, because for the rest the pledger behaves like the common run of dancers, and their mode of entry into the dance is everywhere the same.

From this standpoint, the ceremonies fall into two groups between which there is a fundamental difference. In one type of organization any individual may undertake the dance of his own accord. The entire performance revolves about him; he is director and principal dancer in one. But he enjoys no prerogatives in any future dance by reason of his performance. This type is confined to the Canadian Dakota and Sisseton, and if we take the data at their face value, to the Gros Ventre also.

In the second type of organization the dance can be given only by individuals who possess special qualifications. Notwithstanding this fact the initiative in beginning the ceremony usually remains with any person who desires it, as in the first case. The qualification is of course always the same type of socio-religious sanction, but we can distinguish two forms based on the possession or lack of a medicine bundle. Where there is no bundle, leadership is a definite personal right, which can nevertheless be transmitted to another by inheritance or by sale in most cases. Where a bundle is involved, leadership depends on some sort of ownership. This is either ownership of a particular bundle or of one of a certain type, but it may be only participatory ownership in such bundles. Here again the right may be acquired by inheritance or purchase. This connection of leadership with ownership of a bundle does not mean that the bundle is always associated with the sun dance as among the Arapaho, but that the dance is dependent in the particular case on the bundle.

Among those tribes in which leadership is based on special qualifications, whether bundle ownership or not, a cross-classification may be recognized. In some cases a single individual is leader as among the Crow; in others, as the Hidatsa, a number are associated in a sort of fraternity. In the first group the single leader is of course the director of the ceremony. He may not be the only person in the tribe possessing the essential qualifications, but none of the others are associated with him in this capacity. In the second a number of owners of the privilege conduct the ceremony; one of them may be director, but the others may participate in some capacity. A third cross-classification might be made on the basis of the transfer of rights to the ceremony during the progress of the dance, or the lack of such procedure.

Assiniboin, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Wind River Shoshoni, and perhaps Ute, form a group in that one of a number of qualified men, without a bundle, conducts the ceremony alone. He does not transfer his right to any of the dancers during the dance.

The Crow and Kiowa directors are bundle owners. Several Crow own the proper bundles, but they are not associated in the dance. The Crow sometimes transfer a bundle at the dance (p. 12). There is only one Kiowa bundle for the sun dance; the keeper of this is leader. As stated above, the Blackfoot dance is organized on two unrelated principles. If it is permissible to separate them, the first, the performance of the natoas bundle ritual, should be classed here, since the director is a bundle owner who acts alone.[1] If there is a real identity of the Sarsi and Blackfoot dances, the Sarsi woman's rites must also be included here.

Among the Ponca we find the clearest case of an association of sun dance owners. As Dorsey remarks, it is a "close corporation with self-perpetuating power," since the dancers do not elect to join but are chosen by the fraternity. The Oglala have a dual organization: the shamans with the right to lead, and the buffalo men with the right to dance. A pledger may purchase his way into either group. Like Ponca and Oglala, the Arikara apparently have a number of associated leaders who exercise their right to dance: still this is not certain. That part of the Blackfoot ceremony taking place in the dance lodge is organized in the same way; that is, all the weather dancers have a common bond in their right to lead and dance, although normally only one performs this function. There may be an organic connection between the bundle transfer and the dance, but as the data stand the Blackfoot sun dance appears to be organized on two unrelated principles, and so is highly anomalous. The same is presumably true of the Sarsi ceremony. In all these tribes the leaders are associated on the basis of a common right to conduct the ceremony and to dance; a right which they have acquired by purchase.

The Cheyenne and Hidatsa leaders are joint owners of a bundle with which the dance is connected, and collectively they form a fraternity to conduct it. The Arapaho leaders also sell their dance rights, but it is not clear that they have any title to the medicine bundle. Among the Cheyenne one of these owners is chosen as director by the pledger: the remainder perform an ancillary function. The part played by the

[1]The Gros Ventre leader also has a bundle, but it is his personal medicine like those carried, for example, by the common Hidatsa dancers and so is not essential to the performance.

	Leadership		
	Individual Initiative	Qualified Leader	
		Leader Without Bundle	Bundle Owner
Individual	Sisseton Canadian Dakota Gros Ventre ?	Assiniboin Plains-Cree Plains-Ojibway Wind River Ute ?	Crow Kiowa Blackfoot I Sarsi I ?
Fraternity		Ponca Oglala Arikara Blackfoot II Sarsi II ?	Hidatsa Cheyenne Arapaho

pledger's military society is not essential: it is rather a novel mode of securing the common dancers. The Arapaho have the same idea at bottom, but the director is the keeper of the sacred pipe bundle. This introduced a confusing element, for, as the keeper of this bundle is director of all important ceremonies, it is not certain that this bundle is essential to the sun dance. I think that it is, since the Oklahoma group seem to have found it necessary to substitute another sacred bundle. A further disturbing element is the supervision exercised by the highest men's society, but as they supervise all ceremonies their interest is not fundamental. Among the Hidatsa there is no single bundle, but all the owners of a certain type of bundle have the right to participate when one of them sells his bundle to his son, the pledger, at the sun dance. In all three tribes, the central idea is the same: the pledger acquires membership in the sun dance fraternity by purchasing participatory rights in the bundle.

The historical implications of these observations are fairly clear, turning on the question of the priority of the two types of organization, individual leadership, and the fraternity of owners. I think we can be certain that the former is the older, because of their respective distributions and because the individual organization appears again as the basic element in the fraternity. In the first place the fraternity occurs among Arapaho, Cheyenne, Oglala, Ponca, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Blackfoot (and

possibly Sarsi); in other words, among the central group and their neighbors, who, as we have already seen, have the most highly elaborate procedures. It seems reasonable to suppose then that this smaller centrally located group of tribes, have also elaborated their organization for leadership. This must be the case since the sole point of distinction between the two organizations is an additional qualification for fraternity membership. In every tribe all the dancers, pledger and common dancers alike, enter the ceremony in the same way; that is, each must individually vow to participate. In addition, in every case where the fraternity system prevails it imposes on the pledger the additional qualification of purchase. That is, it affects only pledgers, a smaller, selected group among a host of dancers not differentiated by virtue of any other qualification for participation. Both the facts of distribution and the internal evidence imply, to my mind, that the fraternity qualification is of more recent origin. These considerations do not involve the question whether purchase or the fraternity idea originated first in the sun dance: we find them an inseparable pair.

In detail, this is an interesting confirmation of the results obtained from a comparison of procedures. Not only is the fraternity type found among the central tribes, but Arapaho and Cheyenne are again coupled, Oglala with Ponca, the two phases of the Blackfoot ceremony resemble the Hidatsa and Arikara respectively, Arapaho and Cheyenne are coupled with the same pair, and again Kiowa is like Crow, and at least in part, like Blackfoot. It is unfortunate that the meager information leaves the position of the Arikara and particularly of the Gros Ventre uncertain.

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HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

These inferences, with some direct evidence, suggest the history of the dance.

The ceremonies of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala are the most highly elaborated: this is not only true of the procedure and its material counterpart but of the organization as well. But their rites, as I have pointed out, take no new form; they are simply from the common stock shared with neighboring tribes, embellished and elaborated into a fuller performance. What is significant, however, is not so much that they share such traits with others, as that there is a measure of logical coherence in their own performances. Their elaborating rites seem so much ceremonial embroidery on the web of essential features. In this I am assuming that the essential performance is simply erecting a pole within an encircling structure, before which the votaries dance. If this is so, the implication is clearly that this group is the center from which at least many of the ritualistic embellishments spread, if not the original nucleus as well.

The torture feature has, in my estimation, no place among these essentials. In the first place torture is of secondary importance in every ceremony except that of the Dakota; that is, none of the principal dancers are tortured, only a minority of their associates perform it, and these must specially vow to do so. Such data as we have on the extent of the torture bear out this view. The sun dance is inconceivable without torture only from the Dakota standpoint. All accounts agree that the few Oglala who dance without torture play an unimportant role, in fact that they could not dance at all unless others tortured themselves (p. 61). But conditions were different among other tribes. While Dorsey says that it was "practiced by no tribe to a greater extent . . . than by the Cheyenne," Grinnell's information is flatly contradictory. Curtis too received the impression that it was "far less in evidence than with many other tribes" and notes that only one man at a time was tortured. It is also significant that there was no fixed time for torture, and that those who performed it were not connected with the organized dancers.[1] Crow tortures were extensive: at one dance forty or fifty were tied to posts, six to the apex of the lodge, while many more dragged skulls. But here too these were not primary participants.[2] The Hidatsa tortures resemble those of the Mandan *ōkīpə* in severity, and so may the

[1]Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 175, 181; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge;* Curtis, VI, 124; Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 150.
[2]Curtis, VI, 77, 79.

