

Reconstructing Lakota Ritual in the Landscape:
The Identification and Typing System for Traditional Cultural Property Sites

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Grandma, grandpa, mom and dad, I did it.
Hécetu yeló "Enough said"

Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to the *Lakota oyáte* “Lakota people.” The traditional *wóksape* “wisdom” this work contains about our *wicóahoꝑeꝑi* “customs” and *ohéꝑi okítaꝋiꝋ* “manifesting special places” is presented first and foremost on their behalf.

Abstract

This Lakota methodology and taxonomy for identifying traditional cultural property sites was developed from understanding how the Lakota view the land and how a place produces a tangible social meaning that directs how the Lakota use it in order to perform a culturally significant traditional activity. It identifies sites by making an association between a specific kind of place with a specific kind of activity. The taxonomy uses Lakota designators to identify site types in order to reveal their quality of traditional cultural significance and create the appropriate cultural context for relating to them.

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Chapter One: *Ho Lakota* “a Lakota voice”

Introduction

This work is about Lakota traditional cultural property sites (TCPs) and the development of a Lakota survey methodology and site taxonomy system designated the Identification and Typing System for Traditional Cultural Property Sites, hereinafter ITS-TCPS. The purpose of this methodology is to locate and identify significant kinds of Lakota traditional cultural property sites. To identify them in accordance with a kind of particular activity performed by the Lakota in a particular kind of place, and to classify sites into a culturally relevant site type that makes clear their traditional cultural significance. For the Lakota, the traditional cultural value of a TCP the fundamental essence of why they possess traditional cultural significance to our people is because they communicate *wóslolye* “knowledge” of our *wicócajeyatepi* “traditions” to us. Our TCPs exist because we created and continue to create them through prayer, ceremony, and activities our people perform in the landscape.

The Lakota philosophy “*wówi yukcaŋ Lakota kiŋ*” describing the actionable nature of our TCPs, this *wicálapi* “belief,” affirms that when a TCP is viewed by a Lakota it functions as a symbolic trigger causing the individual viewing it to *waciŋkiksuya* “to remember all things well” as *he ótaŋiŋ okíciyak aupi* “tradition manifests itself.” Thus evoking powerful *wakiksuyapi* “memories” of *wicóahoŋe* “custom” and *wōecoŋpi* “practices,” things which reinforce one’s own sense and awareness of his or her cultural and ethnic identity. This traditional philosophy concerning the nature of our TCPs has been unanimously endorsed by all of the

traditional spiritual leaders, traditional tribal elders, and traditional cultural authorities, who have contributed cultural information to this work, as well as the *Ptehiŋcala Caŋnuŋpa Awaŋyaŋka* “Keeper of the Calf Pipe,” Arvol Looking Horse. The reason for producing this work is to make known the Lakota perspective about our TCPs and express that perspective through the discipline of historic preservation.

The goal of historic preservation is to preserve the ability of historic and cultural resources to communicate an intended meaning, a meaning that is fixed in the cultural practices that negotiate how the authenticity of the resource should be expressed both culturally and cross-culturally. A traditional cultural property is by definition a kind of historic property type that possesses traditional cultural significance to Native American groups. In this work that group is the Lakota. However, professional Euro-American cultural resource practitioners, the so-called disciplinary experts, dominate the field of historic preservation. From a Lakota perspective, these practitioners often appear to view the field as their own professional domain and the exclusive preserve of anthropology. I characterize this mind-set as a form of professional hegemony, where the practitioners own world view dominates the identification and interpretation of TCPs.

Scholarly and applied studies of traditional cultural properties are skewed in favor of applying Euro-American anthropological methods to investigating TCPs. They identify them through a process of systematic study, which Euro-Americans scholars deem important and in-line with scientific principles concerning the anthropological, historical interpretation of the past. This leads to ethnocentric practices that have been and remain detrimental to the Lakota. For example, review the following quoted

sections contained in the South Dakota Statewide Preservation Plan 2006-2010; the Mission/Vision Statement, the Plan Development Strategies section, the Historic and Cultural Resources section defining “resources representing historic contexts,” and the Implementation Strategies section Part 7 (National Park Service, Heritage Preservation Services, Historic Preservation Planning Program 2006).

Mission/Vision Statement

“The South Dakota State Historical Society seeks to promote, nurture, and sustain the historical and cultural heritage of South Dakota by *collecting, preserving, researching, and interpreting* (author’s emphasis) evidence of the state’s irreplaceable past and making it available for the life-long education and enrichment of present and future generations. The Office of the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), as a program of the South Dakota State Historical Society, strives to achieve this objective by *surveying, documenting and protecting archaeological* (author’s emphasis) and architectural resources significant to South Dakota’s past.”

Plan Development Strategies Public Participation Strategies

“Planning questionnaire customized for and sent to variety of individuals and groups, including property owners, realtors, developers, architects, archaeologists, preservation consultants, other cultural organizations, charitable organizations, professional associations, municipal and county governments, regional planning agencies, state and federal agencies.”

Historic and Cultural Resources

“Historic heritage; historic places; historic properties; architectural, historic and archaeological sites; German-Russian and Czech settlement architecture, courthouses, mining resources; prehistoric rock art and burial mounds; districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant for their association with history, architecture, engineering, archaeology or culture; prehistoric archaeological sites; 20th-century tract housing; historic buildings; Fort Pierre Chouteau National Landmark; Verendrye National Landmark Site; Oahe Chapel; resources representing historic contexts, such as **Pre-Sioux habitation** – effigy and burial mounds, tipis, rock alignments, pictographs, petroglyphs, earth lodges lodge dwellings; **Sioux Era, Indigenous Sites and Structures** - tipis, log structures, battlefields, modern tribal centers, dance grounds, fasting sites, sweat lodges.”

Implementation Strategies

7. “Widespread Acceptance and Use of Established Preservation Techniques.”

- “Use of the Secretary’s Standards as the basis for all identification, evaluation, and registration activities;”
- “Use of the Secretary’s Treatment Standards as the basis for treatment activities;”
- “Educate public and private entities through workshops and training sessions;”
- “Establish and expand a technical information resource file for the public; organizations, tribes, and government agencies.”

These declarations demonstrate my point about disciplinary experts privileging their own world view over those of the Lakota concerning historic preservation. The process of researching, interpreting, surveying, and documenting historic and cultural resources as prescribed in plans like the SDSPP clearly indicates that these kinds of activities lie within the exclusive purview of professional Euro-American cultural resource practitioners. Who researches and interprets the past? They do. Who has identified what constitutes historic and cultural resources? They have. What techniques will they use to identify and evaluate “Sioux era” resources? The Secretary’s. Are there only 7 kinds of identifiable Sioux era resources? The experts appear to believe this because only 7 are listed. Who will educate the public and private entities? They will. Who will establish and expand an information resource file for the public? They will.

Are the Lakota incapable of researching and interpreting their own past? Are they incapable of identifying their own historic and cultural resources? Are they incapable of employing objective techniques of their own that can identify and evaluate historic and cultural resources that they say are important to their people? Are there more than just 7 identifiable resources to which the Lakota ascribe significance? Are they incapable of educating public and private entities about what they identify as culturally important to their own people? Of course not!

Țáku oy “the reason why”

Historic preservation pertaining to identifying and documenting Lakota TCPs is essentially an anthropological cross-cultural study of human geography where the focus is on studying the patterns and processes that shape how the Lakota interact with their physical environment and imbue certain locations therein with cultural meaningfulness. I created this methodology in order to bring about an inclusion and infusion of an emic Lakota perspective to identifying, evaluating, and documenting Lakota TCPs because, frankly, there was none before this effort was undertaken. During the 1990’s, Lakota tribes were repeatedly approached by federal and state agencies to consult and identify their traditional cultural properties in order to address these properties in preservation planning. Between 1993 and 2002 I served as the Cultural Preservation Officer (CPO) for the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of Indians, and it was during my tenure as the CPO that I became aware of the issue of TCPs after reading National Register Bulletin 38 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* in the summer of 1996. Prior to reading the Bulletin, I had no idea such a thing as a traditional cultural property existed.

Owógláke “consultation”

From the onset of my consultations with federal and state agency representatives I immediately realized that the professional cultural resource management personnel weren’t so much asking me or other Lakota tribal representatives to identify what our TCPs were. Rather they were attempting to get us to endorse what they thought our TCPs were or should be. For example, they described TCPs as being sacred sites, those places where the Lakota were historically known to go on a regular basis and perform a

traditional ceremonial activity, such as a vision quest or a Sun Dance. Furthermore they added that it should be a place where our identification of such a location can be substantiated by supporting documentation obtained from historical records that indicate the place was held as sacred to the Lakota. In some instances they would also speak about locations where our people went to gather medicinal plants as potentially a place that might be considered a TCP, but with the caveat that the resources being collected were used for ceremonial purposes in a specific ceremony like the Sun Dance.

The irony in these meetings was that these people were coming to us to obtain some kind of guidance from us in identifying our TCPs, soliciting us to: “Tell us where your TCP sites are. Show us their locations so we can identify them and address them in our preservation activities.” What was truly offensive about these meetings was listening to them describe to us how they would evaluate our identification of our TCPs. They would use the guidelines set out in Bulletin 38 to interpret the cultural significance of a property, then determine whether or not our identification met the required criteria. Essentially our participation in these meetings consisted of pointing to a location, over there, and then waiting for them to investigate the location, document its physical contents, interpret its cultural significance, evaluate it, and then decide whether the location could be recognized by them as one of our TCPs. Frankly, I grew increasingly disturbed by this paternalistic attitude, and believed my people were being pigeonholed by these professionals on this issue.

We were not informing them what our TCPs were. They were telling us what they were, and placing conditions on how they wanted us to identify them via their emphasis that our identification of a place must be substantiated by documentation in

the historical record. Moreover they were interpreting the cultural significance of a property against a criterion not of our own making and rendering a determination as to whether or not they would recognize a place as one of our TCPs. Their preconceived perceptions about what Lakota TCPs are, how they should be authenticated and evaluated, angered me. I questioned the validity of their consistent characterization of TCPs as just sacred sites because this did not allow us, or any other Indian tribal group, to account for other types of significant sites that we could identify as culturally important and can call or refer to as a traditional cultural property. I did not and do not accept that what the Lakota identify as a TCP requires substantiation of the identification by finding references to it in the historic record. And I found it offensive that non-Indians were the people interpreting and evaluating the cultural significance of a location we identified as culturally important to us. If all we were going to do was point to some location somewhere, hopefully one mentioned in the historical record, then patiently wait to be told by these non-Indians that they've managed to confirm our identification, interpret its cultural significance, and evaluate it so they could render a determination about it, then why even go to the trouble of soliciting any information from us in the first place? Their framing of this issue already provided them with a means to identify our TCPs and to do so without our involvement. Based on my observations during these consultation meetings it was clear that they were establishing their ownership of this issue. They were imposing upon us their framework for discussing TCPs. They were asserting a non-Lakota standard of authenticating the identification of a TCP. And they were evaluating the cultural significance of a TCP as they interpreted that significance. That realization distressed me because, essentially,

that meant a Lakota TCP did not exist unless they said it did. And for me and my people that was unacceptable.

Too often cultural resource management professionals approaching the process of identifying TCPs are mindful of one thing, and that is the idea that a property “must” be eligible for inclusion in the National Register before it can be identified “by them” as a TCP. Unfortunately this is the irksome issue with TCPs, this perception that the recognition of a property hinges on its eligibility status. This is not correct. “Bulletin 38 didn’t create TCPs, or make them eligible for the National Register” (King 2003:36). It was intended to “clarify how such places could be eligible for the National Register and hence be accorded a degree of protection by federal law” (King 2003:1). My intention in this body of work isn’t to claim that every TCP the Lakota identify is eligible for nomination to the National Register. On the contrary, my position has always been that some of our TCPs are eligible for the National Register, and some are not. If the Lakota or any other Native American cultural group says a particular property represents one of their TCPs because it possesses cultural significance, then that property is a TCP. Once the identification is made all that remains is to evaluate it with regards to the National Register criterion and determine its eligibility status.

Wacinyuze “ones thinking-frame”

There had to be a better way to frame the issue of identifying Lakota TCPs and do so in such a manner that the Lakota owned the issue of determining their cultural significance. There also had to be a way whereby the Lakota could agree that while many TCPs are sacred sites, other kinds of sites or places could also be identified as culturally important to us. The origin for my research, for this body of work, the reason

why I undertook this effort, stems from this period in my life. I realized during my tenure as CPO that there is a huge disparity between Lakota and non-Indian interpretations as to what TCPs are or can be, and this disparity needed to be resolved. This resolution could be achieved by bringing about an inclusion and infusion of a Lakota perspective to the process of identifying and documenting TCPs. A resolution that empowered the Lakota to control what is or is not recognized as a TCP.

What I set out to accomplish with this work was to develop a systematic Lakota methodology that combines accepted scholarly evaluation practices with Lakota approaches to locating and identifying TCPs. Furthermore, I wanted to do so in a manner that makes clear their cultural significance by presenting this information from a Lakota perspective. My goal was to demonstrate that the Lakota are the most qualified people to locate, identify, interpret, evaluate, and document their own TCPs. Since they are responsible for making a place culturally significant, they are also the ones who are best capable of communicating cross-culturally the actual cultural significance of their TCPs. Indeed, the procedures established in National Register Bulletin 38 state that the most important detail involved in recognizing a TCP is being able to identify and explain its cultural significance (1990:1).

I recognized while researching and defining what Lakota TCPs are that my findings must be in-line with the applicable federal laws, policies, and guidelines governing historic preservation activities. I believed, as did all of the Lakota men, women, and *wiŋkte*, i.e., Lakota third gender, who have contributed cultural information to this research study that my findings also had to reflect and reveal Lakota cultural thought and practice and be presented in a scholarly manner. Knowing I would have to

distinguish, describe, and defend my findings and conclusions within a scholarly framework that was recognized and respected by peers in the field of cultural property management, I sought to develop a system that combined accepted scholarly evaluation practices with Lakota approaches to identifying traditional cultural properties. This meant I needed to come up with a way to tell people how to identify them. To do that I needed to demonstrate that there are recognizable kinds of cultural evidence people can see that can simultaneously be used to let them verify a particular location as a TCP, and communicate why it is important. I realized it wasn't enough to simply try and create a list naming the locations the Lakota say represent TCPs. To discover what a TCP is I had to identify it, I had to define it, I had to have a way to find it, and then I had to have a way to explain it so non-Lakotas could understand why it is important.

These challenges I faced were significant, to be perfectly honest due, to my own ignorance about this issue between 1996 and 1999. The only way I could tell people what our TCPs were was to point to a location somewhere and basically say: "You see that hill over there, the one that looks like the hump on the back of a buffalo. That hill is a Lakota TCP because our people go there to pray and do ceremonies."

Ohútkay "the beginning of things" and the process of discovery

Initially, when I set out to demonstrate that the Lakota have more kinds of TCPs than just sacred sites, I did so accepting the premise that the easiest way to characterize a TCP was to describe it as a sacred site. Doing so makes it easier for a person to contextualize it so it can be examined, evaluated, and documented. However, I felt it was inconsistent and disingenuous to emphasize this singular assessment of what a TCP is because the term "sacred site" is not incorporated into the language that defines

traditional cultural properties. The term is defined in Presidential Executive Order #13007 and means:

“any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site” (Clinton 1996:1).

In Bulletin 38 it states that a traditional cultural property can be generally defined as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community (1990:1). The quality that a property possesses allowing it to meet this definition is its cultural significance. The bulletin provides one example of cultural significance a property may possess and that is its *traditional cultural significance* whereby traditional “refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice” (Parker and King 1990:1). Therefore traditional cultural significance is “derived from the role the property plays in a community’s historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices” (Parker and King 1990:1).

The bulletin provides five examples of properties possessing such significance (1990:1). Of these, the two italicized below are what I determined to be the most applicable to the Lakota prior to having any contact with Euro-Americans. The approach I took to distinguish that a TCP can be a sacred site was to represent them as

ohépi wócekiye “prayer places.” A place where our people went to pray and we Lakota identify as *ohépi okítajij* “manifesting special places.” How I arrived at this determination was noting how the use of the term “Native American” in the bulletin is never directly associated with buildings or structures in the examples of properties discussion. To emphasize what is associated with Native American is underlined below (authors emphasize) and as a result of these associations conceptualizing of a Native American TCP is slanted in favor of contextualizing them as sacred sites.

- a location associated with the traditional beliefs of a Native American group about its origins, its cultural history, or the nature of the world;
- a location where Native American religious practitioners have historically gone, and are known or thought to go today, to perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice.

As I studied the wording of this language I began to understand why federal and state agency representatives and cultural resource management professionals were so insistent upon describing a TCP as a sacred site. The structure of the Introduction section first discusses the issue of cultural significance. That quality a property must possess in order to be evaluated before it can be documented as a TCP, and the examples of properties precede the definition of a TCP. As a result of this structure, schema-driven sensemaking where “schemas refer to the dynamic, cognitive knowledge structures regarding specific concepts, entities, and events used by individuals to encode and represent incoming information efficiently” (Markus 1977:35) led them to conclude TCPs are sacred sites because they were essentially primed to do so as a result of the scripting of the introduction. I concluded that as a result of the authors of the bulletin

choosing to discuss the issue of cultural significance before and not after they defined what a TCP is, they essentially framed the perception of TCPs as sacred sites. By the time a reader reviews the definition one is thinking in terms of them as being places associated with Native American religious beliefs and ceremonial activities.

In addition to my determination about the scripting of the introduction, I also recognized that the concepts that the bulletin and the Presidential Executive Order, attempt to encapsulate also help erroneously frame, categorize, and couch Lakota TCPs in terms of being sacred sites. The meaningfulness of the underlying ideas for terms like traditional cultural property, cultural practices, beliefs of a living community, cultural significance, traditional cultural significance, traditional, traditional beliefs, ceremonial activities, traditional cultural rules of practice, sacred site, religious significance, and ceremonial use are established by non-Lakotas and are meant to be applied to what others “think” is a Lakota equivalent for them. I felt there was an assumption that these terms and their meaningfulness would be the same among the Lakota as they are among non-Indians. This view presupposes that the Lakota see things in the same manner as non-Indians do and I knew that wasn’t true.

Only half of these English terms are actually translatable into Lakota. When they are, traditional, traditional beliefs, ceremonial activities, sacred site, religious significance, and ceremonial use must be contextualized within the context of our culture. The translation from English to Lakota changes in varying degrees their meaningfulness because it changes the thought behind the words. This in turn impacts the identification, interpretation, and the evaluation of a TCP. From my point of view, based on the rationale I was following about schema-driven sensemaking that

continuously reinforces the framing of TCPs into the category of sacred sites and knowing how language translations can impact thought and perception I felt secure that I had a very plausible explanation for why cultural resource management professionals were essentially programmed to predetermine that TCPs are sacred sites.

“Schemas serve as mental maps which enable individuals to traverse and orient themselves within their experiential terrain (Louis 1983, Weick 1979) and guide interpretations of the past and present and expectations for the future” (Harris 1994:310). Schemas allow people to structure impressions, interpret information, and create frameworks for problem solving. They do affect how we perceive and interpret external stimuli. For instance, people who come from diverse cultural backgrounds interpret the meaningfulness of things differently because they are taught by their unique cultural differences and experiences to encode information along a prescribed cultural norm.

As a Lakota I possess a different set of sensemaking structures and thought processes apart from non-Indians due to my cultural background. And because I possess a familiarity with my own native language, which I employ to identify places which are culturally important to me and my Lakota people, I contextualize and interpret the meaningfulness of places differently than non-Indians simply because I perceive them from my own cultural context. For example, I have never referred to a location in the landscape as a sacred site when I speak my own language. When I use Lakota to identify something important, noteworthy, or significant in the landscape, I do so within the context of my own Lakota culture. My native language enables me to perceive things differently than if I were to interpret the meaningfulness of a place using English,

because I'm subscribing to Lakota thought patterns about my relationship to my surroundings which requires me to name things in a descriptive and specific manner that reveals how I would use a place. "We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages...we cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way-an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (Whorf 1956:213). Consequently when I observe a location a non-Indian anthropologist, archaeologist, or ethnographer points to and says is a sacred site I don't see the land per se. I see the kind of activity performed in the location, or the kind of activity which can be performed in the location be it a ceremonial activity, or a different kind of activity such as collecting a natural or mineral resource. After that is when I see the landscape, taking in the totality of its physical characteristics, and organizing the environmental setting into relatable components or parts which help me understand why an activity was or can be performed there in the first place.

Believing that I now understood the reasons why cultural resource management professionals characterized TCPs as just sacred sites and the processes involved in forming that conceptualization I turned my attention to learning why they value using the historical record as a means to substantiate and confirm the identification of a TCP. To put this matter into perspective I turned toward examining a well known and documented land feature our people call *Mató Pahá* "Bear Butte."

Awáciŋkel "thinking upon"

I could readily accept how a place such as *Mató Pahá* "Bear Butte," a distinctive isolated geological feature in the Black Hills country of South Dakota that is a

nationally and internationally documented religious site for Plains Indians tribes as a place of prayer, meditation, and peace could be labeled a traditional cultural property (Figure 1).

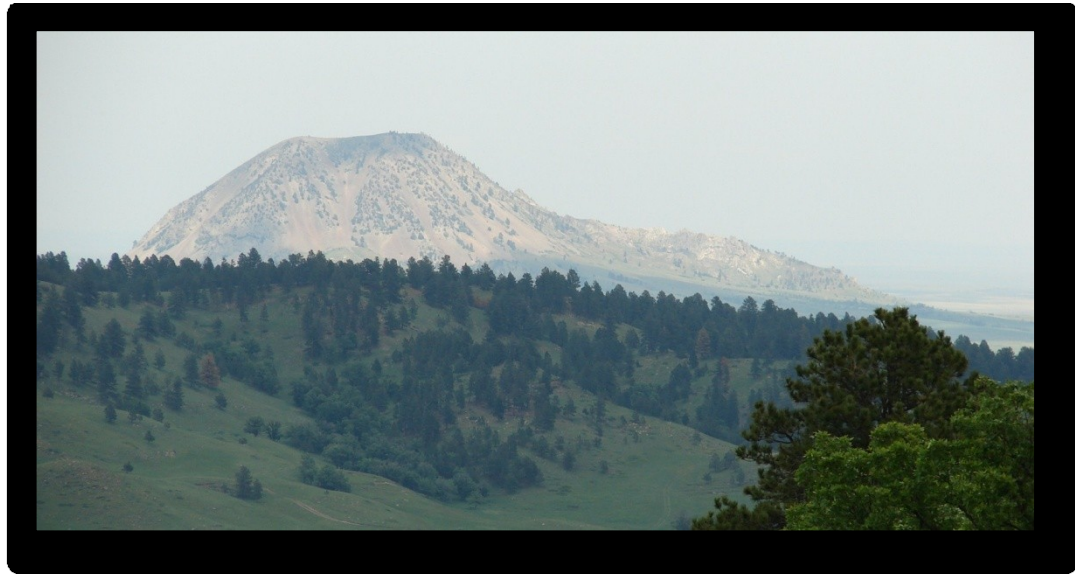


Figure 1

To name just a few, Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Kiowa peoples have extensive oral traditions about the mountain. These traditions describe it as a place of prayer and revelation, and there is a wide-ranging amount of historical and academic literature recording these tribal traditions (see also Forbes-Boyte 1996:100; Sundstrom 1996:177). What makes *Mató Pahá* and places like it such as *Mató Típila* “Bears Lodge” or Devils Tower, another distinct isolated geological feature in Wyoming, readily acceptable as TCPs is first there are simply too many tribes identifying these two features as culturally important to them. They can’t be ignored as insignificant. Second their very distinctiveness makes them stand out in the landscape so they are

easily seen. Lastly people can see Lakota's at or going to these places using them as locations to perform traditional ceremonies in. Therefore they are perfect models for contextualizing what TCPs are and how they are used.

This rationale precisely reflects the position professionals take on how to properly identify TCPs. The two sites have researchable documented oral traditions linked to them; they are distinctive visible features which can be seen in the landscape; and people can see us using them for ceremonial purposes. Evaluating and documenting their cultural significance is easily accomplished, since they are already recorded as sacred places to the Lakota as our people go to them year after year to perform traditional ceremonies. In this context for this kind of model for TCPs I could accept the value in using the historical record. A record that documents a place Lakota's use for whatever purposes implies the location possesses some form of significance otherwise the Lakota wouldn't be recorded using it.

However, I also realized that historical ethnographic records only capture moments in time, and not every location we Lakota view as culturally significant has been documented. Unfortunately historical ethnographic records are oftentimes presented as authoritative monologues describing and interpreting the practices and beliefs of Native American peoples. When this occurs we lose the ability to represent ourselves. As Lassiter states after interviewing a Kiowa elder who was concerned about the power and politics of representation of the Kiowa peoples past concerning "who has the right to represent whom and for what purposes, and about whose discourse will be privileged in the ethnographic text" (Lassiter 2001:137), there is a "gap between

academically positioned narratives about their community (and there are many) and community positioned conversations about themselves and their traditions” (2001:138).

What I feared about using historical records to substantiate a Lakota identification of our TCPs is centered on this privileging of positioned narratives about our past. Because my people had been recorded using a place, descriptions describing why they went there and what they did there are evaluated to identify the significance of a place. Those historical recordings are used as comparative models, a means to determine if what took place in the past matches or is similar to what is taking place in the present at other places. This comparative methodology has merit as a research technique, but because it attempts to establish a normative base for contextualizing TCPs it results in two things which pre-position’s non-Indians to assert control over this issue. First it binds the conversation of what TCPs are to the model that is established by them, not us, and second it restricts our ability to freely express in our own conversations what we say they are. Once referenced as model examples of TCPs, *Mató Pahá* “Bear Butte” and *Mató Típila* “Bears Lodge,” it is natural to organize one’s own approach to identifying all TCPs along these very same lines. That sites have oral traditions linked to them, that they are visible features, and people can be seen using them. This means comparative modeling creates expectations and one looks for the model to identify TCPs. However, following this kind of methodology can result in missing sites and overlooking other kinds of places because they do not conform to the model, and that disturbed me.

The question I asked myself was: How do you identify, evaluate, and document, lesser known places? Undocumented places which aren’t as easily seen in the landscape

and differ physically from the *Mató Pahá* “Bear Butte” and *Mató Tipila* “Bears Lodge” models, such as the hill I fasted on as a young man, and get it recognized as a TCP?

Ohe kágapi “making place”

The small hill I had gone to for my *hanbléceya* “cry for a vision” ceremony, *Mató napé pahá* “Bear paw butte,” isn’t well known. In contrast to Bear Butte and Devils Tower you would not describe this small hill as a large distinctive natural feature. It’s a plain nondescript grassy hill. It’s just another butte like all the others you see dotting the prairies throughout the Cheyenne River Sioux Indian Reservation. If someone were to casually pass by this hill, even today, all they would see is a small grassy butte rising up in the landscape out in the middle of nowhere. Assuredly no anthropologist, archaeologist, or ethnographer could ever see my *owányanke* “sacred vision” directing me to go fast there. If someone was doing an ethnographic literature search or an archaeological site report search to locate Lakota sacred sites *Mató napé pahá* is not going to show up in a review search. There are no written records documenting oral traditions linked to this hill nor is there a site report describing it as a place a Lakota can go to perform a ceremony like the *hanbléceya*. Although I appreciated that the bulletin was drafted to address how to evaluate and document traditional cultural properties, I was concerned places like *Mató napé pahá* would be overlooked, or worse ignored as insignificant because there are no historical or contemporary records documenting it as a significant place to the Lakota.

In the early 1970’s as a boy spending a couple of summers pretending I was a cowboy, I stayed down at my Uncle Wayne’s ranch riding horses and checking cows, and I often road up to the top of this butte to survey the landscape looking for strays.

Uncle Wayne told me the family called this hill by their place-name for it, Bud Butte, named after the oldest son Bud Henry. So I grew up calling this hill Bud Butte. The story behind the naming was Uncle Bud as a boy used the hill as a vantage point to check cows. This vacant space in the landscape was a good place to ride up on and use for scouting out the surrounding countryside looking for stray cattle. Yet in the summer of 1989 resulting from a spiritual activity which I performed on Bud Butte in June of that year the cultural significance and value of this natural feature, this vacant space in the landscape in my uncle's pasture, changed dramatically.

I grew up Catholic yet I've never known spiritual comfort participating in Catholic rituals or attending Mass. At age 19 I set aside my Christian faith and returned to practicing the traditional Lakota ways of belief. In April of 1989 I had a *wówan̄yaŋké* "sacred vision." The day before this experience I had driven out to Scatter Butte a large broken formation of hills some nine miles from my home where years before one of my uncles had previously gone to perform the *haŋbléceya* ceremony. I, too, was preparing to perform this ceremony that year and I thought Scatter Butte would be a good place for me to go to do this. I remember standing on the butte at its highest point and simply viewing the surrounding countryside, debating with myself if this was the right place for me to *haŋbléceya* on. I left Scatter Butte undecided if I should go there for my fast, and that night I went to bed praying about where I should go. While I slept I experienced a powerful vision, one that has changed my life and changed my families long held perception of Bud Butte as being simply a good place to stand on to view the surrounding countryside.

Hanblóglaka “vision talk”

The following passage is *hanblóglaka* “vision talk.” “*Mitákuyepi* ‘my relatives’ in my vision I was visited by a large brown grizzly bear. I was standing on top of Scatter Butte looking west when I saw this huge bear with two red tipped eagle feathers tied on to the back of its head, and two tied on to its tail, walk up to me on all fours. I turned to my left to face it and when the bear reached me it turned around and started walking to the south. As it walked away it looked over its left shoulder at me and spoke, telling me that the hill I was looking for lay to the south and “bears my name.” It said “*Takója hunkákepi kin wócekiye kákiya yo* “grandson the ancestors prayed over there in that place.” Then as I watched the bear walk away I saw the hill it spoke of off in the distance. It was ‘*shaped like the hump on the back of a buffalo*’ oriented west-to-east, and at the base of the hill lying on the northwest side I could see a large grey colored granite boulder. *Héceú yeló* ‘Enough said.’”

The hill I saw in my vision was Bud Butte. I recognized it the moment the bear showed it to me. I shared this vision with several of my elders, telling them what had been shown to me and inquiring if anyone knew if our people had used the hill as a place to fast on. Not one elder could tell me they knew about the hill being used as a prayer place but all of them told me to follow my vision and go there to do my *hanbléceya*.

In early June I and my younger brother Owie went to the butte to look for where I would erect my fasting alter, which is called a *hócoka kağiya i'céya* “altar where he makes it difficult for himself,” (Chasing Hawk personal communication 2008). While we stood below the butte on the eastside of it my brother called my attention to an

impression that was visible in a small concavity about midway up the slope. Outlined in the grass was a perfect representation of a bear's paw print. As I stared at the feature I recalled all of the times I'd ridden over, on, and around this butte looking for cows, and the days I spent cutting hay on the flats below it. I honestly had never seen this paw print outlined in the side of the hill before. Yet there it was, right in front of my eyes, and it had been my younger brother who'd called my attention to it.

As a result of this experience, of seeing the bear paw print on the side of the butte I began calling Bud Butte, *Mató napé pahá* "Bear paw butte." I interpreted the paw print as proof that my vision to fast there was a true one. I honestly believed I would be the only person to ever call it by this name, after all everyone on my mother's side of the family and the people who live on the neighboring ranches only knew this hill by the name Bud Butte. Yet as more and more of my relatives and friends learned about the discovery of the paw print impression, and of me performing my *hanbléceya* there, they too began calling the hill Bear paw butte.

My vision directing me to fast there, my going there with my brother and witnessing the impression of a bear's paw print on the side of the hill; those two things have completely changed my family's and many of my people's perception about this location. In the succeeding years after 1989 more members of my family, and then other tribal members, began using the hill as a place to fast and pray. Between 1990 and 1995 the area below the butte became the location of a Sun Dance ceremony held there because this butte had become an *ohé okitanjin* "manifesting special place," a place spirits visited, where young men could go to pray. When this dance came to an end a second Sun Dance started up below the butte the following year in 1996. This dance has

been held there every year since then. The hill has also been used as the site of a traditional scaffold burial of a CRST tribal member in 2002. Now 20 years after I had gone there to fast, following the vision I received to do so, Bear paw butte is a tribally known and recognized place of prayer, sacrifice, and a burial site. But it also remains a location still not documented in any professional records.

As a young boy I thought of this hill as simply a place to ride up on so I could acquire a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside, a high place to go to in order to look for stray cows. When I looked back on my youth involving this hill, to me then, it was simply vacant space possessing no cultural meaningfulness. Yet my actions as an adult changed this perception and imbued the hill with a meaningfulness far surpassing that of a mere vantage point in the landscape. Identified through a sacred vision as a place to fast because the ancestors used the hill to pray, visibly marked with a discernable impression in the grass interpreted as confirmation this was the place I needed to *hanbléceya* on, and re-named by myself to honor that sacred vision, *Mató napé pahá* has become more than just a hill, more than just vacant space in the landscape. I realized “as every ethnographer eventually comes to appreciate, geographical landscapes are never culturally vacant” (Basso 1996:75); that while reviewing what I had done on this hill, and what I’d done to this hill by changing its place-name, that my actions back in 1989 had unintended but fortuitous consequences which I only became aware of as I studied how this little hill could be evaluated and documented as a Lakota TCP.

P̄iya k̄aga “transformed”

“Place-names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations—associations of time and space, of history and events, of person and social activities, of oneself and stages in one’s life” (Basso 1996:76). As Bud Butte people thought of the hill as a good vantage point from which to survey the surrounding countryside because the story behind this name describing the hill’s usefulness identifies it in this manner. But as *Mató napé pahá* “Bear paw butte” the story behind this name for the hill describes how in a sacred vision a bear came to a young man who was searching for a good place to fast, and was told by the bear this hill was where the ancestors prayed. What had once been perceived of as culturally vacant space was *p̄iya k̄aga* “transformed” through vision and action. To many Lakota people the character and meaningfulness of this small hill changed in 1989 and it became culturally significant because of that vision and those actions of just one young man. In reviewing my actions involving *Mató napé pahá* I realize an old place of prayer, one of our *ohépi okítanjin* “manifesting special places” had been remembered and renewed through vision. A part of our traditional past, a specific place, had been reawakened and brought back into use through the performance of a specific ceremony. That place where I went to fast in 1989 had been made “*k̄aga*” once again.

Wawiyewakiyapi “I recognized some things”

Mató napé pahá “Bear paw butte” as a kind of property represents an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.” A place the Lakota identify as an *ohé okítanjin* “manifesting special place.” Until 1989 the butte was more or less considered culturally vacant space. Then, and never mind the vision part, once people began using the butte for ceremonial

purposes that vacant space transformed into culturally visible space replete with meaningfulness and cultural significance derived from how it is used.

The activities performed there not only reveal and make visible its cultural significance, observing those very same activities signifies the association, the measure of evidence, that distinguishes the butte as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.” I realized reflecting upon *Mató napé pahá* enabled me to see how places are remembered and made. However, what gets evaluated about TCPs ultimately goes towards recognizing and interpreting the cultural significance of the kind of activity which is performed in a place, and not so much the place itself.

For me to identify *Mató napé pahá* as a Lakota TCP I would have to show that it was “a location where Native American religious practitioners have historically gone, and are known or thought to go today, to perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice” (Parker & King 1990:1). By declaring the hill a TCP because it is a location where Lakota people perform ceremonies this isn’t saying much about its cultural significance to the Lakota. It doesn’t because I haven’t said what kind of activity is done there, or why doing a particular kind of activity at that location is culturally important to our people. To explain its cultural significance I realized I needed to describe the significance of the activities performed there and explain why they take place there by demonstrating the link that exists between place and activity. The idea I developed to address this matter was to identify what kinds of activities we Lakota perform. To identify those first then apply that information to the landscape and use it to identify the kinds of places the Lakota go to perform an activity.

Taking this approach to identifying TCPs would demonstrate the link between activity and place and immediately identify cultural significance.

For example, the *hanbléceya* ceremony has very specific teachings describing its cultural significance to our people, and there are specific teachings, criteria, that direct where people are to go to cry for their vision (see also Brown 1989:44-66; Rice 1983:37-55). By examining those criteria I realized I could develop an account that describes specific kinds of physical features and characteristics our people look for in the landscape that lend themselves to performing this ceremony. Synchronistically by following this rationale this process also revealed to me that we Lakota possess a distinct observable pattern of land use connected to performing activities and how perception of place governs how we Lakota will interact with it. “We may know a people, but we cannot truly know them until we can get within their minds, to some degree at least, and see life from their peculiar point of view. To do that we must learn what goes on in their spiritual culture area” (Deloria 1983:12).

All of these things taken together established the basic framework for my research. What I would do is base the identification of TCPs on understanding how land is used as an integral component of performing culturally significant activities, activities that make place and help us maintain and continue our cultural identity as a distinct group. I decided if I could make this approach to TCPs clear and defend my efforts through good research supporting my findings, then I would have a means, an applied Lakota methodology; to not only get my old *hanbléceya* hill recognized as a TCP, but also a mechanism to identify other undocumented places as well.

T'akini “born again”

In the field of historic preservation ITS-TCPS is a unique Lakota response toward discussing traditional cultural properties and those locations in the landscape where various kinds of significant cultural activities are performed. This methodology is a tool but it is also a document which I consider is a unique record, a repository so to speak, that contains a large quantity of previously unrecorded qualitative cultural information about the traditional ways and beliefs of the Lakota people. It speaks with a Lakota voice about *wóonspekiyepi* “teachings” related to how our people see the world we live upon both before and after contact with Euro-Americans. The methodology is a Lakota survey methodology and site taxonomy developed to locate and identify significant kinds of Lakota TCPs and TCP sites. But at its core it is about the Lakota people, and our traditional beliefs, practices, and customs upon which our traditional society was established.

I never suspected that it would take me over ten years of hard work gathering together all of the information I would need in order for me to come up with some basic answers that would allow me to tell others what our TCPs are. To collect the information I needed to complete this research and present my findings. I had to conduct exhaustive comprehensive reviews of the Lakota oral tradition. Spend countless hours reviewing federal preservation laws, regulations, and policies. I reviewed volumes of historic literature about the Lakota, and interviewed numerous traditional spiritual leaders, traditional tribal elders, tribal oral historians, and tribal educators, gathering information from them documenting significant kinds of cultural activities, and recording the kinds of physical locations they are commonly performed in. I have

tested this methodology repeatedly in the field, conducting Lakota TCP surveys for federal, state and tribal entities, constantly applying the principles I was developing all in an effort to refine it and demonstrate beyond doubt that this Lakota methodology works and works well.

I needed to do all of this before I was in a position to tell anyone: “You see that hill over there, the one that looks like the hump on the back of a buffalo. That hill is one of our TCPs. That hill is a Lakota traditional cultural property because that place possesses traditional cultural significance for us. It’s not just a bump or some protuberance in the landscape. We call that type of hill a *pahá caŋháhake* “buffalo hump hill” and when we look at it what we see is a *wanágitipi* “dwelling of the spirits,” a *kabláya* “holy place.” The home of *Iŋyaŋškaŋškaŋ* “Rock that moves” who we believe is the creator of this world. His *ouŋye* “domain” here on earth is in all the high places in the world. We go to these places like that hill in order to perform significant cultural activities we call *wakaŋ wicóhanpi* “energy-life ways of doing,” or *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship,” which when we perform these things help us keep our traditional ways and beliefs alive.”