Arikara, although Maximilian observed that in general "they torture themselves. . . not so cruelly as their neighbors," i. e., the Mandan.[1] For the rest torture was not so extensively practised. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre custom is moderate, although Clark remarks of the latter that they "hold the torture in high esteem."[2] The same is true of the Blackfoot, who say they obtained the custom from the Arapaho: one Piegan saw the torture only four times in his life (before 1870), with only one man on each occasion,[3] McLean says that there are only two to five men;[4] while Grinnell, Clark, and McClintock speak of several men.[5] Wissler's impression was that the torture was not thoroughly adjusted when the government put an end to it (p. 262), but this does not argue a late introduction. The Sarsi tortures were equally restricted. It seems not to have been obligatory in the dance; not more than two men a day were so treated, and tethering is noted as the only form. The Assiniboin and Plains-Cree tortures were also moderate; for the latter Paget notes a few self-torturers, Browning four, but Jefferson gives the impression that it was somewhat greater.[6] Skinner's informants stated that this is a modern custom (p. 291). The Plains-Ojibway men number ten or more, with others dragging skulls, etc., but the torture is of short duration (p. 314). For the Ponca there is recorded only the sacrifices of bits of flesh. The remaining tribes, Wind River Shoshoni, Ute, and Kiowa,[7] do not torture in the sun dance at all. In short, torture centers among the Dakota and the Village tribes and is found in decreasing extent as we proceed from that center. Since this does not coincide with the ascertained center for other traits, torture must be considered of secondary origin in the sun dance of the majority.[8]

Self-torture is undeniably an old and common custom of the Plains tribes.[9] But the instances in which it appears in a specialized form yield evidence confirmatory to this discussion of distribution. Such are the Mandan *ōkīpə*, and the self-torture which characterizes the quest of

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[1]Maximilian, II, 390.
[2]Kroeber, *Ethnology of Gros Ventre*, 264–265; Clark, 198.
[3]Curtis, VI, 55.
[4]McLean, 236.
[5]Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 267; Clark, 72; McClintock, 318–319.
[6]Paget, 35; Browning, 40.
[7]Although the Kiowa profess aversion to shedding blood at the sun dance, the killing of a man and stabbing of a woman on two separate occasions did not interfere with the performance (Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar History*, 272, 280.)
[8]The Skidi Pawnee took over the torture features from the Arikara (about the end of the eighteenth century ?) incorporating them in their Young Dog society. This was practised three times but was dropped, for, like the Kiowa, the Pawnee are antagonistic to the torture idea (Murie, *Pawnee Societies*, 587, 641; Grinnell, *Young Dog's Dance*).
[9]For example, Blackfoot (this volume, 265), Arapaho, but suspension occurs only in the sun dance (Dorsey, 182–187), Hidatsa, Mandan, and Saulteaux (Henry and Thompson, 263–265), Assiniboin (De Smet, 936), Plains-Ojibway Weeping society, where these practices are said to be older than, but related to the sun dance (Skinner, *Plains-Ojibway Ceremonies*, 507–508), and Kiowa (Methvin, 86: Scott, 352). Compare in this connection the Kwakiutl and the Nootka war dances (Boas, 495, 635)

a vision by an individual. The latter commonly involves only scarification or cutting off pieces of flesh and fingers; greater tortures such as dragging skulls and leading horses secured to the flesh are sometimes practised; but suspension from a post, like that which characterizes the sun dance, is the regular form of vision-seeking only for the Dakota.[1] To be sure it occurs under similar circumstances among the Cheyenne[2] and Crow but in the latter tribe at least it is not the normal mode for achieving that end.

While the evidence of specialization and extent might argue the incorporation of torture into the sun dance by either the Village tribes or the Dakota, the coincidence of the conventional sun dance form with the vision-torture would rather favor the latter. Considering the analogy between the two dance forms, to wit, dancing before a pole, such an assimilation could have been readily effected.

In fact the simplest form of their sun dance, that of the Canadian Sioux, is little more than the common custom of vision-seeking. It is an open question however whether these people, who are chiefly Wahpeton, did not also have the fuller ceremony performed by a group of dancers, as incidental statements by a Wahpeton would indicate.[3] To be sure, these statements may apply only to the sun dance as performed by the combined Eastern Dakota since reservation days. On the other hand, about 1840 Riggs[4] observed among the Mdewakantonwan[5] a dance closely resembling the Canadian Sioux form and called by the regular name for the sun dance, *wiwanyag-wacipi*. Catlin saw the same simplified dance among the Ting-ta-to-ah (Mdewakantonwan) at the mouth of the Teton River.[6] Again, while Curtis[7] notes the sun dance among Yanktonai without comment, the dance performed by a Yanktonai chief in 1822, as given by Keating,[8] conforms exactly to the Canadian Sioux usage. In 1811, however, Brackenridge saw a short distance above the mouth of the Cheyenne River, "a space, about twenty feet in diameter, enclosed with poles, with a post in the middle, painted red, and at some distance, a buffalo head raised upon a little mound of earth," and intended for "rendering the buffaloe plenty."[9] Maximilian saw an identical structure near Fort Pierre in 1833 used in order "to entice the herds of

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[1]Lynd, 164–166.
[2]Dorsey, 176–177; Grinnell, *Cheyenne Medicine Lodge*, 249–255; Petter, *English-Cheyenne Dictionary*, 1062; Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 154; *Plains of the Great West*, 258–260.
[3]Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 115, 141.
[4]Pond, *Dakota Superstitions*, 234–237.
[5]Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography*, xii.
[6]Catlin, *North American Indians*, 232, Plate 97.
[7]*North American Indian*, III, 122.
[8]*Narrative*, I, 499.
[9]Brackenridge, 132.

buffaloes."[1] Both of these lay within the territory of the Yanktonai and may be taken to mean that they had the fuller form of the dance as well. On the other hand the account of General Curtis of a dance at Fort Sully, S. D., in 1866,[2] probably referring to a mixed group chiefly of Teton with some Yanktonai and Santee,[3] describes the torture features but omits mention of a dance lodge. Finally Beckwith describes a dance for the Dakota in general called by the usual name but of the Canadian Sioux type and taking place within a circle of upright boughs.[4] The sum of these data is simply this: the Dakota have both forms of the dance, which are known by the same name, are equally serious, and are indiscriminatingly used. This is probably more nearly true of the Eastern Dakota than of the Teton, but it would seem that in general the Dakota insist only on what is to them the significant feature, the torture dance, probably because it is identical with their preferred type of vision-seeking.[5]

If then torture is an historically secondary element, the original nucleus of the dance is that indicated above, viz., erecting a pole in an enclosure about which to dance. Other ceremonies having a form analogous to this simplified sun dance are undoubtedly related; such are the Eastern Dakota round dance,[6] the Osage mourning ceremony,[7] the Omaha *hedewatci* terminating the tribal hunt,[8] and the Pawnee four-pole ceremony. The capture of the poles in the two last named duplicates the sun dance procedure exactly, as the Hidatsa pole-offering to Above-woman also does. It seems rather unlikely that the procedure would have been copied if the sun dance center pole had been essentially a torture post. Such evidence would rather indicate that the dance before a pole is an old Plains ceremonial concept.

But so much for the original form. While the Oglala are probably eliminated from the group of originators of the dance, they may still be said to constitute, with the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the center of diffusion. But inasmuch as the Oglala place their emphasis on torture while

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[1]Maximilian, I, 318.
[2]Pond, *Dakota Superstitions*, 237–238.
[3]*Report Commissioner Indian Affairs for 1866*, 164–175.
[4]Beckwith, 250.
[5]There are no certain indications that the vision-seeking had been elaborated into a ceremony of the sun dance type before fusion took place, although the existence of a dance lodge peculiar to the Dakota and Ponca suggests it. It is more probable, however, that the circular enclosure has been transformed into a roof shade supported on inner posts in the Dakota form and on the center pole in that of the Arapaho and others. (Cf. Dorsey, *Ponca Sun Dance:* Humfreville, 323–333).
[6]Lowie, *Eastern Dakota Dances*, 126–128. Illustrated in Schoolcraft, *History, and Condition*, VI, 352.
[7]Speck, *Notes on the Ethnology of the Osage Indians*, 168–170. The fasting of the mourner and the roofed structure curiously resemble the sun dance of other tribes.
[8]Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 297–299; Fletcher and La Flesche, *Omaha Tribe*, 251–260. These Dakota, Osage, and Omaha ceremonies are closely related, particularly the first two.

the majority of tribes do not, the ceremonies of the latter would seem rather to have had common origin with those of Arapaho and Cheyenne.[1] The evidence for the historical relations between these two tribes is not illuminating. The Cheyenne claim to have received their ceremony from the subsequently incorporated Sutaio (before 1832), who lived west of the Black Hills early in the last century and presumably were in close contact with the Arapaho.[2] But whether the Cheyenne obtained their dance from the Sutaio or the Arapaho cannot be proven: it is nearly identical with that of the latter tribe, with divergencies chiefly by way of incorporating Oglala features. At best we can only consider the Cheyenne and Arapaho an inseparable couple with priority slightly in favor of the latter.

The historical fate of the dance among other tribes can best be ascertained by reversing our procedure and eliminating those tribes whose acquisition is demonstrably recent. While that of the peripheral tribes can be given with some precision, only a general outline can be suggested for those more centrally located because of the great uniformity of the dance among them.

The Wind River Shoshoni dance resembles the Arapaho and Gros Ventre equally, but inasmuch as it lacks both bundle and fraternity organization it was probably derived from the latter. According to native statement the Wind River transmitted it to the Fort Hall Shoshoni. These events must be relatively recent and subsequent to the removal of the Comanche into the Plains, since the dance is found neither among the last mentioned tribe nor the Lemhi Shoshoni, both of whom are closely related linguistically to the other eastern Shoshoni.[3] The Fort Hall people in turn passed it on to the Uintah and Southern Ute about 1890 (p. 405, cf. p. 393), and to the Bannock.[4] Specific resemblances between these western dances and those of Plains-Cree and Plains-Ojibway must be laid at the door of wandering Cree who in recent years have spread throughout the western Plains.