Chapter Two: *Lakōl wicóhan* “a Lakota way of doing” The Approach to Creating the Methodology and Taxonomy

Akítapi “research”

Before I could identify places the Lakota would consider sacred sites I had to contextualize what a sacred site is and understand why a place is sacred. I began by compiling a list of known Lakota sacred places such as Bear Butte, Devils Tower, Mille Lacs, Devils Lake, Spirit Mound, Pipe Stone Quarry, and, of course, Bear paw butte. All of these places are referred to in general conversations as *wanágitipi* “dwelling of the spirits” by the Lakota, and it is self-evident any place identified as such would be considered a sacred site. But this is only a superficial observation and declaration of cultural significance. For example, in an area like Mille Lacs in Minnesota there are documented oral traditions describing it as a Mysterious Lake known as the dwelling of *Unktehi* “Holy being” (Campbell 2000:19). It derives a substantial degree of its cultural significance from this belief that it is inhabited by a spirit. But ethnographic documentation about the kinds of significant activities mentioned occurring in this area speak primarily about making *owáunyanpi* “acts of sacrifice” to *Unktehi* to please him so crops will grow (see Walker & Jahner 1983:130-133). What is missing is information describing what kind of sacrificial acts were done and where around the lake they took place. I felt that this was the type of information that needed to be addressed and brought to light in my research because those acts of sacrifice and where they took place represent individual TCP sites within the area of the lake. In of themselves they

are just as important to our people as the lake is and can be identified as *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” where a Lakota goes to pray.

Identifying places where the Lakota go to pray presented me with a greater challenge than identifying places where spirits live. What I set out to do was discover a means to contextualize where the Lakota go to pray according to the activity performed in those places, and to identify them so they could be recognized as independent sacred sites even when they were located within a *wanágitipi* area. Taking this research approach I sorted sacred sites into two lists:

- Places where spirits live
- Places where the Lakota go to pray

To identify the kinds of places the Lakota go to pray I created a list of ceremonies that I separated into two categories. The first listed those that are performed somewhere outside in the landscape, and the second listed those that are performed indoors. The primary source of information I used to identify important ceremonies was and still is oral tradition. This is a body of narrations referred to as *wóyake* “to tell” (Theisz 1975:6) that record the cultural and historic past of the Lakota as we ourselves interpret that past. It contains numerous *wicówoyakepi* “true stories” that describe and explain significant traditional activities. They give details of their origins, their intentions, and of course of how and where they are generally performed. My first list of ceremonies was the Seven Sacred Rights (see also Brown 1989). They are:

- *haṅbléceya* “cry for a vision”
- *inikaḡapi wókeya* “sweat lodge”
- *išnata awicalowaṅ* “maiden advance to womanhood”

- *huŋkálowaŋpi* “making relatives”
- *hokšícawŋkiyapi* “spirit keeping”
- *wiwaŋyaŋk wacípi* “sun dance”
- *tab waŋkáyeypapi* “throwing the ball”

Initially I determined the *hokšícawŋkiyapi*, *išnata awicalowaŋ*, and *huŋkálowaŋpi*, were not germane to what I was attempting to do because these three ceremonies are performed in a person’s home. However, as my research later revealed there are materials associated with the *hokšícawŋkiyapi* and the *išnata awicalowaŋ* that are set out in the landscape when the ceremonies are completed. Because of their cultural significance as extremely significant ceremonial objects these objects constitute recognition as a “ceremonial site” as defined in *National Register Bulletin 15 How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (1990:5). The *haŋbléceya*, *iníkaġapi wókeya*, *wiwaŋyaŋk wacípi*, and the *tab waŋkáyeypapi* are ceremonies performed outside, and wherever they are performed these would be considered the kinds of places the Lakota go to pray because in my approach place and activity are linked together.

I needed a model to effectively reveal how place and activity are linked together to demonstrate how sacred sites are made. I decided to focus on reviewing the *haŋbléceya* ceremony as my model and I did this for several reasons:

- It is the one ceremony our people have never stopped performing
- We do this ceremony in a wide variety of different physical locations
- It’s what people tend to think of when they name places the Lakota go to pray
- It has an easily identifiable altar that can be seen

- When completed there is physical evidence remaining within the site area that can be identified and documented

I looked first at information about its origins. According to oral tradition this is the oldest ceremony the Lakota possess and its purpose is to communicate with the spirits (Dooling 1984:124). Its function is to provide an individual with understanding about their life, how they are living it, and how they can live it. The origin story contains instructions and explanations for where you go to fast and why you go there (see also Walker 1980:105; Lewis 1990:49). For example, the reason why one goes to a hill to do this ceremony is because the high places, the mountains and hills, are the *ouŋye* “domain” of *Inyaŋškaŋškaŋ* “Rock that moves” (Dooling 1984:6). The Lakota believe all spirit power and the material world, the earth and its life forms, all originate from him. Because he lives in the high places spirit power resides there. Since his spirit presence is always there it is this presence which makes high places sacred places to pray because they are places of spiritual power. Once I had one working explanation for why high places are sacred places, which also explains why the ceremony is performed on hill tops, I still needed a mechanism that would let me locate the site on a hill where someone erected their fasting altar to perform this ceremony.

Hócoka kaġiya i'céya “altar where he makes it difficult for himself”

There are components of fasting altars left in situ when people complete their *haŋbléceya*, and searching for these altar remains was and is the mechanism best suited for locating and identifying *haŋbléceya* sites. It is relatively uncomplicated to identify the most common form of contemporary fasting altars because so much documentation exists describing the kinds of material objects used in constructing them. The basic

components of a fasting altar consist of a buffalo skull and four directional staffs on which are hung a large tobacco offering commonly referred to as a tobacco flag. A long continuous strand of small tobacco offerings, referred to as tobacco ties, is strung between and around the directional staffs encircling the interior area of the altar where the individual will remain praying until the ceremony is complete. To locate a contemporary site what one searches for are the left behind directional staffs and tobacco ties. There are other items used by individuals as essential elements in constructing their altar but generally, with a couple of exceptions, these are not left in situ when the ceremony is completed.

I knew based on my own knowledge and experience that although our people regularly use this particular type of altar, there are other altar types we use for this ceremony. To identify those types I did an exhaustive review of the oral tradition and expanded my research efforts to include any written accounts describing fasting altars in order to construct an altar type list. I did so to record the kinds of material items used in constructing them in order to determine which components would be left in situ that would allow an investigator to identify a site.

In the story of *Tokáhe* “First to go” it tells how he passes the ceremony to his sons teaching them to go to “some hidden place and remain there without food or drink, and pray to the spirits” (Dooling 1984:129). After his sons return to the camp *Tokáhe* makes a ceremonial altar “digging a square space of ground, four spans long and four spans wide, and pounding and leveling the earth” (Dooling 1984:129). This kind of altar is called a *kabláya* “to make level by beating-a holy place.” To make it you scrape away the surface soil four spans long and wide. A span *napápašdecápi* is “the distance

between the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger when stretched out” (Riggs 1992:330). With the surface soil removed to complete the feature you simply pound the area level with the palm of the hand. Although no one can identify when it occurred in the past this altar type is the first to be incorporated into the *hanbléceya* ceremony. Why the surface soil is removed is the Lakota believe that the “surface of the earth is contaminated, but that the earth beneath is clean” (Powers 1982:13). A *kabláya* can still be found inside many fasting altars. It is the place a person stands and sits in while fasting.

The next type of altar is the altar of *Šuŋk* “Dog” and *Pahiŋ* “Porcupine,” which consists of a *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull” placed next to the *kabláya*. This altar type is identified as a *tataŋka hócoka* “buffalo altar.” A third altar is identified as a *hócoka inyaŋ ti* “stone ring lodge” constructed from stones ranging in sizes from small 5 to 10 centimeters in diameter, medium sized 11 to 20 centimeters in diameter, to large sized 21 to 30 centimeters in diameter. A fourth altar is identified as *Ománi škaŋ hócoka* “Moves walking altar.” It consists of a *kabláya*, a *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull,” and a *wápaha* “ceremonial staff” made of either June berry, choke cherry or cedar wood. Tied to the top of the staff is a small *tahá gmigméla* “raw-hide disk” that is quilled around the outer edge. Suspended from the center of this disk is a single eagle feather. A fifth altar consists of excavating two types of pits in which an individual stands or sits in. The first pit type is a shallow circular shaped feature which may or may not be ringed with small stones one or two spans “*napápašdećapi*” in diameter. The second pit type is actually more or less identified as a *wicáhapi* “grave.” It is larger and more oblong shaped than the first type of pit. A sixth altar from the historic period is described by

Heháka Sápa “Black Elk.” The most prominent features recorded by Brown are the wooden posts and offering sticks used to erect the altar (Brown 1989:56-57). The little offering sticks are called *caṅ cékiya* “prayer sticks,” and the larger wooden post is simply referred to as *caṅwákaṅ* “flag pole” or *tiyópa wákaṅ* “sacred door-entrance.” Among the Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe a type of fasting altar was built that consists of large earthen mounds ranging from 6 to 6+ meters in diameter (Gill Sr. personal communication 2008). This identification of mounds as fasting altars was further substantiated by other Dakota spiritual leaders from the Prairie Island Indian Community in Minnesota (Curtis Campbell personal communication 2008), and the Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska (Thomas personal communication 2008).

Pahá pajóla “a prominent, conspicuous hill”

After I completed identifying the various altar types and the kinds of components they possess. I realized I needed to know if there were other factors involved in choosing a hill to fast on and, if so, what would those other factors be. I am a *wóyu haṅble yuha* “vision carrier,” one of those Lakota individuals often identified as a *traditional spiritual leader*, meaning I possess in-depth knowledge of our traditional culture. I mentor young Lakota men, teaching them our traditional spiritual beliefs *Lakól wakaṅ wicóhaṅpi* “Lakota energy-life ways of doing.” I know people are free to choose when, where, and how they will *haṅbléceya*. However, I also know people don’t choose just any old place to fast.

Based on my own knowledge and my experiences as a *tiyópa awaṅyaṅka* “intercessor” that I have acquired over the course of my adult life, I set about making

another list identifying common types of hills and natural settings most regularly chosen as places to fast in. To affirm my identifications were accurate about the types of hills our people like to *hanbléceya* on, I contacted my peers and elders, people I've known most of my life who taught me about our traditional ways, in order to have them either support or modify my findings. The individuals I contacted represented all three genders of the Lakota, men, women, and *wiŋkte*. All are tribally recognized traditional spiritual leaders, traditional tribal elders, and vision carriers. Each of these individuals is an enrolled member of their respective tribe. They are acknowledged through acclamation of our people as the preeminent cultural authorities who are the most knowledgeable of our traditional past. The tribes they come from are the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, Yankton Sioux Tribe, Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, and the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe. I also contacted traditional spiritual leaders, traditional tribal elders, and vision carriers from the Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska, and in Minnesota I contacted traditional tribal elders from the Lower Sioux Indian Community and the Prairie Island Indian Community.

My peers and elders confirmed my findings about the kinds of hill types we Lakota commonly use as *ohépi waštěštie* “good places” to *hanbléceya* on. These hills are fairly distinctive and noticeably separated spatially from any other large protruding land forms. Their common profiles are: small conical hills identified as *heyōka ti* “lodge of the clown” (Figure 2), humped backed hills identified as *pahá canháhake* “buffalo hump hill” (Figure 3), saddleback hills identified as *canwakin hu* “saddle bow” (Figure

4), ridgeline or ridgeline terraced hills identified simply as *bló* “ridge” (Figure 5), and flat topped mesa-like hills identified as *he ipá blaská* “flat top hill” (Figure 6).



Figure 2

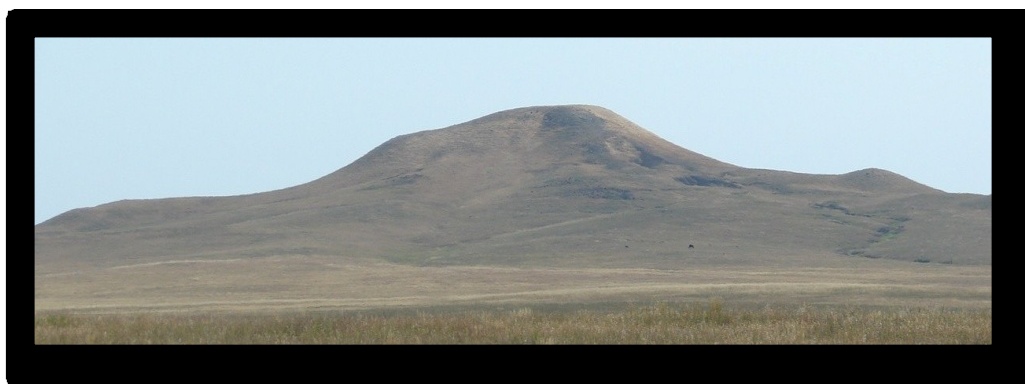


Figure 3

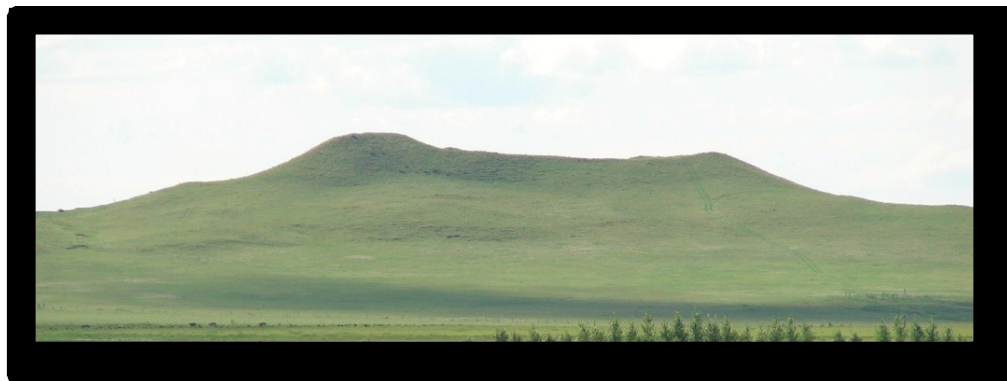


Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6

As I compiled my hill type list I also recorded information concerning additional kinds of natural settings containing certain resources or identifiable features that individuals search for that are located on or in proximity to these hill types, which they believe helps them during their fast. These natural resources are in visual range of *hanbléceya* sites and are believed to enhance the potential to experience a *wakanya wówanyanke* “sacred vision” because they represent life and continuance.

The sort of natural settings they look for are either treeless hills covered with a thick growth of grass or hills with certain species of trees growing on them such as

háñtíé “cedar” and *wazí* “pine,” and fruit bearing trees particularly *cañpá* “chokecherry,” *wípazutkañ* “June berry,” *kañta* “plum,” *wicáгнаška* “gold-buffalo current,” *capcéyazala* “beaver’s berries-black current,” and bushes like *oñjiñjintka* “wild rose.” There are numerous species of plants, such as *pejúta awícayaspuya* “itch medicine-common yarrow,” *cañhlógañ waštemna iyececa* “sweet smelling hollow stalk-fleabane,” *icáhpe hu* “knocked down stem-purple cone flower,” *napóštañ* “pour out swelling-prairie coneflower,” and *pejúta heyōka* “clown medicine-scarlet globe mallow,” that Lakota’s like to have nearby during a fast because these plants all have spiritual and medicinal value, and are a few of the more specific plant species which may be incorporated into personal medicine bundles.

The kinds of hill types and natural settings I was documenting demonstrated that there are recognizable natural features and resources sought out by us Lakota because they lend themselves toward performing this activity in fairly specific types of locations. By documenting this cultural information, using it to establish the association between place and activity, I had a mechanism for locating common kinds of places our people go to fast in. As I created my model I began to see a pattern of land use emerging that is connected to performing the *hanbléceya* ceremony. I suspected this emerging pattern of land use would repeat itself once I began assessing other kinds of cultural activities we deem important. Following this line of thought I considered how our people view the land and interpret the landscape by ascribing meaningfulness to it that is connected to how we use it. I realized there is a difference between identifying a property where one goes to pray and the site within a property where one prays at. This was an important distinction that needed to be addressed in my research because it

would allow me to talk about TCPs in terms of representative site types and not in the context of properties contextualized as geological features linked to oral traditions.

Pejúta Pahá “Medicine Hill”

The example I used to distinguish the difference between a property and a site connected to how we Lakota use the land, and how we perceive the land, is based on the review I did on Medicine Knoll, *Pejúta Pahá* “Medicine Hill” located southwest of Blunt, South Dakota (Figure 7).



Figure 7

As a hill type it is a *hé ipá blaská* “flat top hill.” Oral tradition narratives describing its cultural significance identify the location as a *wanágitipi* filled with the presence of *awákaŋkapi* “spirit beings” that frequent this location. It is a place of *ton* “emission of power” (Walker 1980:95), a quality that is suggested in the butte’s place name. Because it is a high place it is in the domain of *Iŋyaŋškaŋškaŋ* “Rock that moves” and his presence there makes it a sacred place to pray. The butte is known as the

location of an *inyan wakága* “rock image,” the stone effigy of a snake identified and explained as “a Sioux memorial in the form of a serpent to commemorate the bravery of a young man who once was keeping his fast upon it when he observed Ree enemies approaching. He was praying in such a loud voice that he attracted the attention of his relatives camped on a creek below who rushed to his rescue” (Hughes County History 1937:16). One of the other famous accounts of using the butte for this purpose is recorded by Vine Deloria Jr. who relates the oral history life story of his great grandfather, Saswe, who fasted on the butte inside a prayer pit (Deloria 1999:14).

In general terms the butte is often referred to as a *kabláya* “holy place” because it’s a high place where spirits are present. Our place-name for this butte *Pejúta Pahá* “Medicine Hill” invests it with this quality of being holy because “naming is power—the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things” (Tuan 1991:688). It is easily identifiable as a TCP because it possesses spiritual significance to the Lakota due to the meaningfulness we ascribe to it. We perceive it as a *kabláya* “holy place” because we are not looking at the butte per se. Instead, we see what it represents to us. We can’t see the *awákaŋkapi* “spirit beings” that frequent this location, and we can’t see *Iňyanškanškan*, but we know they are there and that is why we go there.

As a property Medicine Knoll is best identified as a sacred place, an *ohé okítaŋiŋ* “manifesting special place” in the landscape where we Lakota go to perform significant cultural activities. The area on this property where the cultural activity such as the *haŋbléceya* ceremony takes place is the *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.” When I came to this determination I realized the advantage of culturally contextualizing *Pejúta*

Pahá in this manner. Doing so allowed me to identify the vision pit of Saswe, and the *inyan wakága* “rock image” of the snake as TCP sites, the places within a property where a cultural activity occurred. The benefit of framing TCPs in terms of representative site types allowed me to structure a new approach to identifying TCPs, one more in line with how we Lakota actually identify culturally significant places. This approach would prove extremely practical especially when it comes to identifying TCP sites in locations which are not linked to the oral tradition, which isn’t the case with Medicine Knoll but is with Bear paw butte.

Iwayyaka “review”

As a result of my efforts in reviewing Medicine Knoll I discovered a technique to categorize Lakota TCPs and type Lakota TCP sites. This was an important breakthrough in my research because based on this method of making a distinction between a property and a site; I had a cross-cultural Lakota model describing how to contextualize the concept of a traditional cultural property within a Lakota cultural context.

Traditional cultural properties are those places we identify as *ohépi okítan̄iŋ* “manifesting special places.” An *ohé okítan̄iŋ* is any location in the landscape which our people ascribe cultural significance too. These places can be locations such as Medicine Knoll which is linked to oral traditions, or they can be places like Bear paw butte which are not linked to oral traditions.

One kind of category for our TCPs is an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” which is analogous to a sacred site in English. An *ohé wócekiye* denotes the site within an *ohé*

okítaŋiŋ where an important cultural activity occurred. The category type indicates the kind of cultural significance a TCP, an *ohé okítaŋiŋ*, possesses.

Located on Medicine Knoll one type of TCP site is a *hanbléceya* site. A second TCP site is an *iŋyaŋ wakága* site. Located on Bear paw butte a third TCP site is a *wicágnakápi* “scaffold burial” site. Below the butte a fourth type of TCP site is a *wiwaŋyaŋk wacípi* “sun dance” site. The site type identifies and describes the specifics of the cultural significance of a sacred site, an *ohé wócekiye*, possesses.

Lakota TCP site types are derived from significant cultural activities which are performed outside in the landscape. The land possesses certain physical characteristics and resources that lend themselves to performing a particular kind of significant cultural activity meaning: “The landscape is both medium *for* and outcome *of* action and previous histories of action. Landscapes are experienced in practice, in life activities” (Tilley 1994:23). Certain components of the landscape such as hill types manifest themselves to the Lakota. We ascribe cultural significance to how we perceive the land, high places are the domain of *Iŋyaŋškaŋškaŋ*, and we define that cultural significance according to how we use the land. *Takója huŋkákepi kiŋ wócekiye kákiya yo* “grandson the ancestors prayed over there in that place.”

Medicine Knoll as hill type is a *he ipá blaská* “flat top hill.” Its plateau is treeless and covered with a thick growth of mixed prairie grasses and several species of *wanáhcápi* “flowers” that possess spiritual, medicinal, and edible value to our people. Growing in the creeks running into the slope of the butte are a variety of different tree species that have cultural value to the Lakota. On the west side of the butte at the head of Medicine Knoll creek is a freshwater spring. Evaluating these physical characteristics

establishes that the butte is an *ohé waštéšte* “good place” to *haŋbléceya* on because all of these physical characteristics lend themselves to performing this activity on it. To locate where Saswe fasted you identify the type of fasting altar he used which is the prayer pit and this is the physical feature, the in situ evidence, used to locate where on the butte he fasted. By taking this approach Medicine Knoll is identified as a TCP even if it is not linked to any oral traditions. This approach is based on how the Lakota see the land and how they use the land and it is this cultural perspective that allows it to be identified as a TCP.

Oyúma “to confirm”

Completing my review I knew that by making an association between a specific kind of place with a specific kind of activity that I had a viable unique Lakota methodology to identify sacred sites. However, I needed to confirm my findings and I contacted several of my peers and elders from the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, and the Oglala Sioux Tribe. I felt that based on their knowledge of our traditional culture they could review and evaluate the merits of taking this approach to identifying TCPs. The review process by my own design consisted of holding unstructured interviews “characterized by a minimum of control over the people’s responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms and at their own pace” (Bernard 2006:211). I met with each person individually because I was concerned that if I held a large group meeting I risked the possibility of encountering group think which could adversely affect how people would respond. An informant in a group meeting might censor their true opinion

in order to not appear as unsupportive of the group's conclusions (see also Janis and Mann 1977).

The interviews with my peers and elders validated my findings and conclusions that the methodology I had developed to identify our TCPs and our TCP sites was accurate. Every individual I met with fully endorse this methodology, communicating to me that I had developed something unique in the field of historic preservation. I was informed by these people, my people, who taught me what I know about our cultural traditions and traditional ways of doing. They confirmed that I had created a mechanism that spoke about our TCPs from our own cultural perspective; one that provided us with a means to allow our own voices to be heard concerning what we say is or is not a Lakota TCP.

Ihaŋkeŋa “at the end”

What came to be known as the Identification and Typing System for Traditional Cultural Property Sites (ITS-TCPS), the Lakota methodology to locate and identify our TCPs, is derived from this initial research involving my reviews of *Mató napé pahá* “Bear paw butte” and *Pejúta Pahá* “Medicine Hill.” I recognized that there are processes people go through to make place and imbue place with meaningfulness because we invest ourselves emotionally in them. For example, what I and my relatives and our friends did at *Mató napé pahá*, those activities during which we performed the *haŋbléceya*, the sun dances held below the butte, and the traditional scaffold burial on top of it, are all meaningful to us as individuals and as a group. When place is made it becomes meaningful in part because we invest ourselves emotionally in it.

Thomas F. King writes about visualizing TCPs. He suggests performing an exercise designed to help envision what kind of property is a TCP when viewed from an individual's personal perspective. He presents an example of a place that had personal value to him, a place he considered his own TCP. In the exercise the participant should, "think about a place that's dear to you...someplace that has personal value to you, that's redolent with emotional significance...in the context of your own internal, personal life, your own individual 'community,' that's your TCP. Nothing more complicated than that—a place that lives in your emotions, that's important to you as a person." He states that TCPs are "places that are linked somehow with who we are, how we go in the world" (King 2003:3).

"Places are always far more than points or locations, because they have distinctive meanings and values for persons. Personal and cultural identity is bound up with place" (Tilley 1994:15). As is the case with *Mató napé pahá* "sometimes the association between person and place grows deeper roots, through generations and spreads beyond the individual, to infect as it were, a community of some kind—a tribe, a family, a neighborhood, a social group...that for one reason or another groups of people associate with their cultural values and beliefs...regardless of what 'objective' qualities of significance the places may have...what's relevant is how they are perceived by the communities that hold them dear" (King 2003:4).

Traditional cultural properties are those places we identify as *ohépi okítanij* "manifesting special places." "Words alone, used in an appropriate situation, can have the power to render objects, formerly invisible because unattended, visible, and impart to them a certain character: thus a mere rise on a flat surface becomes something far

more—a place that promises to open up to other places—when it is named” (Tuan 1991:685).

This methodology was derived from understanding how the Lakota view the land and how a place produces a tangible social meaning which results in our people forming an attachment to a place. This meaning, the cultural significance we ascribe to the place, directs how we use it in order to perform a culturally significant activity that involves us emotionally in maintaining our attachment to the place. As a result of this the meaningfulness of a place obtains permanence amongst us that remains to this day.

Chapter Three: *Tōkaiápi* “a foreign language”

Ohépi “places”

Places that are significant to the Lakota, prayer places, gathering places, places where our people go to leave offerings, places important to us because we say they are important. Those places existed long before we Lakota had any contact with Euro-Americans. When Parker and King wrote Bulletin 38 this document originated from King’s 1985 efforts to draft “a set of guidelines for agencies to use in Section 106 review when dealing with things like Native American spiritual sites” (King 2003:33). His idea was “to use the persuasive powers of Section 106 to motivate agencies to pay attention to such places and the communities that valued them” (King 2003:33). The term *traditional cultural property* was coined “as a broad umbrella to cover everything from Indian tribal spiritual places, to traditional urban neighborhoods” (King 2003:34). In essence it’s a generic term “A lifeless bureaucratic term, but we couldn’t think of a better one” (King 2003:34) meant to label places identified as culturally important to Native American people. But “generic terms are not as powerful evocators of place as are proper names” (Tuan 1991:688).

Iápi “language”

“Because language is verbal, it has the power to communicate information precisely and succinctly” (Womack 2005:30). Language is the mechanism that all people use to describe how they order, structure, and understand their environment. It is through language that people explain to others what something is and what that something means, first to themselves and their group, and then to others who are unlike

themselves and are not members of their group. “Language and society are so intertwined that it is impossible to understand one without the other. There is no human society that does not depend upon, is not shaped by, and does not itself shape language” (Chaika 1994:3). The lifeless bureaucratic term traditional cultural property coined by Parker and King is supposed to be symbolically meaningful and applicable cross-culturally. However, “symbols are the language of...expressive culture...symbols are...words or behaviors that have multiple levels of meaning” (Womack 2005:1). All language consists of symbols, and traditional cultural property represents the symbolic idea of a place. As stated in Chapter Two Lakota TCPs are not associated with structures and buildings. They are considered to be locations in the landscape. The meaning behind symbols is culturally assigned and “natural objects provide a matrix from which cultural symbols can be drawn” (Womack 2005:9). Natural symbols such as locations in the landscape and the meanings associated with them grow out of everyday experiences “the more the symbol is drawn from the common fund of human experiences, the more wide and certain its reception” (Douglas 1966:114). The idiom traditional cultural property is used by non-Indians to identify those locations we Lakota declare are culturally significant to us. Yet how does one describe and communicate cross-culturally the full importance of a TCP’s cultural significance especially when a “lifeless term” is used to refer to them.

“Language embodies an interpretation of reality and language can influence thought about that reality” (Lucy 1997:294). The terminology used by any cultural group reflects that group’s interests and concerns. The environment people grow up in affects how they interpret the world around them. Language is a socially constructed

activity of symbolic meaning-making that is unique to the language one speaks.

Meaning-making interprets a people's perceived reality which is based upon a people's cultural mores, their belief system and their environment, which are the forces that create meaning-making within their cultural group. How a people order their world, how they perceive it, how they structure it and their place within it, impacts meaning-making as it is understood within the context of their own language.

“No language is able to go beyond its own symbols. The only way to see the world as someone else does is to learn their language” (Paul Brown personal communication 2006) and this is precisely why I chose to incorporate Lakota into this methodology. To see the symbolic cultural significance of our TCPs, to accurately communicate that quality of significance, I needed to use our own language to identify and name them in order to call their symbolic meaningfulness into being so non-Indians can see them as we see them. Introducing the Lakota term *ohépi okítanŋ* “manifesting special places” in this methodology, replacing the lifeless term traditional cultural property, better encapsulates the innate symbolic meaningfulness of our TCPs because “language involves a particular interpretation, not a common, universal one” (Lucy 1997:295), which as King stated, the phrase traditional cultural property is intended to do.

The emotional attachments we have to our *ohépi okítanŋ* “manifesting special places” cannot be expressed or communicated adequately by referring to these places as traditional cultural properties. “Feelings are important in language...In addition to emotions and feelings, language reflects environment. It expresses philosophy. It affirms spirituality...It is the life-force of the culture” (White Hat 1999:6). To

effectively bring about an inclusion of a Lakota perspective that reveals Lakota cultural thought and practice in identifying, evaluating, and documenting TCPs, I had no better alternative than to use our own language to identify and name things. Our traditional cultural beliefs and our traditional philosophy are best expressed and communicated cross-culturally using Lakota. Since the objective of this methodology is to identify Lakota TCPs and TCP sites and explain their quality of traditional cultural significance based on the kind of activity performed in particular locations, it only stands to reason that we discuss them from our own cultural perspective and do so using elements of our own language. Employing our own language designators to identify a significant location in the landscape, *ohépi okítan̄iŋ* “manifesting special places,” to identify a significant kind of place, *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place,” and name a site according to the significant kind of activity, *han̄bléceya*, that occurs in its location. We can express, explain, and communicate more truthfully, more deeply, and more evocatively our traditional philosophy and thought processes and how they create meaningfulness for us. Using Lakota not only allows for a more accurate portrayal of a Lakota TCP and a Lakota TCP site, but it also creates the appropriate cultural context for relating to them. This in turn should better enable non-Lakota’s to recognize them and comprehend why they are important to us. This is the whole basis for my using Lakota. The idea was to ensure that our perspective about our TCPs was prominent in conceptualizing and culturally contextualizing them in an appropriate cultural manner.

Lakota wóyaglaka kte yeló “you will speak Lakota”

It is a given that language reflects the cultural specific thought patterns and thought processes of any cultural group. To help a non-Lakota perceive and understand

the significance of our TCPs it is important one learns to think like a Lakota in order to understand how meaning-making is created and that is where our language comes in. “Everyone who has learned a foreign language knows that even a very limited knowledge of the language of a people gives an insight into their character and mentality quite out of proportion to the effort involved in acquiring that knowledge. And such study furnishes clues as to how best to phrase and present ideas so that they will be more readily understood by the speakers of the other language” (Whorf 1950:193).

Although I am not bilingual per se, I possess enough command of my native Lakota language to agree with Edward Sapir’s statement that “No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached” (Wierzbicka 1992:4). Sapir’s statement goes straight to the heart of the matter concerning whether or not investigators should identify TCPs using Lakota or English terms. “Meaning can only be known in another language through social action and speech” (Hill and Mannheim 1992:382) and “it is the vocabulary of language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers” (Sapir 1912:228).

The Whorfian assertion that language affects how a person thinks about the world speaks towards the theory of linguistic relativity hypothesis, or linguistic relativism, which is the proposal that the particular language we speak influences the way we think about reality. The hypothesis asserts that due to linguistic diversity and linguistic influences on thought members of different language families differ from

each other. The structure and lexicon of a person's language influences how people see and conceptualize their world. Whorf spoke toward the position that people who speak a language different from English do possess a different worldview and "we are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe" (Whorf and Carroll 1956:213-214). The Lakota designators in this methodology are tools an Investigator can use to learn how a people think symbolically and creatively. "Speech is the externalization of thought. Knowledge is the inner form of thought. Thought, and thus speech, insofar as they are internal and external dimensions of the same process, are creative (Crapanzano 2004:36).

To move beyond the cultural and linguistic constraints of modern English and acquire a different but necessary mind-set will allow investigators to understand Lakota meaning-making and recognize how it is created with regards to the natural landscape. It is imperative to always use Lakota designators to reference our TCPs. Why? Because when you use Lakota you are actually beginning to think more like a Lakota. Hence you begin to build a different type of relationship to the natural environment which will help you to become more cognizant of how we Lakota create and define the significance of our TCPs. If one thinks of them in terms of English then they are reacting to them using a foreign thought process. As a result there is always the risk of subconsciously relating to them in terms of how English speaking non-Indians create and define meaning-making within the constructs of their own language. Language doesn't derive meaning from an objective world; the world derives meaning and significance from language (see also Bunge 1984:182). Non-Indian Investigators may experience feelings of

awkwardness learning how to properly pronounce the Lakota terms in this methodology. But what is important about using Lakota designators to identify our TCPs is it makes them visible to Investigators because one is approaching the recognition of a TCP from a Lakota cultural perspective.

Cajékaġapi “making a name”

“For several hundred years, Euro-Americans believed that tribal peoples like the Lakota were incapable of systematically viewing and understanding their universe in a coherent and cohesive way. The process of classification and the task of assigning discrete terms to discrete objects based on such characteristics as morphological features...was totally in the purview of western science” (Powers 1986:147).

I am well aware of standard archaeological taxonomies used to describe historic properties and archaeological sites. But I am also aware that those taxonomic systems are inadequate in properly culturally contextualizing our TCPs. The reason for this is because those systems are rooted upon narrow objective observations of the physical world based on a western cultural perception of that world. Taxonomies are classification schemes used as the basis for making statements on the physical world. There is an assumption that these western taxonomic systems are objective, fair, and appropriate to use in identifying our TCPs. In reality these systems are subjective. They order and structure properties and sites according to Euro-American value systems and not necessarily the value systems of the cultural group on whose behalf they are supposedly working for. As Whorf points out “modern Chinese or Turkish scientists describe the world in the same terms as Western scientists means, of course, only that they have taken over bodily the entire Western system of rationalizations, not that they

have corroborated that system from their native posts of observation” (Whorf and Carroll 1956:214).

Using Lakota to identify our TCPs and TCP site types goes to the issue of voice, *hótan̄iŋ* “to have one’s voice heard.” Naming properties and sites in Lakota is important because to recognize and identify a thing is to name it. Once you have named a thing you can then begin to understand it because names have meaning and situatedness. An example of this is found in Holler, where he relates when Black Elk spoke with Neihardt, passing his knowledge on to the white world that “he will name this section of land “Remembrance Butte” so that these things will be remembered when the land is given to his children” (Holler 1984:27). *Pahá wókíksuye* “Remembrance butte” commemorates Black Elk’s teachings he shared with Neihardt. The hill represents a location where prayers for peace and understanding between the Lakota and White’s were made.

When you understand the meaning of the name of a thing you can make a relationship to it based on interpreting what a named thing means to you and to the people who named it, “without a name culturally significant sites would not exist” (Tilley 1994:18). “What becomes apparent in Lakota is that often behavioral traits serve as the major diagnostic features of classification” (Powers 1986:158) and this is precisely the point of identifying significant cultural activities as the basis for identifying our TCP site types. We create and name significant places based on the kind of activity we conduct there and the Lakota name of the activity reveals the kind of cultural significance our TCPs possess.

Wayúieska “to translate”

The historic translation of Lakota into English was geared towards the acculturation and assimilation of the Lakota into the dominant society. Unfortunately we were not the ones to translate our language into English. Our language became a tool for the acculturation and assimilation process. Lakota was first translated into English primarily by Christian missionaries who determined how our language and ideas, especially our spiritual ideas, would be represented using English equivalent meanings. As a result once you change the meaning of a word you are in fact also changing how a person thinks about meaning-making. “I have noticed that researchers commonly translate the language into English thought patterns. Most of the early writings were done by missionaries who attempted to translate Christian ideas into a Lakota sentence. Often such sentences followed an English sentence structure instead of reflecting the pattern of Lakota syntax...Right now we teach a surface understanding of language. We don't go into the philosophy. The translations we teach are geared toward Western thought patterns. They do not reflect the thoughts of our people” (White Hat 1999:7).

Traditional meanings, what something meant, were cast out by Christian missionaries. The traditional thought patterns and interpretations we possessed about our words and their meaningfulness that we used to describe our traditional beliefs and philosophy has been changed to reflect a more Christianized Euro-American thought pattern. What is important about using traditional interpretations in this methodology is it recaptures the traditional thought patterns, the traditional philosophy and beliefs about what something means to us and how that meaningfulness is expressed. Knowing the traditional translations of Lakota words directly impacts meaning-making, and so

leaning the correct translation of Lakota into English is extremely important in identifying the real quality of traditional cultural significance a TCP possesses. “The difficulty of knowing what Christianity meant to the Dakotas, a difficulty I see as rooted in the problems attendant upon translation, can be illustrated by showing how distorted some of the missionaries’ translations of Dakota religious ideas into English were. Their translation errors took two forms: the postulation of a similarity in reference between Dakota and English where it did not exist (as with the English words “god” and “spirit” and what the missionaries identified as their Dakota counterparts), or, conversely, the heightening of differences between Dakota and Protestant Christian religiosity (an effect achieved by associating Dakota terms with English pejoratives)” (Siems 1998:163).

For example, if a non-Indian Investigator identifies a Lakota TCP as sacred, what does that English word mean in the context of the Lakota culture to which a sacred site is supposed to be significant? In English sacred is defined as:

- *Sacred* adj. 1. Devoted or dedicated to a deity or to some religious purpose; consecrated. 2. Entitled to veneration or religious respect by association with divinity or divine things; holy.

In the Lakota and Dakota dialect *wakan* has been translated as meaning something equivalent to sacred. Its English translation is:

- (L) *Wakan* adj. Sacred, consecrated; special; incomprehensible; possessing or capable of giving *ton*, i.e., an endowed spiritual quality which is received or transmittable to beings making for what is specially good or bad (Buechel and Manhart 1970:252).

- (D) *wakaŋ* adj. spiritual, sacred, consecrated; wonderful, incomprehensible; said also of women at the menstrual period. Teton. Mysterious; incomprehensible; in a peculiar state, which, from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with; hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period, and from hence, too, arises the feeling among the wilder Indians that if the Bible, the Church, the Missionary, etc., are “*wakaŋ*,” they are to be avoided, or shunned, not as being bad or dangerous, but as “*wakaŋ*.” The word seems to be the only one suitable for holy, sacred, etc., but the common acceptance of it, given above, makes it quite misleading to the heather (Riggs 1992:507).