The Assiniboin do not emphasize the self-torture like their Dakota relatives. This may mean either that they obtained the dance from another source since separating from the Dakota, or that the latter have fused the sun dance with the vision-torture since the day when they had identical dances.[5] Certain indirect evidence makes the former alter-

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[1]This coincides with Sapir's earlier inference (*Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, 26).
[2]Mooney, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 252, 254; Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 186.
[3]Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, 216; Kroeber, *Shoshonean Dialects*, 111–114.
[4]Communication from Dr. Edward Sapir; information from Charles Mack, a Northern Ute, 1909.
[5]This separation is probably not so recent as is usually assumed (Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 7–10).

native more probable. The Plains-Cree probably derived their dance from the Assiniboin. Now the Plains-Cree dance lodge is the roofed (Arapaho) type: if we assume this to be the Assiniboin form as well, it would argue a non-Dakotan source for the dance of the latter. The Gros Ventre and the Village tribes naturally suggest themselves as possible sources. But the Assiniboin lack many specific features of the Gros Ventre dance; this in spite of their contact on Fort Belknap Reservation in recent years, which resulted in the exchange of only a few trivial traits. On the other hand the objective part of their dance resembles the Hidatsa rather than Arikara, perhaps only because we know little about either, but like the Arikara theirs is not a bundle ceremony. The Plains-Cree, whose intrusion into the Plains may antedate the historic period considerably, were intimately associated with the Assiniboin. Their sun dance is considered an equivalent by the latter[1] and was probably obtained from them quite recently, but before 1851.[2] That of the Plains-Ojibway was undoubtedly obtained from the Plains-Cree as were many other features of Plains life.

The Eastern Dakota took over the later developments of the dance from their western relatives, but, as I pointed out above, they are prone to omit the elaborate procedure in favor of the simple torture features which were already customary among them. The Ponca dance may have been derived from the same source as J. O. Dorsey states.[3] In that case the fraternity organization, somewhat more rigid than that of the Oglala, is an association of individuals having similar supernatural experience; a type of association common among the Southern Siouan and Central Algonkian tribes. Some of the dance details however have been borrowed directly from Arapaho or Cheyenne.

The Kiowa organization shares a specific characteristic of the Ponca, i. e., both the Kiowa associates and the Ponca dancers choose their successors, who appear in four successive annual ceremonies, making payments on each occasion, before they acquire full right to participate. If we are to assume that the resemblance proceeds from historic connection, then it is reasonable to hold that the Kiowa adopted the idea from the Ponca, since the Kiowa associates serve no necessary function. On the other hand, I am inclined to believe that the trait has been invented independently. All three concepts—purchase, participation at the time

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[1]Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 58.

[2]Paget, 152.

[3]Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 355. It is unfortunate that we do not know the former extent of torture among the Ponca. The intimate relations of the Ponca with the Oglala may be comparatively recent, for the introduction of the horse apparently led them to give up their sedentary existence in large part, and turn to the ways of the Sioux (Compare Maximilian, *Travels*, I, 284).

of purchase, and fourfold repetition—occur commonly enough in combination in the Plains for this to be the case here.[1]

The most unusual feature of the Crow dance is the tipi-like structure which is identical with their Tobacco adoption lodge (p. 39). But it is doubtful whether the Crow would cut down only their first tree as though for a center pole unless they had originally had the usual type of dance lodge. It is more reasonable to assume that the lodge was later built to resemble the Tobacco lodge. In a way this is confirmed by the lack of the Tobacco ceremony among the Hidatsa. The Crow may have obtained the dance either from the central group or the Village tribes, with the evidence in favor of the latter.

If the foregoing is correct the Kiowa obtained their dance structure as well as the medicine doll from the Crow. This transpired after the separation of the latter from the Hidatsa but before 1833.[2] Their buffalo imitators are clearly the counterpart of the Blackfoot, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Wind River Shoshoni women buffalo dancers. The Kiowa custom was probably patterned on that of the Blackfoot women which it resembles in particulars, and which also occurs at the sun dance, although not in the sun dance lodge.[3]

The Sarsi have taken over the Blackfoot dance in its entirety, adding only the general dancers. Considering their known cultural affiliations, it is probable that the Kutenai dance—of which we know nothing—is derived from the same source, or from the Crow. The Blackfoot sun dance is made up of two unrelated parts: a bundle transfer and a dance by associated shamans. But the procedure as a whole (preparing for the dance, building the lodge, dancing the torture features) centers about the dancers, while the bundle transferrers figure only in the preliminaries. It is inconceivable that the Blackfoot should go through the regular dance form if their dance had originally been a transfer ceremony only, because the transfer is actually completed before any dancing begins. Nor is the situation comparable to that of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hidatsa since the bundle owners do not dance at all. It seems rather that the bundle transfer has been added to a ceremony of more common

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[1]The four Arikara assistants (Curtis, V, 77, 79) may have some connection with those of the Kiowa, but we know nothing of their functions.

[2]Cf. Mooney, *Calendar History of Kiowa*, 155, 239–242; Scott, 345, 348, 368. Wissler suggests that the question of the migration of the Kiowa from a northern habitat, postulated by Mooney and denied by Scott, may not be involved. It is possible that the northern cultural contacts were made when on their periodical or seasonal wanderings (*Influence of the Horse on Development of Plains Culture*, p. 14, footnote).

[3]The analogy between the dance structure and the buffalo pound with a center pole may have favored the incorporation of this complex. The Kiowa use a pound but its exact form is unknown to me. This buffalo imitators dance occurs in connection with a pound of this type among the Assiniboin and Plains-Cree (McDougall, 272–283; De Smet, 1028–1032; Franklin, 101.)

type.[1] The organization of dancers resembles that of Arikara more than any other, yet the objective procedure is about equally similar to that of the Gros Ventre, and the Arapaho-Cheyenne couple. The event can be dated relatively. If the Blackfoot took over the sun dance and camp circle as associated traits, as Wissler suggests,[2] it must have been subsequent to their division into three independent groups, for there is no trace of a parent camp circle.

Objectively the Gros Ventre dance resembles the Arapaho more than it does another. If we could be certain that the prime mover of the Gros Ventre ceremony was really any individual who acts on his own initiative, then we could trace its origin to the Arapaho dance prior to a time when the latter became associated with the tribal pipe bundle.

The Hidatsa dance may have been adopted from the Arikara as the Pawnee state;[3] certainly the process could not have been the reverse since the former have an added bundle transfer. Otherwise the procedures are similar and suggest a common origin. They resemble, among the central group, the Arapaho dance—devoid of the bundle fraternity, which I believe is a secondary growth—more than Oglala, since they lack torture for the pledger. Certainly, the severity of tortures among them does not argue a Dakota origin for the dance as a whole, since that is a development common to all three Village tribes, who even transmitted it to the Crow. The suggested relation with the Arapaho is impressive as Lowie has previously proved an intimate connection between them in prehistoric times on the basis of identities in their mythologies, social usages, and age-societies.[4]

As the data stand it is possible to assign a source of borrowing for most ceremonies with some degree of probability. The exceptions are the Hidatsa and Arikara who thus fall into a group with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. These, we may assume, at one time shared an undifferentiated dance. In fact, as they stand today, the four dances are, at least objectively fundamentally alike, although the similarity in details may be put down to the subsequent leveling that has produced uniformity throughout the area. But even among these four an Arapaho-Cheyenne origin may be favored, for the fact that the Village tribes build a special structure for the sun dance, whereas their important ceremonies are

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[1]Compare the suggestion on pp. 500–501.

[2]Wissler, *Blackfoot Social Life*, 22.

[3]Murie, 641. The name Gros Ventre (of the Missouri) instead of Hidatsa occurs in this place by an oversight.

[4]Lowie, *Crow Myths*, 11–13; *Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Social Organization*, 94; *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 946–954.

almost invariably held in the permanent medicine lodges, may be taken as presumptive evidence of its origin among a nomadic people.

The historical position of one detail of prime importance, the fraternity organization is fairly clear. In the discussion in the preceding section I pointed out that it had spread among most of the centrally located tribes (Ponca, Oglala, Blackfoot, Arikara, Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Cheyenne) subsequent to the general diffusion of the dance. Such an organization is, of course, no great step beyond the individualistic ceremony, since it consists essentially in the privilege of those who dance to repeat their participation on subsequent occasions. Possibly the idea had more than one point of origin, since the fraternity is based on bundle ownership in some cases and not in others, but this is not likely. At any rate considering only the tribes with bundles, its invention may be laid to the Hidatsa, since this is their typical ceremonial organization (pp. 415–421), while it is not that of the Arapaho and Cheyenne.

DIFFUSION AND ASSIMILATION.

This historical sketch prompts a series of questions relating to the character and conditions of trait development, to the borrowing processes, and to tribal reactions to a diffused complex. I have repeatedly referred to the extended similarity of most of the sun dances; as it were, an effect of leveling produced by long continued cross transmission. It will be of value to enquire whether this, which is true of the ceremonies as a whole, is equally true in respect to all phases of the complex, regalia, procedure, organization, and etiological myths. In spite of this extended similarity, however, each dance has at least some individual stamp which gives it a unique character. We may well expect to find, by analogy with what has been observed in similar instances, that the source of this individuality is the tribal pattern for ceremonies. But it is also pertinent to enquire in this connection whether or not this assimilation, i. e., reduction to the tribal pattern, operates without regard to the character of the traits. It is possible to show that both in borrowing at large and in assimilation to prevailing concepts there is discrimination between objective features, organizing ideas, and the mythological motivation. But there is no indication contained in the character of the traits why a particular object is copied and another rejected, or why certain rites are adapted to existing standards while others are left in foreign guise. Clearly the implication is that the determinants of selection must be sought in the conditions which surround transmission and assimilation. We are dealing with analogous situations whether borrowing or invention is concerned. The opportunities for modifications and the incorporation of novelties afforded individuals must be examined from this point of view. Inasmuch as it can be shown that inventions are rarely true innovations, but rather familiar rites or objects projected into new situations, we have an explanation for their ready acceptance. The real distinction between such invention and the appropriation of foreign traits must be looked for in the specific conditions governing contact with the foreign ideas. So far as the data will permit the effectiveness as determinants of acquaintance with the foreign culture, receptive or antagonistic attitudes, and particular interests, will be examined.

The influence of the individual in effecting cultural change is a subject that has been broached repeatedly, receiving perhaps its most systematic treatment at the hands of Vierkandt in "Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel" and Tarde in "Les Lois de l'Imitation". The interest of both authors so far as they deal with cultural development centers in the

character of the innovating individual and those conditions of his milieu which permit cultural change. Their approach is general: possible motives, capacities, influences, and contacts are cited—rather systematically to be sure—as illustrative of the circumstances actuating modifications, rather than reaching this desired end by careful analyses of particular cases. The deficiency of all such treatments lies in this fact: the inferences are vague, extended, and general to such extent that they cannot serve as interpretative principles for any particular historic sequence; they fail to explain how any given cultural trait acquires its peculiar, specific character. For instance, one of Tarde's fundamental theses is that imitation—including the process of intertribal borrowing under this rubric—proceeds by the acquisition of the ideas, wants, and sentiments before the means of objectifying and satisfying them are duplicated. However plausible this generalization may appear from the illustrations he cites, it is at variance with the facts in the case of the sun dance. Nor does such a principle explain why particular traits are borrowed, how they are inserted in particular complexes, nor how they acquire a new complexion in the new situation. In other words, it fails as a principle for interpretations in general because it neglects to take into account the great diversity of cultural situations.

DIFFERENTIAL BORROWING.

The first question is that of the character of the borrowed material. In the first place, there is a significant difference in the distribution of those traits enumerated under the head of procedure and those of organization. All of the more essential rites and regalia, and even a host of details, occur with little variation throughout the Plains; not so, the organization. Contrast for example the widespread buffalo hunt, the center pole complex, and the torture features with the distribution of the fraternity. Evidently the selection exercised by the recipient culture operates everywhere more strongly against organizing ideas than against behavior and paraphernalia.

It would be interesting to compare the distribution of the series of mythical references explaining various features of the dance, but there is not sufficient information. However, a test can be made at the hand of the Arapaho and Cheyenne data.

First, by way of control, their procedures must be compared. Members of one tribe find no difficulty in participating in the dance of the other, for even the larger differences relate only to details.[1] The sequence of some of the preliminary rites is not the same. A number of Arapaho

[1]See Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 182–185.

rites do not occur among the Cheyenne, viz., a charge on the first day, the buffalo hunt complex, the begging procession, the ceremonious felling of the tree (at least in part), the first sunrise dance, and the sacrifice of children's clothing. On the other hand, while the preliminary secret rites of both tribes are largely for the preparation of the dance regalia, those of the Cheyenne are so overshadowed by demonstrations of the sacred pipe bundle as to transform their character completely. The Cheyenne also count coup on the lodge site, tie rawhide images to the center pole, and combine in a way the Arapaho final sunset and sunrise dances in their own final sunset performance—not a long list of unique features. Certainly these differences are not impressive when contrasted with the detailed similarity of these elaborate dances.

Their organizations differ in the Cheyenne stress on the purchase of rights in the medicine bundle. As a corollary former Cheyenne pledgers form a more definite group: to be sure, those of the Arapaho are rendered less important by the presence of the supervising sacred bundle owners. In both tribes the pledger is aided by his military society, but the Cheyenne have developed more definite functions for them: not only are they obliged to dance and assist him, but they choose the man who is at once dance director and pledger's grandfather. Contrast the Arapaho: the society is merely invited to participate, the pledger buys from the grandfather of his choice with such vicarious aid as he is able to summon, and the director is a fixed official.

Finally the mythologic notions may be compared. Many of them have been drawn from the fund of such ideas common to most Plains tribes, but they present no characteristic differences here because they have not been organized. The systematically arranged concepts, such as the etiological myths, do show essential differences.

The Cheyenne account of the origin of the sun dance conforms to their regular pattern, applied for example to their age-society ceremonies. A culture hero enters a mountain, the interior of which resembles the sun dance lodge; there he is instructed in the medicine or ceremony. On his return to his people, the performance of the dance rescues them from famine, and its performance since that mythical period wards off any repetition of the danger.[1] The Arapaho account for their sun dance, as well as their other lodges, quite casually in their general origin myth. The association seems usually to be made through the sacred flat-pipe which figures largely both in the several versions of the origin myth and

[1]Dorsey, *Cheyenne Ceremonial Organizations*, 46–49.

in the sun dance. For example, in one version given by Dorsey, the origin myth combines an earth-diver incident for the purpose of providing a world to preserve the flat-pipe, with the allocation of characteristics to those animals and plants associated with the flat-pipe, the sacred wheel, and the regalia, then the invention of death by the trickster, the creation of people, and the incident of the trickster and the mice's sun dance.[1]

Cheyenne theory is set off sharply from that of the Arapaho by a general interpretative principle. Their official[2] theory is that the performance is to re-animate the earth and its life. The pledger is called the "reproducer" or "multiplier"—those who have formerly played this role are "re-animators," too—for the tribe is reborn and increases through him, and nature reproduces her kind by his acts. During the dance, a series of magical[3] rites for the growth of the earth, the regeneration of its life, and the calling of the buffalo, mark the stages of this process from inception to fruition. The Arapaho lack these ideas save in the vaguest form.

The results in this test case are at least well marked. The procedures are nearly alike in spite of a wealth of detailed elaboration; the organizations show more fundamental differences, but the mythologic notions are the divergent phase. That is, selection has favored objects, behavior, and organizing concepts as adaptive material as against religious sanctions. We must reckon at this point with the fact that assimilated traits cannot be conceived as perpetuating their first form. On the contrary, the native ceremony being anything but static, there is no reason why we should assume that assimilated material forms an exception. We know further that, in general, explanatory mythical elements are more subject to change than the things with which they are associated. How then can we be certain that the greater divergence of the explanatory elements has not been produced by the more frequent transformations they have undergone? While a rigorous demonstration cannot be given without historic data, my conviction is that this is not the case. It would be necessary to assume, for instance, that the Cheyenne had so completely transformed a borrowed origin myth as to render it identical at every point with their myths relating to other ceremonies.

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[1]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 191–212; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Arapaho Traditions*, 19.

[2]Dorsey's record is that of the interpretation of shamans: whether the same ideas are current among the laity is not stated.

[3]"Magical" is hardly the proper adjective, since the Cheyenne do not stress the coercion of nature by their acts, but rather merely associate the concept of revivification with some of their activities. If the causal relation were uppermost in their minds we would expect something more than the vague correlation between such disparate behavior complexes as "forming the earth" (making a circle on the ground) and the modeling of pairs of animals by children.

At most the point is a methodological caution against accepting the differences in any phase at their face value: nevertheless, the differences between the Arapaho and Cheyenne dances seem a valid demonstration that the several phases were not transmitted with equal facility. I think we may assume that this contrast would hold for the whole area, for if here, in spite of a particularly intimate contact, there is this divergence in the religious notions, we cannot expect to find even as much similarity elsewhere where contacts have been less intimate. The phenomenon is familiar enough, for the common experience is that the same object receives different interpretations in different tribes. Vierkandt's conclusion is similar, for in a related field:—

". . . Bei der Religion ist ähnlich die Lehre vor dem Ritus in der Wandelbarkeit bevorzugt. Als z. B. die Religion des Mitra sich im römischen Reiche heimisch machte, blieb ihr Ritus unverändert, während ihre Lehre durch die herrschende Philosophie geläutert wurde.[1]

The mental content corresponding to each of these three differentially-borrowed phases must be varied. Nevertheless, without elaborating the point, we are surely justified in asserting that the discrimination is due in large part to their mental content. A copy of an object is complete in itself, without regard to the use to which it is put, or the explanation adopted for its existence. Imitation of behavior is similarly psychologically objective, since the essential is duplication of the objective relations of the prototype. The case is otherwise where abstract notions are concerned: the imitation of an organizing idea involves the assumption of a non-objectified relation which must wait for expression on some objective manifestation, a medicine bundle to be owned, a purchase price to be paid, a dance in which to participate, and so on. Imitation of mythological motivation and sanctions cannot be a simple application of the new idea to the native complex, for it must displace an integrated system of pre-existing notions which presumably already provide adequate explanations. The reason for the more ready transmission of objectified traits must lie in the condition "that the culture element in question be capable of detachment from its contact and comprehensible as such."[2] It is exactly from this point of view that we would expect a less wide diffusion of the organizing idea. Detached from its context it has no meaning. The etiological myth, on the other hand, forms a unit in spite of its complex structure and is transmitted as such. Only the fact that an organizing idea must be disseminated as an adjunct of some object or action can account then for its great diffusion.

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[1] *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel*, 119.
[2] Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, 31.

Comparison with the Tribal Ceremonial System.

The material selected in this long-continued borrowing has everywhere this common character. But the sun dances are not merely aggregates of diffused elements: the ideas locally injected to integrate the whole and the rituals originated have transformed them into something unique. How each tribe has made the ceremony peculiarly its own cannot be determined for want of precise historical data. But an approach is possible by recasting the question: in how far does the sun dance conform to pre-existing ceremonial patterns?