Please note that both English translations of *wakaŋ* more or less mirror each other and contain similar word synonyms which may also be found in the English definition of sacred. However, among Lakota speakers *wakaŋ* doesn't translate into English as Buechel or Riggs translated it. *Wakaŋ* is a compound word formed from *wa* and *kaŋ* and to understand the original interpretation you have to break it down into its component parts. The component word which culturally conceptualizes and contextualizes its traditional meaning is *kaŋ* which means energy or life. *Wa* refers to the being which possesses that *kaŋ*. When you put the two words together and make *wakaŋ*, and depending upon how one uses it in making reference to that which is identified as *wakaŋ*, you get as a definition for its meaning: the ability to give life, to receive life, to make something good, or to make something bad, to create, or to destroy (see also Herzog 2005).

I am the first to admit that when it is commonly translated *wakaŋ* is habitually conceptualized in the same sense as the word sacred even by many first language

speakers. But that is precisely what I am trying to rectify here by using Lakota. My illustration above highlighting what we within the context of our own culture understand what *wakaŋ* originally means exemplifies why translating it to mean sacred instead of following its traditional meaning, energy or life, fails to adequately communicate the real reason why the Lakota go to any location to perform a significant cultural activity. A location we designate as *wakaŋ* means we go there because that is where we can give and receive life, and the activity we perform is how we physically express this belief. Therefore the real quality of traditional cultural significance a location possesses to us is best expressed by using our own word and not the so called English equivalent.

Míye yeló “this is me”

When we Lakota utilize a natural thing such as a stone or a tree, or when we construct a thing using stones, earth, or wood in an area where a significant cultural activity takes place, that natural or constructed thing as a component of the activity performed is designated as an altar. An altar is generally thought to mean a kind of structure or designated special space on or in which offerings such as sacrifices or votive offerings are made for religious purposes. The word altar is defined as: an elevated place or structure, as a mound or platform, at which religious rites are performed, or on which sacrifices are offered to gods, ancestors. In our language our word phrases, which have been translated to mean something like an equivalent for altar, are *wáŋna wosnaŋi* “altar of sacrifice” and *wáŋle wóšŋaŋi* “altar.”

As with *wakaŋ*, *wáŋna wosnaŋi* and *wáŋle wóšŋaŋi* are compound words which do not describe the thing being labeled but describes the person’s activity and intent in

using or creating an altar. To understand the original meaning of these two phrases you have to break them down into their component parts to understand their significance. A *wáгна wosnapi* “altar of sacrifice” is a natural thing such as a stone or tree utilized as the structure or platform on which material objects are laid or hung. *Wa* means “I” referencing self. *Gna* is a contraction of the word *gnáka* meaning “lay-place.” Together the two words form *wáгна* meaning “I lay-place.” Since the meaning is specifying this kind of activity it is understood that a person is laying-placing a thing which need not be identified in the phrase. The thing is identified separately. The second part of the phrase *wosnapi* is simply the plural form of *wosna* which means “sacrifice-something offered.” The proper traditional meaning for this phrase is “I lay-place a sacrifice of something offered” meaning we are describing the activity being performed upon a structure or a platform. That natural structure or platform receiving a sacrifice-something offered need not be consecrated by ritual prayer as it already possesses the quality of *wakanj*.

A constructed structure or platform such as a stone, earth, or wood feature is called a *wágle wóšnapi* and it is meaningful in a different way than a *wáгна wosnapi*. *Wa* means “I” referencing the self. *Gle* means “put-place.” *Wágle* means “I put-place myself.” Again *wosna* which means “sacrifice-something offered” only this time in this context since the word is preceded with *wágle*, what is being offered is the person themselves. Therefore the phrase *wágle wóšnapi* means “I put-place myself in sacrifice.” This means that the structure or platform that was created by a person has cultural significance because that feature represents the giving of oneself. In essence one hasn’t externalized the sacrifice they are willing to make-give by laying-placing

some material object. What a *wágle wóšŋapi* represents is an internalization of a sacrifice, the giving up of one's own self.

It isn't just words expressing our spiritual ideas that were affected by bad translations. There are translation problems affecting the meaning of common ordinary everyday things as well. For example, the Lakota equivalent for the English word man has been represented by our word *wicáša*. In English man means an adult male person as distinguished from a boy or a woman. It is used as a gender denominator, or it can mean a member of the species *Homo sapiens* without reference to gender. As with *wakaŋ*, *wicáša* is also a compound word. To understand the original interpretation you have to break the word down into its component parts, *wi*, *ca*, and *ša*. *Wi* means the sun, the moon, the stars, that which is *wakaŋ*. *Ca* means a step, the passing from boyhood into manhood. *Ša* means scarlet red (Richard Charging Eagle personal communication 2006). Traditionally the word *wicáša* is an age status marker among the Lakota indicating an individual has achieved a recognizable degree of social status within the group. If a person desires to indicate human gender then the proper word for this is *wicá* "a male of the human species" (Buechel 1970:576).

Wówiykcaŋpi "thoughts"

The traditional philosophy of the Lakota is contained in our language and this is why it is so important this methodology uses our traditional interpretations of our words to designate our TCPs and our TCP sites. Using Lakota is an act of self-determination and empowerment. I needed the strength of its spiritual values and the power of its moral force to help me, and guide me, in accurately identifying and naming our TCPs and TCP sites. The words I use in this methodology opens a cultural doorway into

understanding our traditional philosophy and beliefs which in turn allows non-Indians to better recognize, comprehend, and most importantly *accept* why our TCPs are important to us.

Chapter Four: *Ohépi okítanŋ* “manifesting special places”

Makáiyuta tokáhe kiŋ “the first survey”

In 1999 I obtained a contract with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Omaha District to conduct a cultural resource inventory survey of Title VI transfer lands along the west bank of the Missouri River within the exterior boundaries of the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. The objective of the survey was to identify Lakota TCPs on Corps transfer lands, and do so in a manner where their cultural significance was made clear through their identification (LeBeau 1999). This survey provided me with an opportunity to test my model for framing TCPs in terms of representative site types to identify them, and it proved invaluable in developing this methodology. Prior to undertaking this survey I was aware that I could identify other kinds of TCPs besides just *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places.” I was positive I would be able to identify other kinds of locations we hold as cultural important if I just placed them into a proper cultural context, and classified them according to the kind of significant cultural activity performed in a location. I’ll be honest and admit that at that time I wasn’t sure what those other kinds of TCP site types might be. But I was looking forward to the discovery process.

Two advancements in this methodology were made in the 1999 Corps survey that helped develop its applicability in surveying for and identifying TCPs. In discussions with Corps representatives leading up to the implementation of the fieldwork it was made clear they wanted me to locate and identify sacred sites, or those places where we Lakota go to pray. The second thing they wanted me to do was to identify places containing significant kinds of plants. Plants the Lakota use for

medicinal or ceremonial purposes, and these places they referred to as gathering sites. Their use of this idiom to identify places we Lakota go to collect natural resources surprised me because it indicated they were making a distinction between these two kinds of site types. This acknowledgement by them that they saw a difference between a sacred site and a gathering site proved quite fortuitous for me because the distinction they were making actually provided me with a new kind of place category for our TCPs.

On September 30, 1999 I held a meeting with two CRST tribal elders to discuss this survey. I informed them about the Corps desire to have me identify gathering sites as a part of this project and this led to us discussing how we Lakota use the land. The three of us realized that what we needed to do was create an operational definition for land use based on the traditional and historical utilization of the land by the Lakota. Developing this operational definition was an important advancement in this methodology because it established the basic parameters for how to categorize the kinds of TCPs our people identify as culturally important to us. The operational definition for land use we conceived of consists of two parts: spiritual use of the land, and utilitarian use of the land:

- Spiritual use of the land means a piece of land used for conducting a ceremonial activity or a spiritual activity (LeBeau 1999:4)
- A utilitarian use of the land means any place where natural resources are gathered on a seasonal or annual basis (LeBeau 1999:6)

Additionally we made an informed decision concerning the recognition of a third kind of place category for Lakota TCPs. The category we developed we called offering sites, places in the landscape where the Lakota go to set out spiritual offerings.

What sets this category apart from the prayer places and makes them distinctly different are the physical kinds of locations sites like these are found in, and the purposefulness of performing this kind of activity. The final task we accomplished in this meeting was to develop generalized Lakota definitions for sacred sites, offering sites, and gathering sites:

- Sacred sites are any place where a Lakota will go or has gone to pray (LeBeau 1999:7)
- Offering sites are any place a Lakota will go or has gone to make a personal sacrifice (1999:7)
- Gathering sites are identified according to how the physical activity to gather a natural resource is done by a person (1999:7)

As a result of what I accomplished in the Corps survey, when the project was completed I realized that my approach using my model to indentify TCPs in terms of representative site types had merit and demonstrative results. Corps officials were surprised, pleased, and excited, about my approach to identifying Lakota TCPs. They requested my permission to send copies of my survey report to other non-Lakota tribes with whom they were also contracting with to do TCP surveys. They were informing those tribes to use my methodology as a model for identifying TCPs important to their tribal groups (United State Army Corps of Engineers, Omaha District 2007).

Wóyaglaka íáku hwo “what are you talking about?”

A major core issue I needed to address in developing this methodology which often adversely affects the identification of TCPs is making the distinction between a TCP and a TCP site. This issue arose during my 1999 survey and it remains a point of

contention between tribes and federal and state agencies. Ironically enough it too stems from how land is perceived only this time it is based on a non-Indian perspective concerning economic land development. Characterizing this issue of distinguishing the difference between a TCP and a TCP site goes to the issue of semantic polysemy which “contrary to homonymy, which is basically accidental, polysemy is predictable to some extent. For example, a word denoting the production of something is likely to also denote the end product” (Kayser 2003:1263). During the Corps survey when I and my field crew identified the location of an activity such as the *haŋbléceya* we would call that location a site, however, the Corps would call the location a property. On the other hand if we described a range of hills as a large property, explaining that our people go there to perform numerous kinds of significant cultural activities, the Corps would refer to the range of hills as a site. We kept experiencing these binary opposite views concerning how to appropriately apply the terms property and site to locations in the landscape.

In my professional judgment the reason for this dichotomy of views is financial. Historic preservation activities require funding to preserve TCPs. Economic land development generates funding for federal and state agencies. The smaller a TCP is in size the less money it takes to preserve it. The larger the tract of land undergoing economic development means more money can be generated from it. My point here is the smaller a TCP is makes it cheaper for agencies to address them in their preservation activities. Financially it is beneficial for them to denote the production of making place, restricting it to an immediate locale, such as where a Lakota performs the *haŋbléceya* ceremony as the end product of producing place. Therefore when it suits a financial

need property and site become synonymous meaning the same thing. Borrowing the use of an old Euro-American colloquialism characterize this these guys were trying to “have their cake and eat it too.”

Ohépi tókeca wan̄yan̄ka “to see different places”

The constant back and forth between calling a location a TCP or a TCP site is confusing and often detrimental to us Lakota and Indian people in general. If you think about it when someone asks you to point out a significant place, a place you are emotionally attached to, and you do so but then you are told by that person that they are going to construct some kind of portioned boundary for it that’s paternalism. An issue I needed to address and correct with this methodology.

According to King federal agency CRM programs “were uncomfortable dealing with places that were not archaeological sites. Places, indeed, that an archaeologist might not be able to distinguish from any other patch of dirt, rock, or trees” (King 2003:35). Furthermore he states “archaeological survey is taken as the basic model for all kinds of surveys, to locate all kinds of historic properties (or even all kinds of cultural resources)...there is a natural tendency to try to apply the same standards to TCP identification” (King 2003:149). One of those archaeological investigation standards deals with delimiting a site’s boundary and any occurrence of deposition, something deposited, such as a physical feature like a fasting pit can form a site. The point here is constructing site boundaries is important to professionals and the construction of a site boundary is done based on observing in situ material remains occupying a space.

The discipline of archaeology focuses on the study of “human technology or material culture (that is materials that human beings purposefully create either as tools to adapt to their environments or as meaningful expressions of their experience). To put it simply, the key concept in archaeology is the artifact, an object created by humans...archaeologists use artifacts situated in their larger social context to uncover the secrets of human society in both the past and the present” (Lassiter 2006:34-35). Taking the pedagogical archaeological approach to identifying and investigating TCPs is another major factor concerning how to appropriately apply the terms property and site to locations in the landscape. “When looking for TCPs, you’re trying to record objective data, but they’re objective data about subjective phenomena—not necessarily about what is but about what people think is” (King 2003:141). The process of creating spatial boundaries helps contextualize spaces into nice little categorizes of easily recognizable, and describable, material culture remains which is a reductionist perspective. I am not claiming archaeology as an investigative approach to identifying TCPs isn’t valuable or doesn’t have merit. But I am saying it helps constrain TCPs into smaller spaces bounded by material cultural content, and not meaningful cultural context. “To attempt an understanding of the Sioux past it is essential to come to an understanding of Sioux culture, which provides the context. The need to understand systems of thought—the norms and values of a particular group at a particular time—involves us in an essentially synchronic reconstruction achieved by building up a picture of component parts (culturally specific symbols and meanings) while at the same time taking it apart to analyze each element separately” (DeMallie 1993:533). It’s

for these two reasons, financial and archaeological pedagogy, that the terms property and site became synonymous and thus interchangeable.

To address this, this methodology is based on the position that the terms property and site mean two distinctly different things. For example, whenever I was asked to identify a TCP site and not specifically a traditional cultural property. I took the phrase TCP site to mean I was being asked to identify where in or on a property our people did something culturally significant. I related to the matter this way because I have always made a distinction between what a property is and what a site is. A Lakota TCP and a Lakota TCP site are in my professional judgment two different things even though Bulletin 38 on several occasions links, equates, and makes similar the two terms property and site. “For example, the National Register defines a “site” as “the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity... Thus a property may be defined as a “site” as long as it was the location of a significant event or activity, regardless of whether the event or activity left any evidence of its occurrence” (Parker and King 1990:9).

For me I contextualize the word property in the context of historic preservation as something one owns, has a right of possession to, or has a right of use to. I associated the word with large things like a landform, or a natural feature in the landscape. On the other hand I contextualized the word site as used to refer to the space, location, or area that something tangible occupies in or on a property. I associated the word with small things like a fasting pit and did so because of my background training in anthropology and archaeology. I needed an operational definition to contextualize and explain this perspective cross-culturally and the following is what I developed.

As a result of my take on what exactly was being identified as a TCP, I made a conscious decision to describe the term traditional cultural property as referencing the location of a place in the landscape, a space in or on a place occupied by something tangible, something one can see regardless of that something being natural, manmade, or modified in some degree by a human activity. The term TCP site references that tangible thing occupying the space, something one can see and identify. In real simple terms a TCP is a humped-back hill. A TCP site is the location on the humped-back hill where we Lakota performed a significant cultural activity. It really is that simple to distinguish the difference between a property and a site.

Ohépi okítan̄iŋ “manifesting special places”

In this methodology traditional cultural properties are those places we identify as *ohépi okítan̄iŋ* “manifesting special places.” An *ohé okítan̄iŋ* is any location in the landscape which our people ascribe cultural significance to. The English translation for this designator immediately indicates that the place being discussed or referred to possesses value to us Lakota. There are three kinds of categories of Lakota *ohépi okítan̄iŋ* in this methodology which were developed by linking the cultural significance of place to the performance of a significant cultural activity. The function of the three categories is to denote the kind of cultural significance a Lakota TCP possesses:

- *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places”
- *ohépi waun̄yeya* “offering places”
- *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places”

Under each of these categories are the various kinds of TCP site types that are derived from identifying significant cultural activities performed outside in the

landscape. The function of the site types is to identify and describe the specifics of the cultural significance of a TCP site by describing what the cultural activity is.

Wicócajeyatepi “traditions”

The identification of the site types is based on a criteria which was developed only after I managed to describe the differences between activities related to making prayers which are listed under the *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” category, and activities related to making ritual sacrifices which are listed under the *ohépi waunyeaya* “offering places” category. What I needed to do was delineate the differences between these two categories so non-Indians could understand why we Lakota make a distinction between making prayers versus making ritual sacrifices. What is it that sets these two kinds of related but different kinds of activities apart?

During an impromptu consultation visit in 2006 with our *Ptehiŋcala Caŋnuŋpa Awanyanŋka* “Keeper of the Calf Pipe” Arvol Looking Horse, I inquired if he could provide me with additional guidance in this matter. I told Arvol that in my Master’s Thesis, I actually presented him a copy, “I used prayer to differentiate between the categories of ceremonial versus spiritual activity” (LeBeau 2005:21). Essentially he replied that the difference between these kinds of activities is related to kinds of prayers people make, and whether or not the ceremony is run by a spiritual leader or done by an *ikcé wicáša* “ordinary man.” In response to his statement I concocted a cross-cultural analogy at his kitchen table to Christianity. Since I was raised Catholic I contextualized my analogy as attending Sunday Church and participating in the Mass services.

Rhetorically I asked, was Church a place we Lakota would identify as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place?” If so, was the Mass an activity we would identify as a *wakáŋ*

wicóhən “energy-life way of doing,” i.e., a ceremony? If so, then the Priest is the spiritual leader running the ceremony for all the attending participants and he guides them through the service. The Mass service has rules governing how it is performed, and everyone attending follows those rules like the singing of hymns, crossing themselves, kneeling in prayer, shaking hands, wishing each other “god be with you,” and taking communion. Arvol’s reply was *Hau oyakáhniġa yelo* “Yes, you understand.”

Pleased, I put to him the following. A Christian attending Mass is going to a ceremony where the Priest guides them in prayer and administers the service. But any Christian can, if they choose to, visit a place like a roadside shrine and on their own accord place flowers there and recite a prayer without the presence of a Priest guiding them in this kind of activity (Figure 8).



Figure 8

Can we say the shrine is like an *ohé waun̄yeya* “offering place” and the flowers represent *wayúhtatapi* “things offered in sacrifice” (Figure 9).



Figure 9

If so, can we say the flowers are like a spiritual offering, equal to say our people tying up *caṅlí wapáhtapi* “tobacco ties,” and that the absence of the Priest in no way diminishes the power of that person’s prayer or the spiritual sincerity of offering the flowers. Arvol’s reply was again *Hau oyakáhniga yelo* “Yes, you understand” (Arvol Looking Horse personal communication 2006).

Wócekiye “prayer”

Using this cross-cultural analogy above is I believe the best way for a non-Indian Investigator to perceive and express the difference between Lakota *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” and *ohépi waunyyeya* “offering places.” Significant cultural *wōecon̄pi* “practices” identified as *wakan̄ wicóhan̄* “energy-life way of doing,” i.e., a ceremony, requiring guidance from a Spiritual Leader are placed under the *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” category. Significant cultural *wōecon̄pi* “practices” identified as *wakan̄ kágapi* “acts of worship,” which do not require guidance from a Spiritual Leader to perform them, are placed under the *ohépi waunyyeya* “offering places” category. However, it is still important to know how I originally expressed these differences by using prayer to frame the matter, explaining that although people may pray for many different reasons, from a Lakota view prayers can be sorted out into four basic types (see also Calkins 1911:495):

- prayers of supplication
- prayers to consecrate
- prayers of sacrifice
- prayers of thanksgiving

These forms of prayer can then be separated into two categories:

- ceremonial prayer
- ritual prayer

Ceremonial prayer is linked to activities guided by a Traditional Spiritual Leader and is generally a group activity. In Lakota a ceremonial activity is referred to as *wakan̄ wicóhan̄* “energy-life way of doing.” The participant’s prayer may be either a prayer of

supplication where a person beseeches a greater power for assistance. Or it can be a prayer to consecrate an object or another person. *Wakáŋ wicóhan̄pi* possess rigid structure and are performed under the supervision of a *wicáša wakan̄* “holy man” or another title is *wicáša pejúta* “medicine man.” All *wakáŋ wicóhan̄pi* possess a unique spiritual altar and an associated medicine bundle. The activity serves a specific purpose and functions in ensuring the continuance and survival of the people. As a result when a *wakan̄ wicóhan̄* is performed and completed there will be various kinds of physical evidence left behind in or around a location where it was held. Proper interpretation of the in situ physical evidence can be used to identify the type of *wakan̄ wicóhan̄* that was performed. Based on this rationale pertaining to interpreting ceremonial prayer, and identifying significant kinds of *wakáŋ wicóhan̄pi* “energy-life ways of doing” performed in the landscape, this establishes the category of *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places.”

Ritual prayer is linked to activities which do not require the presence or guidance of a Traditional Spiritual Leader. These activities are generally performed individually by a person. In Lakota a spiritual activity is referred to as *wakan̄ kágāpi* “acts of worship.” The prayer of the individual may be either a prayer of sacrifice whereby the person vows to do something in exchange for obtaining spiritual assistance, or a prayer of thanksgiving thanking a greater power for receiving spiritual assistance. *Wakan̄ kága* may be performed by an individual at their own convenience, under their own authority, and at a time and location of their own choosing. A *wicáša wakan̄* or *wicáša pejúta* does not need to supervise or approve of the action. The purpose of performing *wakan̄ kága* is to allow an individual to express their own faith

and beliefs by setting out *wayúhtatapi* “things offered in sacrifice” in the landscape. As a result when a *wakanj kága* is undertaken there will be various kinds of physical evidence left behind in or around a location where this kind of act occurred. Proper interpretation of the in situ physical evidence can be used to identify the intent of the *wócekiye* “prayer,” meaning a person set out an offering of sacrifice or an offering of thanksgiving. This rationale pertaining to interpreting ritual prayer and identifying significant kinds of *wakanj kágapi* “acts of worship” performed in the landscape establishes the category of *ohépi waunyeya* “offering places.”

The identification of significant cultural *wōeconpi* “practices” meant conducting a long, and thorough, review of the Lakota oral traditions expanding upon the previous research efforts I originally did in constructing my model. Every ceremony and ritual act possessed by the Lakota has an origin story recounted in the oral tradition. The name of the *awákanjkapí* “spirit beings” that brought the ceremony, or the practice, to the Lakota is almost always named. Furthermore origin stories reveal the purpose of the ceremonies and ritual acts, how these things are performed, where they are most commonly performed at, and when they are most often performed. With regards to *wakanj wicóhanpi* the origin stories always describe in varying amounts of detail an associated spiritual altar and a specific type of medicine bundle. When I began identifying *wakanj wicóhanpi* and *wakanj kágapi* practices this is the criteria I adhered to:

- For both kinds of activities there had to be an origin story recounted in the oral tradition describing purpose and function.

- The name of the spirit who brought or is associated with the activity had to be stated.
- The spiritual altar and medicine bundle for a ceremony had to be identified.
- How the *wakáŋ wicóhanpi* and *wakáŋ kágapi* are performed had to be explained.
- When and where the *wakáŋ wicóhanpi* and *wakáŋ kágapi* is commonly performed had to be explained.

The third category of TCPs is places where a Lakota will go or has gone to gather culturally significant kinds of natural or mineral resources. Again this category was developed by linking the cultural significance of place to the performance of a significant cultural activity. Only this time the quality of that significance is derived primarily from the resource gathered and how the resource is used for either medicinal or spiritual purposes.

Among the Lakota there are culturally prescribed patterns of ritualized behavior one must perform in order to gather medicinal or spiritual plants. There are certain kinds of mineral resources, such as pipe stone, flint, and small round stones which the ritualized Lakota word for is *tuŋkáŋ* “grandfather,” that are also gathered by the Lakota. When an individual gathers these types of resources they must be collected in a prescribed ritual manner and spiritual offerings *wayúhiatapi* “things offered in sacrifice” must be left in situ thanking the *awákaŋkapi* “spirit beings” for providing the resource. As a result when a resource is ritually gathered there will be various kinds of physical evidence left behind where this kind of activity occurred. Proper identification of the resource, the interpretation of its cultural significance as used for either medicinal or spiritual purposes, and the interpretation of the in situ physical evidence can be used

to identify gathering places. Based on this rationale pertaining to interpreting culturally prescribed patterns of ritualized behavior one must perform in order to gather significant kinds of natural or mineral resources the category of *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” is established.

A basic tenet of our traditional belief system we Lakota have about life is: “Everything a person does, what he feels, what he thinks, what he says, what he hears, what he sees, and what he experiences, is an expression of personal prayer” (Whirlwind Horse personal communication n.d.). There is simply no emotional feeling or physical act a Lakota experiences during the day that cannot be explained in terms of expressing prayer (Esther LeBeau personal communication n.d.). Fundamentally this means every act a person performs is a prayer. This belief is at the core of our traditional Lakota philosophy and spirituality. When I began identifying *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” this is the criteria I adhered to:

- The resource had to be recounted in the oral tradition and its medicinal or spiritual properties described
- Gathering the resource is done according to a culturally prescribed ritual manner
- When the resource is gathered had to be explained

To help me confirm the significance of various plant and tree species, and mineral resources, I drew heavily on the knowledge of our Lakota women, and *wiŋktepi* “Lakota third gendered individuals.” These two genders are living repositories for knowing what kinds of natural and mineral resources are culturally significant. But to access their knowledge I had to honor their requests to only identify these things by name, and not thoroughly describe how they are used. The following was relayed to me

by an *Ihanktoŋwaŋ wiŋyaŋ* “Yankton woman” and really characterizes the concerns of my people about not describing how we use things.

“I’ll tell you how grandma went out and gathered plants and how she prayed before going out, and what she offered to the spirits before she collected anything. But if I tell you this I don’t want you writing it in your book. What grandma did belongs to her and it isn’t right to tell that kind of stuff to White people. So promise me you won’t write in your book what I’m going to tell you” (Spotted Eagle personal communication 2006). When I identify a resource within *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” I’ll identify it by name. But I believe it is sufficient in this methodology to identify a resource and relate in broad terms why it is significant by alluding to what it is used for. To learn how it is used an investigator must consult with our people privately and discuss this information in personal one-on-one sessions.

Hécel uykitókecapí “in this way we are different”

As stated in Bulletin 38 “Euro-American society tends to emphasize ‘objective’ observation of the physical world as the basis for making statements about that world. However, it may not be possible to use such observations as the major basis for evaluating a traditional cultural property. For example, there may be nothing observable to the outsider about a place regarded as sacred by a native American group” (Parker and King 1992:4). In my interviews with my peers and elders the one issue I needed them to really help me address was explaining what our relationship is to the land and how that relationship governs our interaction with it. I needed to express that we too make objective observations of the physical world. But the basis for making statements is rooted in the Lakota perspective reflecting our belief that the land is sacred and

considered as one of our relatives. The gulf that exists between we Lakota and non-Indians pertaining to how each of our two different cultural groups perceive the value of land does in my professional judgment affect the process Indians and non-Indians employ in understanding the cultural significance of locations in the landscape. “In poststructuralist thinking, nature is essentially a projection of human language, a ‘social construction’ of a particular cultural perspective. Scholarly discourse about ‘sacred place’ often lacks any basis for appreciating the traditional native awareness that nature ‘talks back,’ that it participates in the experience humans have of it” (Lane 2001:55-56).

In every conversation I engaged in with my people about this issue of our relationship to the land, I was told repeatedly that the olden time Lakota believed the land is sacred. There is a relationship between it and our people that still exists today. I listened closely as my peers and elders gave examples of how our ancestors called the land *uŋcí maká* “grandmother earth” stating the earth is a living spirit “a person invested with every attribute of personhood” (Bunge 1983:22). What I set out to do in relation to these kinds of statements was discover a way to express this perspective cogently cross-culturally. Framing it so understanding this belief that we are related to the land can be contextualized in such a fashion that non-Indian investigators can use this information to help them perceive our relationship to the land as we Lakota perceive it. To accomplish this I developed, in very close consultation with my peers and elders, the following line of thoughts to help express how our people made the land, the plants, the animals, and the waters meaningful through symbolism based on how we view these things as living entities which can be used to express our spiritual beliefs about the world.

Wówakąj maká kiŋ yeló “the earth is sacred”

To frame the relationship between we Lakota and the land is best accomplished by contrasting our pre-contact traditional spiritual beliefs with Judeo-Christian teachings concerning the creation of the earth and man’s hierarchical relationship to it and the creatures that inhabit the earth. In the Holy Bible King James Version earth’s creation and man’s relationship to it and all creatures therein is in Genesis 1:1, 2, 26, 27, 28:

- 1:1: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
- 1:2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
- 1:26: And God said, “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.”
- 1:28: So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.
- 1:28: And God blessed them, and God said unto them, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.”

In Genesis the earth is depicted as a wasteland, an abyss, it is simply firmament, inanimate matter, and man is presented as the ultimate being of creation. God has commissioned man to dominate all else, hence man is superior to the earth, the plants,

and the animals which are made for man's sake. Of itself the earth does not create life. God apart from the earth using his power causes the earth to bring forth vegetation. The Lakota on the other hand do not see the earth as inanimate matter or man as the ultimate being in creation. We traditional non-Christian Lakota believe the earth is an *awákaŋka wiŋ* "female spirit being" and her name is *Makáškaŋškaŋ* "Earth that moves" (Esther LeBeau personal communication n.d.).

Maká means earth-land expressing firmness, the physical world. It is something that you can see. *Škaŋškaŋ* means movement and power expressing living energy, i.e., spirit, but it is something you cannot see. In connecting the two words we are in fact describing a living physical life, a living being, a living person, possessing all the qualities of personhood. *Makáškaŋškaŋ* participates in the creation of life, responsible for its shape, its form, and its sustenance (see also Dooling 1984:3-22). This contrast between how the earth is perceived as inanimate matter verses animate matter, as well as recognizing man's hierarchical relationship to it and to the life forms upon it, these differences between the Word and our beliefs are the reason why we have different views of the earth in what it is and in what way it is. As one of my elders said about this difference between us and Christians concerning the land, "You know it's strange that they don't see grandmother earth like we do. Both of our people come from this earth. Where do you think Adam came from" (Blue Arm personal communication 2006).

Oinažiŋta "the place of standing" concepts of hierarchy

The contrasting Lakota and Christian view of the land also needs explaining based on how each of our cultures sees our place as human beings in the world. One interpretation of Genesis is that God created the earth and prepared it for man's

presence (Charging Eagle personal communication 2007). God planned for man's presence and this is why he gives his final ultimate creation dominance over everything else. The natural resources of the earth are man's to use by divine right for his own benefit. I believe because Christians see man as the ultimate divine being it does affect how they see the land. In his work Bunge states: "The reason the white man and Indian see two different orders of reality while gazing out over the same piece of land stems from a theory of knowledge about land which, in turn, rests on certain metaphysical presuppositions as to what land is and in what way it is" (Bunge 1984:81).

In effect the white man and the Indian may together gaze at the same landscape observing the same trees, the same rocks, the same grass, the same dirt, etc. But each experiences the sight differently because they view the landscape from different hierarchical positions. Like Christians we traditional non-Christian Lakota acknowledge man is the last being created. However, where we diverge from one another is our belief that because man appears last he is the youngest being in creation. Therefore he is the dumbest being in creation and inferior to the other life forms. All other life, plants and animals, are older than he is and wiser than he is. When man appeared in the world he received no commission from God to replenish and subdue the earth and all living things. Instead he had to plead for supernatural aid to assure his presence in the world would continue.

In the Lakota view the physical limitations of man are easily discernible in comparison to other life forms such as plants and animals. Plants and animals are independent of man; they don't need man to survive, man needs them in order to survive (see also Bunge 1983:46). The oral tradition specifically describes how

powerless and vulnerable the people were when they first appeared in the world (see also Dooling 1984:117-132). The forces of the natural world were awe inspiring *tajjipi* “manifestations” of spiritual power. If the people were to survive they had to learn about their environment and find a balance with it allowing them to live inside it. To accomplish this they needed to find spiritual power. To obtain spiritual power they had to get in touch with the spirits who are the sources of power, thus their lives were spiritual lives. Every act they performed became a spiritual act (Bunge 1983:47).

Wakan “energy-life” the sacred

“The sacred is seen as a part of the objective world” (Carloye 1980:180). The Lakota view the earth as sacred because it is a living spirit being upon which other spirits reside. The basic belief about nature is that all material matter, organic and inorganic, in its natural state possesses the quality of *wakan* “energy-life.” This quality is innate and exists because creation is inter-connected with the power which created it. Therefore *wakan* cannot be separated from the matter in which it resides. This means a natural setting in the landscape possesses the quality of *wakan* intrinsically because of the matter that creates the space a setting fills. For example, when a traditional non-Christian Lakota, and “many Christian Lakota as well” (Widow personal communication 2006), look at a hill the hill does not represent a place to climb up on to enjoy a panoramic view of the surrounding landscape. From a traditional spiritual perspective, symbolically, the hill is associated with *Inyanškənškən* and its purpose in existence is to provide a dwelling space for his presence in the world. The preferred material matter he inhabits is obvious, rocks. This means rocks contain a piece of his spirit which can also be called a *šicuŋ* “in a thing which is spirit or spirit-like” so rocks

live from a Lakota point of view. In its natural state away from the presence of man its *šicuŋ* can communicate with a man, woman, or *wiŋkte* in the form of a sacred dream, or manifest itself in the form of an apparition. This same principle applies to all organic material as well. The spirits who created the individual material objects making up the world gave all these objects a *šicuŋ* or life. This means natural material things intrinsically possesses *wakaŋ* and from the *šicuŋ* residing in material things, spiritual aid can be obtained by people if the proper ritual for seeking that aid is observed.

Yuwákaŋ “to make energy-life” to make sacred

The oral tradition relates we Lakota were aware that our accidental appearance in the world disrupted the natural harmony of life. For our ancestors to survive and continue their existence, they had to find a way to restore this harmony which would let them co-exist with the other life forms. The only way to accomplish this was to obtain spiritual power. But that which possesses spirit power, organic and inorganic material matter, loses its power when man possesses it. It does so because man’s presence disrupts its natural state of existence. Remember all organic and inorganic material possess the quality of *wakaŋ*. However, if it is disturbed or removed from its natural state its quality of *wakaŋ* undergoes *yutōkeca* “transfiguration,” and the matter takes on a quality of *yuwákaŋ* “to make energy-life” (Dana Dupris personal communication n.d.). Because this transformation occurs, to restore that power and reactivate material matter, the Lakota had to make the sacred, sacred again. The process they use to do this is prayer, and prayer can be expressed through ceremony or through ritual.

Wicó uy “behaving like a relative”

One final thought needs explaining concerning our belief that we Lakota are related to the earth because it speaks directly to how we perceive our TCPs and TCP sites. The process of building a relationship to things, literally creating kin, is based on the concept of *wicó uy* “behaving like a relative.” Understanding this process of creating kin is essential to understanding how we perceive land and why certain places possess cultural significance to us, those places being our TCPs. For us building relationships is creating kinships and “kinship was not narrowly defined by the Lakota in biological terms, but was defined, rather, by behavior” (Walker 1982:6). Recall that TCPs are essentially places that live in your emotions; hence the forming of an attachment is expressed. When we Lakota form emotional attachments to locations, places where significant cultural activities occur, we behave like what we are to the land, younger relatives engaging in an important way with an elder. “To be fully present to any locale is to recognize the reciprocity involved in touching and being touched by its particular array of rocks, trees, animals, and geographical features. Given this reciprocity, in fact, one may even have to speak of the place as perceiving itself through us” (Lane 2001:58).

When we visit these places we are emotionally connected to, we behave like this because our culture mores dictates such. We show respect and honor a site by conducting ourselves in certain respectful ways such as moving about through a site in a ritual way, like entering into it from the west or walking around it in clockwise manner. Oftentimes before we enter a site area we will *azilkiya* “smudge” ourselves, purifying our heart and body by burning *pejihota* “sage” or *pejiwaštemna* “sweet grass.” Its

demonstrative behaviors like this which really exemplifies how we physically reveal that we hold the land as one of our relatives; as an elder we respect *ahókípa* “to value as one’s own.”

What positions the Lakota apart from the non-Indian are our different cultures and belief systems. When non-Indian investigators scrutinize one of our TCPs it is vital to assess the cultural value of them from the viewpoint of the Lakota, and not one’s own perception of them based on their own cultural values they use to perceive land. As Parker and King so eloquently state in Bulletin 38 “This is not to say that a group’s assertions about the significance of a place should not be questioned or subjected to critical analysis, but they should not be rejected based on the premise that the beliefs they reflect are inferior to one’s own” (1990:4).

Chapter Five: *Aópeya kte íókécapí kin* “merging the differences”

Ok'a makáblu “dirt digger” archaeologist

“As a sample of past settlements and activities, the archaeological record produces an incomplete picture of prehistoric behavior” (Jochim 1991:308). This methodology is intended to help fill in portions of that incomplete archaeological picture since Lakota TCP sites are created as a result of our behavior in performing a significant cultural activity in the landscape. Unfortunately “archaeology has been a suspicious science for Indians from the very beginning. People who spend their lives writing tomes on the garbage of other people are not regarded as quite mentally sound in many Indian communities...it should be the task in the days ahead for archaeologists who truly want cooperative ventures with American Indians to begin to communicate about some of the new techniques that are being used and the changes in dogmas and doctrines that are occurring as a result of the new instruments and processes available to you” (Deloria Jr. 1992:596).

In this concluding Chapter prior to the presentation of the various Lakota TCP site types that follow in Chapter Six, I want to make it perfectly clear that I created this methodology in order to bring about an inclusion and infusion of a Lakota perspective to identifying, evaluating, and documenting Lakota TCPs and TCP site types. However, this work and this methodology shouldn't be construed as an attempt to remove archaeological practices from investigating our TCPs. Instead it should be taken as a new Lakota cross-cultural technique to approaching the identification of Lakota TCPs. It is a unique culturally specific tool beneficial to archaeologists that when used properly, and appropriately, can reveal new insights to our past related to our traditional

belief system. Its design is to approach TCPs from the Lakota perspective of knowing how we use land for either spiritual or utilitarian purposes that make place, and take that knowledge and apply it to the landscape in a systematic way. Binford reasoned that to understand “the organization of past cultural systems archaeologist must understand the organizational relations among places which were differentially used during the operation of past systems” (Binford 1982:5).

“The key to understanding the power of the environment for Indians is to understand the sense of awe that they experience in the encounters with the forces of nature. It is a profoundly personal and emotional response...it serves to create a sense of personal relationship between humans and spirits” (Kidwell and Velie 2005:28). It is important archaeologists understand that for us landscapes aren’t just contextualized as panoramic vistas containing rolling prairies, beautiful mountain backdrops on the horizon, or sparkling clear blue waters. From our perspective the land is a cultural landscape replete with *wi’coni* “life,” and *wówaš’ake* “energy,” upon which we construct its potential to help us reclaim or continue our traditional beliefs within our society. The agency of natural features in the landscape, and certain physical characteristics they possess like scattered stone formations, natural depressions, flowering plants, tree species and their growth forms speak to us Lakota communicating *wóslolyapi* “knowledge” of our *wicócajeyatepi* “traditions” because we view the land as the repository of our traditional knowledge. “Traditional knowledge is an integral part of the analysis of the archaeological remains of prehistoric, proto-historic and historic peoples and cultures, where appropriate materials to support such an analysis are available” (Dods 2004:550).