The fundamental Blackfoot concept is based on the medicine bundle; in this the rituals for personal medicines, the organized bundles (otter, etc.), and even the societies, whose regalia correspond to the more orthodox form of bundles, conform to type. None of these ceremonies involve the whole tribe. Bundles are individual property and, except for doctor's medicines, can be transferred or sold with their rituals. Such a transfer is directed by a former owner, with the principals' wives offering ancillary aid. Sometimes the ceremonies are held within a roughly constructed dance enclosure, but they are never elaborate. Invariably the ritual is sung and the participants dance with the articles comprising the bundle. In the group ceremonies, the transfer within a tipi is often immediately followed by a public dance.

By way of contrast the sun dance is a tribal ceremony, that is, the entire group acts in concert on this occasion, with functionaries drawn from the public at large. Objectively it is quite at variance with other ceremonies: the dance structure, the elaborate altar, and the torture dance have no parallels. On the other hand it is emphatically a bundle ceremony, and Wissler has clearly shown that both the natoas bundle and the weather dancer's functions conform closely to type. The only important difference is that the natoas is a woman's bundle. Together with the woman's society, it forms the sole exception to an otherwise solid array of man-owned rites. Like other group ceremonies (compare for example, the account of the Piegan Front-Tails), the rites of the preliminary tipi precede the dance. But here is an important difference: in the sun dance the same set of individuals does not take part in the two performances, the bundle transfer and the dance of the weather shamans.

A suggestion may be offered to account for this dual organization. It will be noted in the Blackfoot statement of origin that the medicine woman is credited with having incorporated the natoas bundle, then part of the beaver bundle, in the sun dance.[1] That is, it is held that originally

[1]Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, 214. Sapir has pointed out that the beaver bundle, at least in its present form, may be looked on as relatively a more recent construct than the sun dance, because of its loose superimposition on the latter complex (*Time Perspective*, 18).

the dance was given by a woman and a man, whose functions and relations were of the same tenor as today, but that the natoas then had no essential relation to the ceremony. This has an authentic ring, since the natoas, like some similar bundles, seems to be patterned on the beaver bundle. At any rate with the natoas eliminated the question remains why two actors participate independently. Objectively the Blackfoot dance most closely resembles those of the Arapaho and Cheyenne. It is possible that a Blackfoot couple acquiring the dance from either of these tribes would assume the relations necessary to establish the dual organization. In these ceremonies the consummation of the transfer comes during the preliminary tipi rites when the seller has intercourse in secret with the buyer's wife. From the Blackfoot standpoint this could not mean that the purchaser receives the ceremony by his wife's act, since an indirect transfer is inconceivable to them: one who receives the secret of a bundle is thereupon owner of the ritual. Even the surrender of a wife as part of the purchase price is foreign to their thought. In fact Lowie has shown that in the two instances where it does occur, namely, the equivalent Blood Horns and the Piegan Kit-fox societies, the Horns is a reflection of Hidatsa ceremonies.[1] In other words, in this hypothetical Arapaho or Cheyenne transfer, the women would emerge owner of the preliminary rites, while her husband, whose payments were made in the dance lodge, would be owner of the dance proper. Then if, conforming to Blackfoot custom, these rights were sold independently, the dissociation of the two procedures would be maintained. While all this is somewhat tenuous, the present discussion does not hinge on it, and it is simply sufficient to note that this is the only Blackfoot ceremony with such a twofold organization.

The general aspect of the relation of the sun dance to their other rites is quite clear. Objectively it is quite unlike any other ceremony: structure, dance, and dual organization have no equivalents. Where it is a question of who shall participate, however, the condition is otherwise: only the owner of the natoas bundle and the owner of the right to dance (the weather dancer) can perform the ritual—in other words, it is orthodox Blackfoot in being an individually owned ceremony. Its mythological background is far from coherent, since several distinct myths have been drawn on to provide an etiological setting, but as Wissler points out (p. 268) such growth of native theory by accretion of

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[1]Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 941.

folkloristic elements is a characteristic Blackfoot trait. As a result, the particular combination they have concocted is unique.

The Crow sun dance differs from all others in having a specific motive, namely, the desire of a mourner to obtain a vision which guarantees revenge on the enemy for the death of a relative. He obtains this vision through the agency of a sacred doll under the tutelage of its owner. While the motive and the mode of acquiring this vision conform to the characteristic Crow practice, as Lowie has pointed out (pp. 7–9, 13), it occupies an anomalous position in Crow life by reason of a ritual far more elaborate than that connected with any other war medicine. This appears more forcibly when we consider the general tenor of their other ceremonies.[1]

The personal medicines, among which the war medicines are to be numbered, are characteristically devoid of ceremonial: in particular, by contrast to the Blackfoot, they lack the systematic uniformity of the transfer and manipulation dances. As a personal medicine, then, the sun dance is noteworthy for its exuberance of objective detail.

Its position among other elaborate ceremonies is equally clear. It occupies first rank with the sacred Tobacco performance as a tribal ceremony. In passing it may be noted that while the Tobacco planting is conducted by a small group, it is for the tribal good, but the sun dance, in which the tribe as a whole functions, is for distinctly individual ends. It has been noted that the religious factor in the military societies is weak,[2] and it may be said that, in contrast to equivalent societies of other tribes, there is little ceremonialism. On the whole, the lengthy public performance of the sun dance is not only unusual in association with a personal medicine but is also somewhat more elaborate than the usual Crow ceremony.

Specifically, the vow is not the normal mode of inaugurating ceremonies, although it is sometimes the cause for the performance of the Cooked Meat Singing, adoption into the Tobacco Society, and acquisition of the Medicine Pipe. Preparation in a preliminary tipi with a formal procession to the dance ground also occurs in the Tobacco adoption and the Bear Song dance. Special dance structures, other than a temporarily enlarged tipi, are uncommon: the Hot dance and Tobacco adoption lodges being the only other examples noted. The sun dance lodge is identical, except in size, with the Tobacco lodge on which it must have been patterned. Tongues are also distributed to qualified

[1] I have drawn at length on Dr. Lowie's unpublished data on Crow religion.
[2] Lowie, *Crow Military Societies*, 149–151.

warriors in a peculiar manner in the Tobacco ceremony. Self-torture is practised by would-be visionaries acting individually, but not in any other ceremony. For the rest, while many generalized details re-occur commonly on ceremonious occasions, there is no single ceremony that parallels the particular combination of them which the sun dance embodies.

The situation essentially duplicates that of the Blackfoot, but it is somewhat more clear cut. The motivation of the dance is characteristically Crow, but the organization does not conform so strictly to current practice, as it is the applicant for assistance who seeks the vision, not the medicine owner. The ritual, however, is again the divergent phase, not only because it is far in excess of any other personal medicine manipulation, but because it has no specific parallel among their other ceremonies.

There is less information on the Arapaho. Nevertheless, the place of the sun dance is fairly clear. From a behavioristic viewpoint it stands apart from their more sacred performance, i. e., those connected with the tribal flat-pipe, the sacred wheels, the woman's bags, and the seven sacred bundles, for with these there is no singing and, except for the last, no dancing. Yet it occupies an equally high position in tribal esteem since the pipe and wheels are incorporated in it.

The Arapaho equate the sun dance to their age-societies, although participation in it bears no relation to progressive membership in that series. The native estimate is correct, for the parallelism between the two is far more systematic than that in any other tribe. The typical age-society ceremony is divided into a three-day preliminary period, followed by one of four days. The secret preliminaries are for preparation: on the first two evenings a practice dance without regalia is held in the dance lodge. The third evening a public dance is given there: it is repeated on the three following nights. They dance each day before sunrise, concluding with a race to a pole outside the lodge. The first night there is a begging procession. The dance lodge is a low circular enclosure, with a screen blocking its wide entrance. The dance is performed or new grades are acquired in fulfilment of one man's vow. Instruction and regalia are bought from ceremonial grandfathers, selected from among those who once held the grade. These in turn are under the direction of the seven sacred bundle owners. The initiates are assisted in their purchase by members of the second higher age-grade (elder brothers), who in turn select the leaders of the society. The grandfathers dance with the members. The latter may provide substitutes

if they are unable to participate. The initiate surrenders his wife to the grandfather in two of the dances, Crazy-lodge and Dog-lodge.[1]

Now all these essential characteristics are repeated in the sun dance: in fact the close coördination which exists can only be due to a continued interchange of features from one to the other. For example, the vow to acquire a new grade is peculiar to the Arapaho alone among all the tribes with military societies, but the vow has an identical function in the sun dance. Hence it is probable that the Arapaho have carried this idea from their sun dance over to their societies. As Lowie has pointed out, this is one indication of the unusual sacred character the Arapaho societies have acquired.[2] On the other hand, it seems that the three day preliminary period and the four day dance period of the sun dance has been patterned on their society procedure. To be sure, other tribes have a somewhat similar division of preparation and performance, but this is not characteristic of their society dances. Since this division recurs systematically in the Arapaho age-grades, it would seem that the transfer has proceeded from societies to sun dance and not in the reverse direction. If then the corresponding division of other sun dances is really comparable—which I am not sure is the case—we must regard this feature as one of the original components of the complex diffused from the Arapaho. There is also a begging procession in the sun dance: this seems to be copied from the society ceremonies. Whereas the societies beg for presents for a service already performed, i. e., the dance proper and special performances for the donors, the pledger of the sun dance simply begs for aid in meeting the expense of the ceremony. The fact that he makes his unusual request just before the evening dance is not contrary evidence to my mind, for he is unable to leave the lodge after this dance, that is, at the time corresponding to the society petitions.

The practice dances do not occur in the sun dance, but the sunrise dance does. Inasmuch as it does not take place systematically in other sun dances where it occurs at all, we may assume that the Arapaho transferred this rite from societies to sun dance, and that other tribes then copied it. The race to a pole, closing each morning dance, has no sun dance analogues. Both sun dance and society dances are held in circular enclosures, but there is no specific resemblance.

Lowie has pointed out the Arapaho anomaly of buying a new grade in a rigidly ordered series from a heterogeneous group of grandfathers,

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[1]Lowie, *loc. cit.*, 982.
[2]Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 151–168, 182, 193, 200, 211; Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 931–932.

instead of from members of the next higher grade as is customary in other tribes.[1] The sun dance grandfathers are similarly those who once bought the right to dance. Like them too, they dance with the initiates. The "elder brother" group does not occur in the sun dance. As the evidence stands it might be assumed that a relation which was rational in the sun dance was duplicated in the age grades. Still the relation is so essential in the latter that it is difficult to believe that it displaced an equally fundamental idea. Perhaps we are only justified in assuming that the Arapaho norm is always the purchase of ceremonial prerogatives from anyone who has ever held them.

The sun dance, like the society ceremonies, is under the direction of the custodians of the tribal flat-pipe and the seven men's bundles, but with more reason, since the flat-pipe is directly involved in the dance. If the flat-pipe rites were not an original part of the Arapaho sun dance complex, as I have suggested, then we may assume that the society pattern, direction by a bundle owner, has been applied to the sun dance. There is also a minor similarity in the substitute dancers who are permitted in the sun dance as well as the society series.

Wife surrender, occurring in the sun dance and in two of the age-societies, has only a scanty representation in Arapaho ceremonials, whereas it is more common among the Gros Ventre.[2] Both tribes share a specific trait, the transfer of a medicine root through the wife. The trait has undoubtedly been derived from the Village tribes, where it is a customary adjunct of purchase; but it does not follow, as Lowie intimates, that it has partly disappeared among the Arapaho.[3] At any rate, there is no evidence that these people transferred the custom from societies to sun dance or vice versa.

The one woman's dance (buffalo imitators) has points of resemblance to the sun dance: a lodge with a center pole crossed by a digging-stick, painted ridge poles, and the pledger's dance station. The Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni women's dances lack these traits: in that of the Blackfoot and in the Kiowa sun dance the association is palpably secondary. But it does not follow that the Arapaho women adopted these features from their own sun dance.

Such a close coördination of sun dance and age-societies implies a long period of common growth: a view that lends justification to the

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[1]Lowie, *Plains Indian Age-Societies*, 932.
[2]Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, 228, 244–245.
[3]In fact his conception of the Blackfoot-Village tribe relations might be adjusted in this way too (*loc. cit.*, 934, 948–949).

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position taken on the basis of distribution, that the Arapaho were largely responsible for the development of the sun dance.

The question was asked how the sun dance agrees with other ceremonies. It seems that in all three cases the agreement is greatest in organization and motivation, less in behavior, and least in material objects, regalia, etc. That is, the peculiar element injected into the mass of borrowed traits appears to have been largely determined by the ceremonial pattern. In the complexes under discussion the pattern takes its familiar form, that is, standards of organization and mythologic sanctions have most effectively operated. But there is not a priori reason for expecting individuality in regalia and behavior, for it will be recalled that Boas found that the Kwakiutl pattern applied to these as well.[1] The operation of patterns is certainly not a mechanical process; borrowed traits are not forced in a mould. The new is explained in terms of the familiar, and, as I believe the Arapaho data in particular show, the currently approved mode changes as the chances of history dictate.

Conditions for Modification.

Granted that the pattern operates differentially, is there any essential difference between the material that is adapted and that which is not? I cannot find that there is: for example, I cannot find any other characterization for those Blackfoot sun dance rites that resemble their other ceremonies and those that do not. Really the point is a broader one and not confined to pattern adaptations. The Arapaho and Cheyenne sun dances compared above have a majority of paraphernalia and rites in common, but there are a number peculiar to each tribe. Now I do not find any significant difference in kind between the common elements and the others. The Blackfoot, Crow, and Arapaho comparisons just detailed indicate a reciprocal influence of the sun dance and their other ceremonies. Yet there does not seem to be a distinction between the elements that were transferred and those that were rejected. Since selection does take place, and there is evidently nothing in the available material that determines it, the alternative lies in looking for determinants in the specific conditions under which traits were transmitted, elaborated, and assimilated.

Two stages are involved in these processes; first, the appropriation or invention of the novel trait by the individual, and then its socialization, its acceptance by the group. It is not my intention to consider

[1]Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, 43, et seq.

theoretically all the possibilities involved, but only to point some of them at the hand of sun dance data.

Such ceremonies as the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Wind River Shoshoni, or Ute are under the domination of a single individual or a small group whose powers do not coincide exactly. Such individuals can modify the performances to some extent if they see fit. For example, the two Oklahoma Arapaho ceremonies seen by Dorsey were not precisely the same because the emphasis was not placed on the same rites by those in control. Still better, on these two occasions the director did not follow the same routine in teaching his duties. What he taught and what he slurred were determined, at least in part, by what he, a systematizing adept, conceived to be significant. Given a domineering or psychopathic leader and the modifications might prove extensive. Such changes are not necessarily trivial, particularly if they represent a well defined drift of interest. The extensive influence of individuals in causing modifications of this type is well documented: for instance, we may cite Sitting Bull, the Arapaho Ghost Dance leader, who was all but successful in dominating that movement by sheer force of character. The Tobacco society of the Crow was augmented through the instrumentality of Medicine-crow, who derived authority for modifications from his visions. Through his influence the chapter of the society he founded became one of the most important, coming to supersede locally the Otter chapter from which it sprang.[1] Evidently much depends on success attending the introduction of a novelty: the disasters that overtook the Arapaho pledger who substituted a steer hide for that of a buffalo effectively blocked that substitution.[2] Minor changes noted by Dorsey seem to have been received with equanimity by the Southern Arapaho; even without rebuke by the supervising sacred bundle owners. Under these conditions men with the tendency to hazard the novel are encouraged to renewed efforts. Considerable latitude appears in even so simple a dance as that of the Canadian Dakota, although variations are probably limited by what is customary. A definite contribution need not come from the one in control: witness Komoudy's innovation among the Kiowa sacred properties, forced upon the ceremony without the sanction of the leading priest and accepted without a real comprehension by many others, and again the sacred stick carried by a Kiowa as his personal medicine.[3] I do not mean to imply that novelties are not sharply

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[1]Lowie, *The Tobacco Society of the Crow Indians*, 114, 117, 142, 150, 164.
[2]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 115–118.
[3]Scott, 350; Mooney, 301–302.

limited by their acceptance or rejection at the hands of the group, but that modifications are demonstrably the product of individual activity.

Such seeming novelties receive a readier acceptance than would at first seem possible. Appraising one of these ceremonies, say the Arapaho, as a whole, we find an essentially simple framework with a series of elaborating rites for incident after incident. For instance, procuring a tree for a center pole is a simple enough affair, but actually we find a series of scouting, skirmishings, ceremonious processions, prayers, and counting coup marking every stage of the process. What is true for the tree incident is true throughout: it is not difficult to mark what is essential to the complex and the rest appears as so much ceremonial embroidery. Now it does not matter that a number of tribes share the particular elaborating element; what we are interested in here is its invention and injection into the ceremony in the first instance. It is significant that these elaborations are not particularly novel: they are type procedures for situations which crop up on all ceremonious occasions. The whole process of elaboration then may be envisaged in this way: each time there is an action to be performed there is a tendency to act upon it in the commonly accepted mode. Thus, if at one point a pipe is to be smoked, it will be handled in the stereotyped manner for smoking on ceremonious occasions, or if a minor function is to be delegated to a prominent layman he makes it an opportunity for gaining social recognition by the recital of a coup. As Lowie has expressed it,

> a ceremony may bring about conditions normally associated with certain activities in no way connected with the ceremony itself; and, when these conditions arise in the ceremony, they act as a cue to the performance of the normally associated activities.[1]

It is true that the tendency does not become operative at every opportunity, say whenever a pipe is smoked, but it is nevertheless manifest. In fact the vast majority of elaborating rites can be explained in this way. To select a few at random: for some reason a buffalo hide was needed to hang on the center pole; forthwith there was a special hunt for the buffalo; the hunters were extra ceremonial laymen; it is an honor to assist in the dance, so prominent men were recipients of the right to function; prominent men characteristically draw attention to their social standing by recounting coups, hence the recital, and so on. A fire is built in the dance lodge; it must be fed, and since prominence attends even the performance of minor functions it is an opportunity for warriors to participate, feeding it a stick for each coup they can recite (Wind

[1]Lowie, *Ceremonialism in North America*, 626–627.

River, Blackfoot, Plains-Cree, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Southern Cheyenne, and probably Crow); a standard can then be set for warriors, for the most esteemed is he who can feed the fire until it licks a pendent buffalo tail (Blackfoot, and possibly Gros Ventre and Wind River). Manifestly what happens in general is that an individual desirous of elaborating the dance draws freely on the tribal stock of procedures and beliefs.

Obviously here is a clue why the modification is not particularly novel and why it receives a reasonably ready acceptance by the group. For even in the extreme case where an individual sets out consciously to introduce an innovation, he is not likely to invent anew. The ideas and materials he has to work with are those provided by his culture; his imagination is not free from its fetters; he is certain only to recombine the familiar. At the time he is by no means conscious that his invention is culture limited or culture determined.[1] This being so, a comparatively ready acceptance of his contribution by his fellows is intelligible, for the familiar in a new setting fails to arouse the antagonism accorded the foreign.