Archaeology as an academic discipline values the scientific method for investigating phenomena and acquiring new knowledge. Methods must be based on gathering observable, empirical, and measurable evidence subject to specific principles of reasoning. “The philosophy of American science—that the world is to be analyzed and explained through a series of hypotheses that impose human order and logic on nature—serves to segregate humans from nature. American Indian philosophy, on the other hand, does not attempt to impose such external limitations on the natural world and serves to integrate humans with the natural world through a philosophical understanding of the interrelationship of human and nature” (Watkins 2003:137). “A conceptual distinction between nature and culture lies at the heart of modernist epistemologies. Since its inception archaeology has been, above all, about artifice: identifying, classifying, and recording cultural work, and distinguishing between material culture and natural forms which are not the product of human agency” (Tilley and Bennett 2001:335). Yet “in thinking about, describing, and interpreting cultural landscapes we need to spend as much time and effort considering ‘natural’ form as ‘cultural’ form. Nature provides a fundamental resource through which we can attempt to understand culture...meaning is created through a dialectic between the two. Nature and culture are two sides of a coin and cannot be separated, part of a complex system of signification” (2001:335-336).

This methodology provides concrete observable, measurable physical things for archaeologists to bring their training to bear upon representing natural and material cultural things when identifying Lakota TCPs. It contains specific cultural information identifying common natural features like hill types possessing certain kinds of physical

characteristics, and identifies things our people search for such as kinds of environmental settings, specific natural, and mineral resources, because these things lend themselves to the performance of various kinds of significant cultural activities. However, it is the cultural significance of these concrete physical things that is oftentimes invisible to archaeologists when they are looking down at the land searching for evidence of a past human activity.

Lakota TCPs are primarily located through recognizing natural visual cues in the landscape and this is why it is so important for archaeologists to understand how we contextualize meaningfulness for the landscape. It is important for archaeologists to learn what these natural features and their physical characteristics consist of, and how we interpret their meaningfulness according to what we say they represent to us. It is important because it is the accurate cultural interpretation of the meaningfulness of these features and physical characteristics that reveals the presence of our TCPs even though manmade materials may not be present.

I concur with Basso's assertion pertaining to the Western Apache view of the landscape and its importance in maintaining traditions, because it so closely mirrors our own Lakota view. He states "the Apache view the landscape as a repository of distilled wisdom, a stern but benevolent keeper of tradition, an ever-vigilant ally in the efforts of individuals and whole communities to maintain a set of standards for social living that is uniquely and distinctly their own...in the world that the Western Apaches have constituted for themselves, features in the landscape have become symbols of and for this way of living, the symbols of a cultural and the enduring moral character of its people" (Basso 1996:63). The Lakota philosophy "*wówiyyukcaŋ Lakota*" describing the

actionable nature of our TCPs affirms that when a TCP is viewed by a Lakota it functions as a symbolic trigger causing the individual viewing it to *waciŋkiksuya* “to remember all things well” as *he ótaŋiŋ okícíyak aupi* “tradition manifests itself.” Again Basso mirrors this Lakota perspective stating “geographical features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history...the Apache landscape is full of named locations where time and space have fused and where, through the agency of historical tales, their intersection is made visible for human contemplation” (1996:62).

Íkutkuiekapi “trials” field testing 1999-2008

My experiences in creating this methodology, employing it to actually conduct Lakota TCP survey investigations under contracts with federal, state, tribal, and private CRM entities, has proven invaluable in evolving this methodology as the most culturally appropriate tool available to our people, and to professional archaeologists and ethnographers, to locate and identify our TCPs (see LeBeau 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). Actual field applications over the past ten years have enabled me to refine it into this body of work presented here. Originally when I began developing this methodology I strove to identify every possible kind of Lakota TCP site type I could. However, my field testing experiences has taught me that the other old Euro-American colloquialism (KISS) “keep-it-simple-stupid” possesses a lot of merit.

In an effort to streamline this methodology I made decisions pertaining to the volume of TCP site types originally listed in the taxonomy section. I pared down the number of site entries and focused in on the most common kinds of *ohépi wócekiye*

“prayer places,” *ohépi waunyeya* “offering places,” and *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” encountered by investigators in the field. Focusing in on the most commonly encountered kinds of sites have allowed me to expand the overall amount of detailed cultural information concerning construction techniques and site investigation procedures. I believe the expansion of this information is more valuable for investigators to have at their disposal than say a plethora of various site types which to date it hasn’t been necessary to use.

Wasíéhca un “very good use”

I also determined that this methodology would be far more user friendly if I condensed some of the original prayer site entries into one single site designation. I did this in order to make the application of a designation more manageable in the field. For instance, I’ve learned through a process of trial and error during the field testing how difficult it can be to recognize and identify some of the more intricate subtleties which exist between some of the stone features that represent different kinds of TCP altar types. For example, the differences between an *akáñl wawágluwakanpi* “a sort of altar-making sacred,” an *akáñl waunyanpi* “an upright altar,” and an *íciglapšunpšunyan inyan* “piled up rocks-stone cairn” are primarily cultural based. It isn’t necessarily construction or location that sets them apart so much as it is the kind of prayer they represent. I realized that all of these stone altar forms can be as easily distinguished from one another by simply saying so in an investigator’s narrative report describing the sites versus trying to identify them separately based on their construction and physical locations which is discussed in the narrative descriptions anyway. I decided to combine these entries into one single entry, naming it *hekti* “lodge-what is past” and included a

subcategory called *wágle wóšŋapi* “altar” to identify forms that have a different purpose and construction technique. Doing this makes designation of a stone altar easier to do than sorting through several different entries.

For the *ohépi waunyeŋya* “offering places” sites I condensed these into two entries, *wáŋna wosnaŋi* “altar of sacrifice” and *owáunyanŋi* “acts of sacrifice,” which has a subcategory for identifying *hékiakiya níicú* “give back” sites. I also applied this same rationale to the animal den types. I settled on combining these sites under the *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” because these sites are used primarily as “spiritual” gathering places. Again the identification of the animal species associated with the den feature is revealed in the narrative, hence there is no real need to distinguish between den sites by listing them separately in the taxonomy.

For the *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” entries I combined everything under a single heading *wakámna* “gathering.” Again any distinctions between what resources are gathered can be identified and discussed in the narrative report. My decisions to take these actions were not arbitrary and not done without first receiving input from my peers and elders. My people are cognizant that this methodology is designed with the intention of it being used by non-Indian professionals to conduct Lakota TCP investigations. It was reasonable for all of us to agree to make these changes in order to make the methodology as user-friendly as possible to whomever employs it in identifying our TCPs.

Lastly the final refinement to this methodology was how to precisely contextualize the identification of a Lakota TCP in a written report. To fully

communicate cross-culturally the cultural significance of a TCP, investigators need to describe them using the following descending order of Lakota designators.

- Use *ohépi okítanĭŋ* “manifesting special places” to identify the spatial location followed by using one of the following designators to classify the TCP.
 - *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place”
 - site type name, i.e., *haŋbléceya* “cry for a vision”
 - *wakáŋ wicóhan* “energy-life way of doing”
 - *ohé waunyeŋya* “offering place”
 - site type name i.e., *owáunyanpi* “acts of sacrifice”
 - *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship”
 - *ohé wakámna* “gathering place”
 - site type name i.e., *wakámna* “gathering”
 - *wicóahoŋe* “custom” *wōeconpi* “practices”

Ehaŋna wóyuhapi “old possessions” artifacts

Is this methodology an objective observation of the physical world? Yes it is. But the basis for making statements on the physical world is rooted in the traditional Lakota perspective. It reflects aspects of our traditional knowledge pertaining to how we ordered and structured the natural environment, and the things contained therein, which have the potential to ensure our traditional belief system continues among the generations of our people yet to come. However, this methodology doesn’t just rely on proper cultural interpretation of the natural landscape as its only contribution to approaching the identification of TCPs. By interpreting the cultural meaningfulness of various kinds of loci containing certain natural features and physical characteristics,

archaeologists using this methodology can conduct comprehensive TCP field surveys. For example, this methodology uses ground truthing of sites, and analytical observation of observable features and artifacts, to investigate sites. As with any investigation “when a site is found, it should be accurately and completely described, photographed, and located on a map” (Hester et al 1975:19).

Many archaeologists as a result of their training seldom consider a place in the landscape significant unless there is some kind of observable presence of a manmade feature, or a discernable alteration to a natural object which they can interpret. This methodology, which uses culturally significant activities as the basis for establishing the identification of site types, reveals the kind of cultural items, “the artifact,” which are used in those activities. It contextualizes within the overall environmental context of a site by using cultural interpretations that explain the meaningfulness of these cultural items and how they fit into a particular kind of activity. In situ investigation of a site, keeping things in their appropriate site context is for archaeologist an integral component in postulating possible interpretations of the past. Oftentimes the old saying is artifacts removed from their context lose their meaning. But with this methodology should remnants of an artifact be discovered eroded out of their original site context, the proper cultural identification of the object followed by a careful visual inspection of the landscape allows archaeologists with a high degree of probability to relocate the original site because they know where to look and what to look for in the landscape.

Wayúpika íáku hwo “whose expertise”

The TCP site types contained in this methodology identify our TCPs. Their quality of cultural significance to our people is self-evident otherwise they would not be

listed in this methodology. Recording a site's location, investigating its physical contents, gathering cultural information about it, all of this is central to the TCP process. I was very conscious about this matter during my research because whoever documents a site actually controls the process of what gets acknowledged as a TCP. As I stated in the first Chapter my goal for this research was to demonstrate that the Lakota are the most qualified people to locate, identify, interpret, evaluate, and document their own TCPs. The simple fact is we are the people who created and continue to create them through prayer, ceremony, and activities. Investigating TCPs is done through a process of systematic study but it is disingenuous to assume that only a location in the landscape is undergoing examination and evaluation. It is not just our TCPs undergoing scrutiny it is us as well. "We have been the objects of scientific investigations and publications for far too long, and it is our intent to become people once again, not specimens" (Deloria Jr. 1992:595).

I have always felt we Lakota were being excluded from this evaluation process because "the scholarly community has enjoyed for the past century, i.e., that only scholars have the credentials to define and explain American Indians and that their world should be regarded as definitive and conclusive" (Deloria Jr. 1992:595). "The history of archaeological research in the United States and other countries in relation to Native Americans has been largely characterized by ineffective communication and a lack of mutual respect" (Ferguson 1996:65). One primary reason for this situation is based on the requirement imposed by non-Indians privileging their expertise to engage in systematic studies of our past. That is people who investigate TCPs must meet the Secretary of the Interior's mandatory Professional Qualifications Standards outlined in

36 CFR Part 61 which “define minimum education and experience required to perform identification, evaluation, registration, and treatment activities” (1983:2).

The standards require a person to hold a graduate degree in archaeology, anthropology, or closely related field. Frankly, graduate degrees in these disciplines among the Lakota are nearly non-existent. Invariably, invoking the professional standards is oftentimes interpreted to mean we are incapable of analyzing our own past, and such feelings result in creating a contentious hierarchical relationship to emerge between Lakota’s and professionals. It is this imposition of such qualifications affirming who is or is not qualified to document and evaluate TCPs that oftentimes results in regulating the role of the professionally unqualified Lakota in the process of identifying and investigating TCPs to that of a “native informant.” The consultant who points to the hill over yonder and says: “You see that hill over there, the one that looks like the hump on the back of a buffalo. That hill is a Lakota TCP because our people go there to pray and do ceremonies.” After we indicate where our TCP is located, revealing what cultural information we can about it, we stand back and let the qualified professionals do their job.

That means someone else, “not us,” documents it and evaluates it. It is their voice and not ours which describe things. It’s absurd that the single most important group of people who possess the ability to identify their own TCPs, and communicate what makes them culturally significant, have only a limited participatory consultative role in the documentation of TCPs, and a zero role in the evaluation process. The imposition of professional qualification standards on who is best able to investigate and evaluate TCPs is not only paternalistic; it is also detrimental because it stifles our voice.

As a systematic method of study this methodology functions to establish our *hótanjij* “to have one’s voice heard” in the process of TCPs. Professionals using this methodology to identify and locate our TCPs need to realize this methodology is our voice concerning our role in the evaluation process. I designed this work to compliment archaeological investigations of TCPs, not replace it. Hinson stated “true collaboration entails a sharing of authority and a sharing of visions. This means more than just asking for consultant commentary, more than inviting contributions that deepen but don’t derail, more than the kind of community tokenism that invites contributors to the opening but not to the planning sessions” (Lassiter 2001:141). As Ferguson notes, and I concur, “Zimmerman concluded that archaeologists don’t have to give up their point of view but they do need to share with Native Americans the power archaeology can bring to constructing the past” (Ferguson 1996:71).

Ektá épazo “to look at” references

My primary source of cultural information identifying significant cultural activities was obtained from the *wóyake* “to tell” Lakota oral tradition. As discussed in the previous chapter using the criteria I developed to identify cultural *wōeconjpi* “practices,” I spent endless hours reviewing *wicówoyake* “true stories” that describe our traditional beliefs about our world, and how through ceremonies and acts of worship we maintained these beliefs. I created a data base recording descriptions of our *wakaj* *wicóhanjpi* “energy-life ways of doing,” the kinds of *wakaj kágapi* “acts of worship” we perform. I put together a reference list naming significant plants and trees which are described as possessing *wóokihi* “power-potency,” and included the identification of some of these in the site listings.

As I assessed this information I noted, whenever possible, the kinds of locations and physical characteristics possessed by those locations where our *hunkákepi* “ancestors” went to perform these activities. I compared what I was learning to how our people were doing many of these same activities today; paying particular attention to recording common characteristics in environmental settings and cultural items. One major benefit of doing these comparisons was I learned how many of our traditional ceremonies and acts of worship evolved through time. For example, the *hanbléceya* ceremony is originally performed using no material items. There is no *cannunpa* “pipe” spoken of in the origin story for the ceremony, neither is there any mention of supplicants manufacturing *canlí wapáhtapi* “tobacco ties” to enclose the space they fast in, and other kinds of material items we now see get incorporated into our ceremonies over time. The process is slow but it is a recognizable process. I came to understand that more often than not the reason why our people begin to incorporate more and more cultural objects into our ceremonies is because it is reflective of the ever increasing complexity of our evolving society. Change occurred in response to encountering changes in our natural environment; and frankly due to contact with non-Indian people beginning in the historic period and continuing here in our modern era.

Throughout the course of this research, to confirm that my identifications of *wōeconpi* “practices” were accurate and correct, I kept open lines of communication between myself and my peers and tribal elders, the individuals identified as traditional spiritual leaders, traditional tribal elders, and tribal cultural authorities residing on the various Lakota and Dakota reservations noted in Chapter Two. Whenever I needed to consult about a cultural activity, to identify the use of a plant species, or to learn how

one must gather a natural or mineral resource in a ritually prescribed manner, I contacted these individuals over the telephone, or when circumstances permitted I drove to their respective reservations and held face-to-face in home visits with them to discuss my needs and receive instructions about how things are done. I must acknowledge that without their active participation in this research effort, without their moral and spiritual support for what I accomplished in developing this methodology, this body of work would never exist.

Wówapi “books”

I owe my people everything for this body of work. However, I did not limit my research to just reviewing our oral traditions or soliciting cultural information from my peers and elders. I reviewed literally hundreds of pertinent literary publications, and historic and contemporary accounts describing various Lakota customs and practices. I did so in an effort to corroborate whenever possible the information my own people were sharing with me. And of course I looked at everything I could find that was written in the historic era about our ceremonies and customs. Some of the primary authors for this type of information are people such as James R. Walker, Samuel W. Pond, Royal Hassrick, James H. Howard, Stephen R. Riggs, Alanson B. Skinner, Robert H. Lowie, Doane Robinson, Francis Densmore, and Ella Deloria. Some of the more contemporary authors are Thomas E. Mails, William K. Powers, Marla Powers, Stephen E. Feraca, Raymond J. DeMallie, and Julian Rice.

I searched for descriptions that described how a ceremony was done and noted the kinds of things used in them. I paid particular attention to any descriptions discussing the physical locations for where ceremonies are held, and noted the common

kinds of physical characteristics described for these locations. Lastly I looked at how these people interpreted the significance of a ceremony as it was communicated to them by their informants, or if they were evaluating that significance from their own cultural perspective.

Throughout my review I continually compared the written record against my own data base to determine if the records were accurate, inaccurate, complete, or incomplete recordings. I looked for inconsistencies concerning the description of an activity or the explanation of a belief. I did not make judgments on the accuracy of a record pertaining to whether or not I should discard such records and never mention them. Instead, I drew on those inconsistencies and decided to use them as additional references identifying them in text as (see also). I did this in an effort to direct investigators to review these other sources of information, to indicate they can review them and make their own reasoned judgments about their validity or usefulness.

I did decide with the support of my people that it was vital to explain and describe activities which make place and represent our TCP site types, according to how they are described in the oral tradition rather than in accordance with how some of these activities are described in written accounts. This allows our voice to become prominent throughout this methodology, but it also addresses the issue of reconciling conflicting historical descriptions about our ceremonies which exist within the record. For instance, Stephen R. Riggs recorded a detailed description of an Oglala Sun Dance in 1880, and in his account there is little or no resemblance between how the Oglala performed the ceremony in 1880 and how they perform it in 2005 (Riggs 1998:229). Moreover there are other discrepancies in the historical record describing this particular ceremony. For

example, Brown recorded Black Elk's account of the Sun Dance and it bears no resemblance to Riggs portrayal (see Brown 1989:67-100). Among our people the consensus of public opinion about Black Elk's Sun Dance account is it is a description of the Mandan Okipa ceremony that he gave to Brown, not a description of the Lakota Sun Dance. Densmore in her work also described the ceremony differently from Riggs and Brown (see Densmore 1992:93). Therefore when I identified a significant *wōecon̄pi* "practices" identifiable as *wakaŋ wicóhan̄pi* and *wakaŋ kágapi* the subsequent description would derive from how it is portrayed in the oral tradition. Any associated historical account information would be noted and referenced as additional sources for review but it would not be used as a primary means to describe the practice.

How our people perform the Sun Dance today is in some ways drastically different than how our ancestors performed it. These differences are due in large part to suffering from federal assimilation policies where "Indians came to be considered 'wards' of the government to be tutored in the ways of Euro-American civilization, then assimilated into the cultural mainstream...the policy of so-called civilization and Christianization of native people" (DeMallie 1987:115-116). As a direct result of assimilation practices our people had to change how we did things because we had to take many of our ceremonies into hiding. As Frank Fools Crow tells it "we were under constant pressure to give up our healing ceremonies, as well as our rituals...we actually gave none of these up that still were useful and essential in our lives...we simply practiced them in a quiet way and out of the government people's sight" (Mails 1979:76).

Okágapi “model” site entry format

In drafting the format for how I would list the TCP site entries, what I wanted to accomplish was to present the information in an easily accessible manner. The TCP site types are numbered but it must be understood the number does not, and should not, be taken to mean there is a hierarchal status relationship between sites types where one is more important than another. The only significance of the presentation order is I’ve tried to reflect which TCP site types are most commonly encountered in the field by investigators. I had concerns regarding accurately communicating a sites quality of cultural significance with just an outline format. Therefore I included a cultural reference section for each entry, when appropriate, to identify the activities origin, its purpose and function, and identify any cultural figures associated with the activity (see below).

Site Type: Name of cultural activity

Activity: Type of cultural activity

Intrinsic Nature: Identifies the quality of *toη* of the site

Location: Describes typical locations where the site can be found in the landscape

Natural Site Features: Descriptions of typical natural features found in the site

Physical Attributes: Describes the physical components of a site

Construction: Describes how a site is constructed

Investigation: Describes how to investigate a site

Associated Physical Features: Describes associated features generally located within view of the site

Cultural Reference Section: Provides pertinent additional cultural information about the activity

Țókeiu oyáka oie “definitions

As a process of developing this methodology I realized from the outset of this research that it was evident our people needed to create cross-cultural explanations for the operational definitions I developed to help me structure my research. I felt it was essential to provide cultural explanations describing TCP place categories, as well as many of the terms and designators others use to identify our cultural authority figures. For example, whenever someone uttered the term traditional spiritual leader and applied the title to a Lakota man, woman, or *wiŋkte*, what exactly did use of this title imply about the person? Rhetorically, I approached resolving this matter by asking, Is titling a form of credentialing? If so, then how are those credentials obtained?