These inferences do not rest wholly on cases of elaboration, for a test of another sort comes to hand. Both branches of the Arapaho have the sun dance. The two performances are not the same, and it is clear that immediately after their separation the Oklahoma group, which lacked certain essential sacred articles and functionaries, were forced to draw on other features of their ceremonial life for substitutes. As the two divisions existed as early as 1823, and the southern band was definitely on its reservation in 1869,[2] there is no reason why we should consider the differences in their ceremonies as disintegrations due to civilization.

The differences to be interpreted may be briefly enumerated. There are differences in the minutiæ of the dance lodge and sweathouse construction, in the cedar tree at the secret tipi, in the procession to the dance lodge, and in the sacrifice of children's clothing. In the northern ceremony, but not in the southern, there are parades on the first two

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[1]How far the willfully unconventional are limited by their knowledge—that is, their culture—is painfully obvious in the current art exhibitions. Even philosophers, whose ratiocination necessarily presupposes the elimination of the culturally determined idea, fall victims to it. For example, William James in his *Principles of Psychology* stresses in part the importance of the sensations aroused by activities in the brain during thought for the immediate perception of the Self. Would he have rested the case so largely on this point, if he had not already known—a fact provided by his culture—that the brain was the major mechanism of thought? I think not, since the naive response of two Havasupai, when asked to locate the seat of their thought, had no reference at all to the brain. One explained that he knew nothing about it, since he had never been told: the other, that his whole body was the unit of personality in thought, although it might be that his eyes and head were more intimately related to thinking than any other parts of his body. In this connection it should be noted that these people designate the heart as the seat of the soul, the life.

[2]Curtis, VI, 139.

days, singing on the first night, a preliminary shelter used by old men, the buffalo hide and an offering of cloth are touched by children, a sham battle when the timbers are brought to the dance ground, a parade in the camp circle before the center tree is felled, the center pole is lifted with coupled tipi poles, and the use of the sacred pipe bundle. Peculiar to the Oklahoma ceremony are the shooting and counting coup on the center tree before it is felled and the stripping of its magic-laden twigs, lifting the center pole into place with the magical aid of a sacred pipe, dancing at sunrise on the fifth day, constructing wreaths and bandoliers in the dance lodge, and the imitation of geese while drinking the prepared water. The Wyoming dancers are painted more frequently than the Oklahoma: each group has some peculiar styles. In the north the center pole is raised on the seventh trail, in the south on the fourth. The preliminary dance includes shooting and shouting in the north, dancing to the painted rafters and drumming on a rawhide in the south. Finally a number of incidents common to both ceremonies do not occur in the same sequence.[1]

On the whole these differences are trivial, and considering the complexity of the dance, surprisingly few. For the most part they arise from the absence of traits in Oklahoma: as Kroeber suggests, it would seem that these features were originally common to both groups, but were lost or abridged in the south.

But more fundamental differences do exist as well. The principal medicine used in the Wyoming dance is the tribal palladium, the flat-pipe, by far the most highly venerated object in their possession. Naturally the keeper of the pipe is the director of the dance. But he might have acquired this function simply as one of the seven sacred bundle owners, as presumably he is: their function is to oversee all the sacred dances, his is the "chief direction of important ceremonies."[2] One of several sacred wheels is also used in the dance, where it is held in moderate esteem. Now if we turn to the Oklahoma dance we find significant differences. The tribal pipe is lacking, and with it, of course, the keeper as director. A sacred wheel is the principal medicine object here, while a lesser sacred pipe is introduced for actual use. Members of the highest men's society, i. e., the seven bundle owners, oversee the dance: its active director owns his function.

What has happened is fairly obvious: the tribal pipe was lacking in the southern group, therefore their sacred wheel, as the medicine next in

[1]Compare Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 301–308.
[2]Kroeber, *loc. cit.*, 207, 309.

prominence, acquired an enhanced value, until it is today, *in the eyes of the southern Arapaho,* next to the tribal pipe the most sacred possession of the tribe.[1] All ceremonies, according to Arapaho thought, must proceed under the superintendence of the sacred bundle owners: hence with no tribal keeper at hand, these men assumed a position in the southern dance. However, the specific functions of a director were dissociated from the pipe in their minds: they now appear as the prerogatives of one who has them, not because he owns a sacred object, but because he has purchased the office.[2] The concept of the purchase of an official position is common enough among the Arapaho: at bottom, that is what the payments of the sun dancers and military society members amount to, and certain transfers of sun dance functions, noted by Dorsey, are purchased in an identical manner.[3]

Conditions for Transmission.

The distinguishing traits of the southern Arapaho have arisen in exactly the same way as the elaborating rites. Whenever the requisite objects and principles for action were lacking, they drew on their fund of ceremonials, not on their imaginations, for substitutes.[4]

The reapplication of the familiar trait and the incorporation of one that is borrowed must proceed under somewhat similar mental conditions: the real distinction would lie rather in the conditions under which the individual acquires the foreign idea.[5] The contacts permitting borrowing are notoriously variable, ranging from the capture of the Kiowa medicine doll by the Ute to the intimate relations of the Arapaho and Cheyenne.

The two instances in which ceremonial objects were captured appear barren of results. In 1833 the Kiowa *tai'me* (the principal sun dance medicine) was taken by the Osage, who returned it in 1835: in 1868 the Ute captured the minor medicine dolls, one of which they sold to a white trader.[6] So far as the testimony goes neither Osage nor Ute made use of their booty, although the Osage had a ceremony resembling the sun dance in some respects.[7] In fact, the sun dance did not take root among the Ute until 1890. It is not obvious that this should have been so, since Boas found that the sacred regalia secured in war by the Kwakiutl were

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[1]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance,* 12; Kroeber, 309–310.
[2]Dorsey, 26, 33, 126.
[3]Dorsey, 26, 53, 108, 129, 158.
[4]A similar substitution has become necessary in connection with the snake dance at Oraibi. The schism of a decade ago deprived the village of the Antelope priests necessary to the ceremony: their place has been taken perforce by members of the sole remaining kiva, the Snake men (Dr. Lowie's field notes, 1916).
[5]Similar views have been expressed by Goldenweiser (*Principle of Limited Possibilities,* 268, 287; *Social Organization of Indians of North America,* 422).
[6]Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa,* 324.
[7]Speck, *Ethnology of the Osage,* 168–170.

at once put to their proper use.[1] What we must infer is that neither the Ute nor the Osage were previously well acquainted with the sun dance. If they had been sufficiently informed, as in the case of the Kwakiutl, the acquisition of these objects might have precipitated the performances. On the other hand, we might infer that they had no desire to use medicine objects, the precise significance of which they did not know.

The commonest condition for transmission must have been the casual observation of travelers, or even marauders, the opportunity afforded by intertribal marriages, and the gratuitous information of foreign visitors. The diffusion of many of their minor traits by the renegade Cree of Montana among the Shoshoni and Ute in recent years is typical; although of course the modern freedom of intercourse is unusual. The long continued intimacy of the southern Arapaho and Cheyenne provided conditions in which transmission must have been at a maximum. Each tribe always invites the other as a unit to attend their ceremony, whereas only individuals extend their hospitality to friends in other tribes.[2] Dorsey observed Arapaho dancers taking part in the Cheyenne ceremony, "as provision had not been made for the sun dance in their own tribe."[3] Although they were painted in their own peculiar style by Arapaho "grandfathers," used their own regalia, and retired at their pleasure, they must have felt not only that the rituals were so similar that they could safely enter without a breach of ceremonial etiquette, but also a community of interest. Cheyenne were also called upon to fill certain positions in the Arapaho dance,[4] which afforded them ample opportunity to perform their duties in their own characteristic fashion. These tribal relations afforded unusual opportunities for observation of the foreign traits and for learning their meaning; furthermore, it actually provided illustrations of how the traits would fit into the recipient ceremony. It cannot be denied that the familiarity of the whole group with the novel trait given by such relations made its adoption easier.

It would seem that we can account for the wider distribution of rites and regalia over features of organization and mythologic notions right here. Normally the observer does not have an opportunity to learn the esoteric connections of things he sees, granted that he has an interest in discovering them. Shamans are in the habit of imparting

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[1]Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, 424–431.
[2]Dorsey, *Arapaho Sun Dance*, 23.
[3]Dorsey, *Cheyenne Sun Dance*, 128, 148, 167.
[4]*Arapaho Sun Dance*, 78.

their knowledge, even among their own people, to shamanistic candidates alone. Ordinarily the chance of dissemination to a foreigner may be slight. Furthermore, it may be assumed that the casual visitor is readily satisfied with an explanation for a ceremonial object which his own beliefs furnish. It may also be assumed that his people would be even less receptive to a novel idea that he might transmit than to a novel object or activity, for they have not the same contact with the vigorous and real setting to overcome their antagonism. On the other hand, there is traditional data which suggest that visits of some duration were occasionally made by individuals with the definite purpose of acquiring esoteric knowledge. Such an interchange of ceremonies as that of sun dance and Young Dog dance by an Arikara and a Skidi presumably offered adequate opportunity for the transmission of the esoteric point of view.[1] There is at least one situation noted when esoteric information may have been directly transmitted; on the occasion when a Wind River Shoshoni shaman officiated for the Ute (p. 393).

An excellent example of the transformation undergone by a trait due to its reception is in the dissemination of the self-torture idea. The practice centers among the Dakota and the Village tribes, where the number of individuals, variety of forms, severity, interest, and seriousness are at a maximum. As we proceed from this center the extent of these practices uniformly decreases until we reach the Wind River Shoshoni, Ute, and Kiowa, who do not torture. I have shown (p. 491) that the torture features were incorporated secondarily in every sun dance with the possible exception of the Dakota; that is, that the torture complex must have been disseminated more or less in isolation. One factor in its spread must have been contact with a tribe who held the torture essential in a large degree, in order to have evoked sufficient interest in the performance to overcome a natural repugnance to it. The severity of the Crow tortures, an exception to the uniform decrease from the Missouri center, may be looked on then as resulting from their intimacy with the Hidatsa. At the same time a second factor must have been the receptive or antagonistic attitude of the recipient group. For example, vision seekers among both Crow and Cheyenne practised the

[1]Murie, *Pawnee Indian Societies*, 587, 641; To select an instance from another Plains ceremony a visiting Hidatsa introduced the Medicine Pipe ceremony among the Crow by adopting one of their number. All the essential knowledge was imparted on this occasion, so that the recipient was enabled by subsequent adoptions to transmit the ritual to his tribesmen. The River Crow have borrowed the Horse dance from the Assiniboin. Among the latter people this is essentially a secret, shamanistic performance, hence it is inconceivable that the Crow would have obtained the essential performance and particularly the sacred medicine, without the most intimate contact. In fact one of their number induced an Assiniboin shaman to impart his knowledge, and, in turn passed it on to other River Crow (Lowie, *Religion of the Crow Indians*).

very type of tethering used in the sun dance. Self-torture of varying degrees of severity has been noted as a common thing, among others for the Arapaho, Plains-Ojibway, Hidatsa, Mandan, Saulteaux, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, and even the Kiowa. That is, there was a certain body of accepted ideas which lent an air of familiarity to torture in a new setting. On the other hand the Kiowa were definitely antagonistic to the idea. This may be in some measure a rationalization of their lack of interest, for in spite of professing an extreme aversion to shedding blood at the sun dance, they have continued the performance even when this happened.

A third factor must have lain in the differing interests expressed by the emphasis placed here on one phase of the dance, there on another. The Dakota were the only people who regarded torture as the essential element: their ceremony was inconceivable without it. The Kiowa were interested in the efforts of their principal dancers to obtain visions for the common dancers through their medicine doll: there was no place for the torture idea in their ceremony. They may have argued that if torture was introduced to assist in obtaining visions, the principals would lose their prominence. Then, too, torture seems to be associated with the quest of visions from non-objectified powers, not from earthly medicines. Even the Crow, who have adopted torture under somewhat similar conditions, have incorporated it artificially, so that neither the medicine doll owner nor the whistler suffer from the side issue. Doubtless in some cases a more intense interest in the whole sun dance, whether in its spectacular or religious aspects—for the torture might have been used to reinforce either—might have brought an approximation to the Dakota situation.

Obviously the interest of the people in their ceremony must have had a prime influence in its development. Here we approach a series of problems which so far have not been touched on in this study, viz., those relating to the position of the sun dance among tribal ceremonies and its meaning in the life of the participants. Lowie, in his "Ceremonialism in North America," has indicated in a general way the various mental attitudes of those involved in a ceremonial performance. Unfortunately adequate data of this type do not exist for the sun dance. Some general conditions come to light, however. The Plains-Ojibway, Plains-Cree, Eastern Dakota, and Ponca have the Medicine dance, and the Assiniboin and the River Crow, the Horse dance, as well as the sun dance. We know definitely that the Plains-Ojibway and the Assiniboin consider the two dances of equal importance.[1] Now the Medicine Lodge

[1]Skinner, *Cultural Position of the Plains-Ojibway*, 317; Lowie, *The Assiniboine*, 57, 58.

at least is distinctly a ceremony in which the desire of the individuals for religious saturation and for an equal share in the performance may obtain a maximum satisfaction, whereas the sun dance, with its emphasis on the distinction between the leader and all others, is deficient in opportunities for absorbing the interests of the greatest number. Even where the sun dance has been reduced to the Woodland type of personal ownership it does not provide equivalent opportunities, although something of the sort results from the Ponca fraternity organization. Only if the clash resulted in a shift to the spectacular, could we expect to find the sun dance making headway under such conditions. In short these must be looked on as cases in which the sun dance, failing to displace a strong preëxisting complex, aroused only a moderate interest in its performance, and consequently failed to be elaborated.

On the other hand the centering of interest in the sun dance among those typical Plains tribes where it is the principal ceremony, has undoubtedly been one of the potent factors in its growth. The whole tribe, reunited for the summer buffalo hunt (the dance usually occurs during this period), is concerned for days in this elaborate series of rites. Advantage is taken of the period for a host of unrelated ceremonies, with the inevitable consequence that some of these recurring associates are incorporated, while others remain regular, but informal, accompaniments. For example, the Blackfoot consider the sun dance week as preëminently fitted for the performance of all other rites; certain rites not directly related to the sun dance have acquired so close an association with it that they are regarded as loosely connected: the woman's dance, reflecting sun dance features and taking place only at the sun dance, might well have been incorporated in that complex just as an equivalent rite was taken in by the Kiowa, and so on. But none of these incidental rites are permitted to interfere with the performance of the sun dance, so that it stands alone at the focus of heightened ceremonial interest. Under such conditions the variations leading to elaboration may well develop.

Summary.

It has been possible to review some of the conditions which determined the development of this ceremonial complex. Borrowing of minor traits has been one of the major mechanisms in this process, but borrowing has not meant the acquisition of any and all material nor its adoption without change. On the contrary, a strong systematic selection has been exercised; material objects and procedures, being imitated in advance of the ideas originally associated with them, are organized on the native

model and given the motivation of the familiar religious sanctions. This is consonant with the pattern phenomena observed in general in ceremonies. But further, in the process of their assimilation foreign ideas are reduced more completely to the native standards than any of the material or behavioristic manifestations of the ceremony. This would account for one specific characteristic of the sun dances, namely, their marked similarity in objective features and unlikeness in others.

The particular collocation of culture elements found in each sun dance is the product of a long series of historic events. Just what results on each of these occasions, when a novelty is acquired by an individual and subsequently socialized by his fellows, is dependent in each case on the circumstances. In certain ceremonies, as the Arapaho and Cheyenne, minor modifications are made by the officiating individuals, with the probability strong that they will henceforth constitute the standard ritual. Apparently such changes and even outright innovations depend for their adoption on the character of the innovator, their initial success, the interest of the community, and their familiarity with the novelty. In fact it would seem that most innovations which have gone to expand the sun dances were not particularly novel. The framework of the ceremony is simple: most of its elaborating rites are type procedures for ceremonious occasions which were associated with it whenever the conditions occurred that normally called them forth. Their utilization on such occasions would probably not excite unfavorable comment, hence the probability of their inclusion in subsequent performances. Innovations which are really substitutions, such as those in the Arapaho ceremonies, have the same character; the whole field of ceremonies and religious paraphernalia provided the substitutes for the required needs.

Presumably the inclusion of a foreign element takes place under much the same mental conditions as when a native rite is reapplied to the complex. The distinction would rather lie in the difference in range of the material that is available for inclusion. Here we meet the great diversity of conditions surrounding the acquisition of the foreign trait, only a few of which are illuminated by the sun dance data. That the mere capture of the Kiowa medicines failed to bring about the adoption of the sun dance by the Osage and Ute is chiefly intelligible on the assumption that they were not acquainted with notions of their use. Under the diametrically opposite condition of extreme intimacy between the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the transmission of even the most esoteric traits was possible. In fact, the frequent participation of members of one tribe in the dance of the other gave an opportunity to the latter to

see the effect of incorporation of the novelty in their dance before they adopted it for themselves. There are all manner of possible conditions of transmission between these extremes. As a rule, however, we may expect that they would provide more readily for acquaintance with objects and behavior than with esoteric notions. Nevertheless, we must assume that complete instruction in these matters was given on such occasions as adoption, purchase of ceremonial prerogatives, etc.

The socialization of the borrowed trait is equally a determinant in producing its ultimate specific character. The dissemination of the torture features, for example, was not only contingent on their form in the transmitting tribe, but also on the comparative receptivity or antagonism to such practices, and on the interests of the borrowing group. Evidently the interest shown in the ceremony as a whole operated as an important factor for or against its elaboration. Where, as among the eastern and northeastern Plains tribes respectively, the Medicine Lodge and the Horse dance were important ceremonial rivals of the sun dance, it is only reasonable to expect the lack of interest in its development which we observe. On the other hand, in the central Plains, the sun dance stands at the head of the ceremonial hierarchy. Consequently the interest in its rituals has there produced the most elaborate forms of the dance to be found in the area.

The actual cultural forms may be explained, at least in part, by these particular circumstances. It would not have been sufficient to state that the peripheral tribes have borrowed the dance from Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala. A history in this form would give no insight into the processes that shape a particular cultural form. The same criticism could be leveled against Vierkandt's and Tarde's general studies. So long as we present only a series of stages statically conceived we fail to make clear in what way a particular trait acquires its peculiar character. The data on the sun dance are far from adequate to permit the full delineation of these developmental processes. The desideratum is a more precise knowledge of the function of the innovating individual, of his cultural equipment, the character of his milieu, and the extent of his contribution; that is, information of the type presented by Radin in his "Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago." It is doubtful that data of this nature can now be obtained for the sun dance, but it is equally a requisite for any other study of cultural development. In fact, the consciousness of this is evidenced by the transformation of ethnographic works in recent years from presentations of culture as static, standardized products to their description as fluctuating, variable forms.

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