Who possesses the actual authority to speak culturally about our traditional past is an issue which may never be satisfactorily agreed upon, even by us Lakota. However, I knew from previous experiences during my tenure as Cultural Preservation Officer for my tribe, that a lot of non-Indians really emphasize the importance of an individual’s credentials pertaining to their expertise in any particular field of study or knowledge. Honestly, we Lakota share this same concern about an individual’s credentials to represent themselves as knowledgeable cultural authorities. To address this matter, working in conjunction with my own peers and elders, I crafted operational definitions for certain title designators. The criteria used to distinguish who among our people we recognize as our cultural authorities is contained in each title definition. Investigators using this methodology must realize that all of these terms and their definitions were

created for the purposes of this methodology, and they have been derived from a traditional Lakota worldview and are only applicable to our own cultural group.

- Spiritual use of the land means: relating to the elements of the natural world, habitats and environment, possessing particular kinds of natural features and physical characteristics described in the TCP site entries the Lakota identify as lending themselves to the performance of significant kind spiritual activity.
- Utilitarian use of the land means: relating to the natural habitat and environment where the natural and mineral resources described in the TCP site entries are gathered on a seasonal or annual basis.
- Traditional cultural significance means: the *wicálapí* “belief” contained in the Lakota philosophy “*wówi yukcaŋ Lakota kiŋ*” that the actionable nature of a TCP functions as a symbolic trigger causing the individual viewing it to *waciŋkiksuya* “to remember all things well” as *he ótaniŋ okíciyak aupi* “tradition manifests itself.” The individual thus evokes powerful *wakíksuyapi* “memories” of *wicóahope* “custom” which reinforces one’s own sense and awareness of his or her cultural and ethnic identity.
- Evidence and measure of traditional cultural significance is: *prima facie* meaning the cultural significance of a TCP is self-evident among the Lakota as a result of the ability to *cajéyata* “name” the kind of significant cultural activity performed on a property in accordance with how it was or will be used *iwáši* “to employ for a certain purpose” by the Lakota.
- Traditional cultural property means: those loci the Lakota identify as *ohépi okítaniŋ* “manifesting special places” representing any location in the landscape

which they ascribe cultural significance too. A Lakota TCP possesses *toŋ' toŋ* “that which has physical properties” and are meaningful features and physical characteristics as these are described in the site entries which are identified as qualities which lend themselves to performance of a significant cultural activity.

- *Ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” is: a category of Lakota TCPs denoting the loci within an *ohé okítanŋ* “manifesting special place” where an important cultural activity takes place.
 - TCP site types identified as *wakaŋ wicóhaŋpi* “energy-life ways of doing” are defined as analogues to ‘ceremonial activity’ in English and are listed under this category. These site types represent the kind of cultural significance a Lakota *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” possesses.
- *Ohépi waunyeŋya* “offering places” is: a category of Lakota TCPs denoting the loci within an *ohé okítanŋ* “manifesting special place” where an important cultural activity takes place.
 - TCP site types identified as *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship” are defined as analogues to ‘offering site’ in English and are listed under this category. These site types represent the kind of cultural significance a Lakota *ohé waunyeŋya* “offering place” possesses.
- *Ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” is: a category of Lakota TCPs denoting the loci within an *ohé okítanŋ* “manifesting special place” where an important cultural activity takes place.

- TCP site types identified as *wicóahope* “custom” *wōeconjpi* “practices” are defined under this category. These site types represent the kind of cultural significance a Lakota *ohé wakámna* “gathering place” possesses.
- *Ptehiŋcala Caŋnuŋpa Awaŋyaŋka* “Keeper of the Calf Pipe” is Arvol Looking Horse of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of Indians.
- Traditional Spiritual Leader is an enrolled male, female, or *wiŋkte* member of a federally recognized Lakota Indian tribe who possesses a *wópiye* “medicine bundle” and performs *wakaŋ wicóhanpi* “energy-life ways of doing” of the Lakota people.
 - The formal male honorific is *wicáša wakaŋ* “holy man” or *wicáša pejúta* “medicine man.”
 - The formal female and *wiŋkte* honorific is *wiŋyaŋ wóasniya* “woman healer.”
- Traditional Tribal Elder is an enrolled male, female, or *wiŋkte* member of a federally recognized Lakota Indian tribe who possesses extensive cultural and historical knowledge of the Lakota culture, and who has attained a certain number of years sufficient to be given this title by members of a younger generation.
 - The formal honorific for a male is *wicáhcala* “old man, precious aged man.”
 - The honorific *hcala kiŋ* can be used to refer to an individual old man e.g., *hcala kiŋ* Richard.

- The formal honorific for a female or a *wiŋkte* is *winúhcala* “old woman, precious aged woman.”
- Religious Leader is an enrolled male or female member of a federally recognized Lakota Indian tribe who is an ordained priest, minister, reverend, or pastor.
 - The Catholic honorific is *šina sápa* “black robe” or *sapuŋ* “black coated one.”
 - The Congregationalist honorific is *kacégu uŋ* “short-coated one.”
 - The Episcopal honorific is *ská uŋ* “white coated one.”
- Native American Church Leader is an enrolled member of a federally recognized Lakota Indian tribe who conducts ritual peyote ceremonies.
 - The honorific among the Lakota is *uŋhécéla yúta oítaŋcaŋ* “peyote eating leader.”
- Tribal oral historian is an enrolled member of a federally recognized Lakota Indian tribe who possesses extensive knowledge of the cultural and oral history. These individuals communicate that knowledge through *wóyakapi* “a narration,” narratives that recount the early beginnings of the world, the origin of spirits, the creation of spirit-like beings, the creation of physical life of animals and plants, the making of the directions and seasons, the origin of people, the origin of place or band names, and the origin of Lakota ceremonies, traditions, customs and practices, including teachings designed to instruct and explain life ways and proper social behavior.

- The traditional honorific is *wicáša pahíŋ* “porcupine man” or *tóksape* “his-her wisdom.”
- A modern honorific is *wakakaŋša* “story-teller” or *ehaŋna wicóhaŋ oyáka* “oral historian.”

For the purposes of ITS-TCPS the definition for a tribes traditional cultural authorities, a term listed in PL 89-665 Title I § 101(d)(4)(C)(i) (16 U.S.C. 470a) has been derived from a traditional Lakota worldview. The term is used in the legislation but it is not listed and defined in Title III Section 301 (16 U.S.C. 470w) nor is it listed or defined in Section 106 Regulations 36 CFR Part 800.16. This methodology provides the following honorifics which are considered the most appropriate for identifying individuals using this term.

- *načá* hereditary “headman.”
- *itaŋcaŋ* hereditary “chief.”
- *okólakiciye* “traditional society” such as *caŋté’ t’iŋza okólakiciye* “brave heart society.”
- *wóyu haŋble yuha* “vision carrier.”
- *tiyópa awaŋyaŋka* “intercessor.” This title literally translates as “door keeper” and is an age-set designator. Men and women usually past the age of 50 years when they deem it is necessary, and appropriate, will acting on their own authority, take and remove a younger person from a council gathering of tribal leaders because the young person has acted or behaved improperly in front of their elders.

Ihuṅnikiya “competed”

In conclusion I wish to state that developing this methodology was an exercise in applied anthropology. The implications of its importance as a Lakota investigative field methodology for locating and identifying Lakota TCPs and TCP site types are staggering. Essentially the methodology teaches one where to look and what to look for in the landscape, breaking it down into its component parts in the same manner we Lakota do. This is its greatest strength because it brings the investigator into the Lakota world relating to how we perceive the land and its resources. Using this methodology properly an Investigator can easily locate a Lakota TCP and identify our TCP site types.

There is a need for the Lakota to become involved in identifying their own TCPs because “traditional cultural properties are often hard to recognize...as a result...places may not necessarily come to light through the conduct of archaeological, historical, or architectural surveys” (Parker and King 1992:2). The rationale I had for this research was to demonstrate we Lakota have far more kinds of TCPs than previously suspected, and that more emphasis needs to be placed upon recognizing other cultural factors investigators must be aware of that can be used to identify our TCPs, other than just reliance upon the artifact. Taking the approach of associating place with the performance of significant cultural activity, and identifying natural features and the physical characteristics they possess which lend themselves to the performance of an activity, I was able to develop a practical, sound Lakota approach to identifying TCPs.

The methodology works. It combines some standard archaeological survey techniques, such as ground truthing, and analytical observation of observable features and artifacts, which not only establishes an identification of a Lakota TCP and TCP site

type, but also explains the cultural significance of the same, all neatly compiled into one package. More importantly the methodology's approach to TCPs is a Lakota methodology reflecting an emic Lakota perspective which establishes our own *hótanjin* "to have one's voice heard." Its purpose isn't to debunk traditional archaeological methods for identifying sites or archaeological typologies. Professionals learning how to use this methodology, bringing it into the field to help them investigate Lakota TCPs, should consider it as a compliment to standard archaeological practices. It is designed to function as a unique usable, and applicable, tool any professional can employ to conduct Lakota TCP field investigation surveys. This is a predictive methodology that enhances an investigator's ability to predetermine where in the landscape Lakota TCPs are potentially located, and it explains why a TCP site is there in the first place.

A TCP survey investigation is not an archaeological survey neither is it an ethnographic study of an area known to be historically occupied by Lakota people. A Lakota TCP survey investigation is going out into the field and ground truthing sites. Sites are located by analyzing and correctly interpreting the meaningfulness of the landscape, and sites are identified by analyzing and correctly interpreting their physical setting and context. This is the whole purpose of doing a field survey, to get out into the field and bring one's training to bear upon the proper culturally appropriate identification of Lakota TCPs and TCP sites, so their quality of cultural significance can be identified and revealed through proper interpretation of natural and material evidence. I believe that with proper training any Lakota and non-Indian can learn the intricacies of this methodology and use it as it was designed to be used, to be the best and most appropriate tool investigators have at their disposal to locate and identify

Lakota TCPs and TCP sites. This methodology says, using a Lakota voice, this kind of place is important to us and this is why it is important to us. We come to this kind of place to pray, we come to this kind of place to make an offering, and we come to this kind of place to gather important resources that we believe allow us to continue here on this earth.

Chapter Six: *Owícawapi* “Site Lists”

TYPE 1 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Hañbléceya*

Site Type: *Hañbléceya* “cry for a vision”

Activity: *wakáŋ wicóhaŋ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: An area filled with *toŋ* “emission of power.” The quality of *wakáŋ* “energy-life” is capable of giving *toŋ* which is received or transmittable to beings making for what is especially good, or *wóšice* “negative-bad.”

Location: Traditionally the activity is performed in secluded places in sight of a nearby freshwater source such as a spring, a stream, a river, a pool, or a lake. Hilltops are the most common places to *hañblé* “fast,” because they are the normal places for people to go to because all high hills and mountains are believed to be *wanágitipi* “dwelling of the spirits” and the domain of *Iŋyaŋškanškan* “Rock that moves” (Dooling 1984:6). However, not everyone will fast on a hill. Some individuals will go to places considered the opposite of normal places, such as the base of a hill, because their guiding spirit is the contrary *Wakíŋyaŋ* “Thunder being.” Lakota’s whose guiding spirits are *Iktómi* “Trickster” or *Gnaškíŋyaŋ* “Wild” often go to areas containing paleontological or prehistoric fossil deposits because the fossil remains are the primary resource material they will collect and incorporate into their personal *wópiye* “medicine bundle.”

Other locations that can be used but are not limited to include wooded creeks along hillsides, hills overlooking prairie dog towns, hills with a cave in them, a rock shelf, and a cliff ledge. In woodlands, sites are generally located in mound sites, small wooded grottos, or in open meadows on hills overlooking river valleys. Additionally there are other factors effecting site location related to the types of normal physical

settings sites are located in as compared to the kinds of opposite of normal physical settings sites are located in. Location can vary according to the hill type a site is located on and the type of natural and mineral resources located on, in, or around the hill. Location of a site can also be contingent upon the individual performing the activity having received a spiritual instruction directing him to *hanblé* “fast” inside a very specific type of natural setting, or upon the type of spiritual altar erected to perform the activity in (Drapeau personal communication 2007).

Personal preferences related to family use of a location can also effect where sites may be found (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972:14). Always bear in mind that any one or more of these factors can influence where a *hanbléceya* site can be located at in the natural landscape. For example, a man may fast on Medicine Knoll in central South Dakota for a variety of different reasons. (1) The hill is considered to be a *wanágitipi* “dwelling of the spirits,” and after receiving an *owányanke* “sacred vision” he was instructed to go there. (2) There is a powerful *inyan wakága* “rock image” stone effigy figure of a *zuzéca* “snake” on the hill. (3) There are certain species of plants like *pejúta awicayaspuya* “itch medicine-common yarrow,” *cañhlógañ waštemna iyececa* “sweet smelling hollow stalk-fleabane,” *icáhpe hu* “knocked down stem-purple cone flower,” *napóštan* “pour out swelling-prairie coneflower,” and *pejúta heyōka* “clown medicine-scarlet globe mallow” growing on the butte that all have spiritual and medicinal value. These are a few of the more specific plant species people may incorporate into their own personal *wópiye* “medicine bundle.” There is an old *wóonſpekiye* “teaching” among the Lakota which says “wherever a medicine plant is growing on a hill the man

who is supposed to use that plant will fast there” (Richard Charging Eagle personal communication n.d.).

Natural Site Features: For the Lakota there are five kinds of easily discernible hill types that are commonly used as *ohépi wašitéšie* “good places” to *haŋbléceya* on. These hills are fairly distinctive and noticeably separated spatially from any other large protruding land form. The first hill type consists of two kinds of small conical shaped hills. The first kind is identified as *heyōka ti* “lodge of the clown” (Figure 10). The use of this hill type as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” is nearly exclusive to individuals known as *heyōka* “clown.” The first hill known by this name is located “some ten miles above the mouth of the Chippewa River (Chippewa County, MN) with its junction with the Minnesota River” (Durand 1994:23) and all “the little hills on the prairie are also the houses of *heyōka*” (Riggs 1992:145). A *heyōka ti* is treeless and steeply inclined. The hill is grass covered, and oftentimes there is a *hekti* “lodge-what is past” lying on top of it. This hill type is often found in an arid area and it is distinctly separate from any other landform.

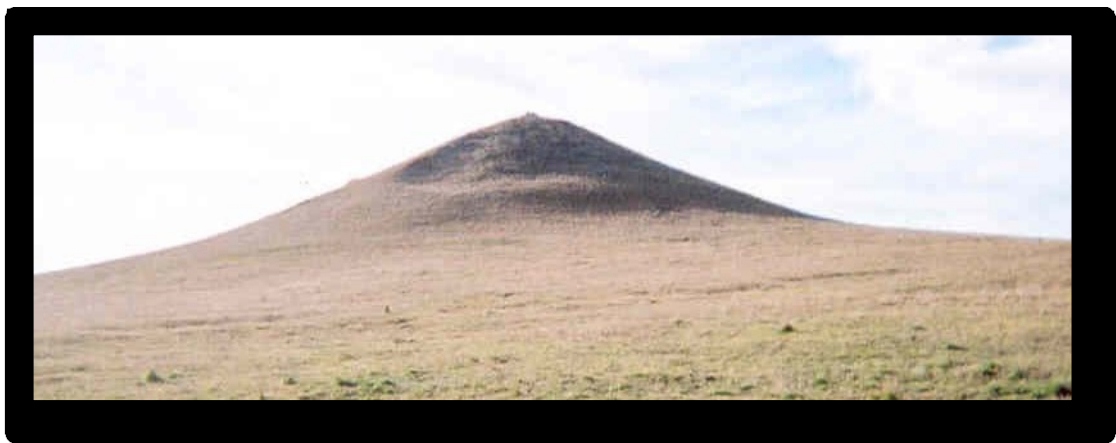


Figure 10

The second kind is identified as a *h̄e ipá* “promontory” (Figure 11). The use of this hill type as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” is not exclusive to just the *heyōka* “clown,” as women and *wiŋkte* also use them as fasting places. These hills are not as steeply inclined as the first kind, and lie in closer proximity to bodies of water such as a river or lake. They too are grass covered but some may have a single *h̄an̄jé* “cedar” or *wazí* “pine” tree growing near the top. Spatially they are not as distinctly separated from other landforms, and they may have a rock outcrop on them.



Figure 11

Another kind of hill type is humped backed hills identified as *pahá caŋh̄áh̄ake* “buffalo hump hill” (Figures 12 and 13). Of all the prairie hill types this is the most preferred by the Lakota as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.” They are generally treeless, grassy covered, and can be spatially separate from other landforms, or lie within a formation of hills. They lie in close proximity to bodies of water and generally have

large creeks running next to and into them. Inexplicably these hill types tend to be oriented either west-east, or north-south.



Figure 12



Figure 13

The *canwakiŋ hu* “saddle bow” hill type (Figure 14) is a distinctly standalone feature. They are predominately grassy covered but some do have tree stands growing on them. As they are found primarily in prairie settings they tend to overlook river ways

or natural dams. What is notable about this hill type are the comments by people who use them as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.” They say that small *wáŋkipaksapi* “lizards” and *witápiha* “horned toads” are always present during the fast.

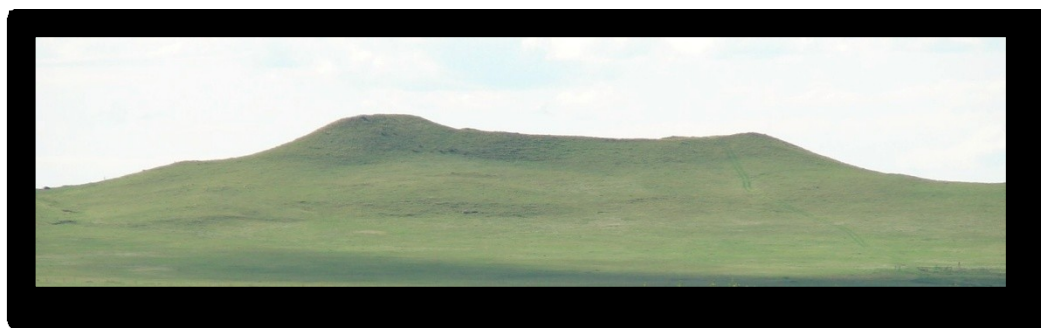


Figure 14

The *bló* “ridge” hill types (Figures 15 and 16) the Lakota seek out generally lie within a range of hills overlooking waterways and natural dams. Often these are grassy, treeless features primarily located in prairie settings.



Figure 15

The hill type shown in Figure 16 is often favored by women for use as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.”



Figure 16

A *hé ipá blaská* “flat top hill” type (Figure 17) lies predominately in arid areas. They seldom have trees growing on them, but nearly always have rock outcrops on them. Predominately located in prairie settings this hill type is nearly exclusive to male use as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.”



Figure 17

Physical Attributes: To identify a *haŋbléceya* site an investigator must realize that there are different ways to construct a *hócoka kaġiya i'céya* “altar where he makes it difficult for himself,” and that there are different gender locations where it can be held (Brown 1989:46). As a result of these factors identifying prehistoric and historic sites can be difficult. The location of sites and their physical components can vary especially the further back in time one goes. Contemporary sites are relatively easy to identify because of their proliferation in various known ceremonial locations throughout the Dakotas. However, locating and identifying prehistoric and historic sites requires the investigator to understand how the ceremony has evolved and how that evolution has changed altar construction. The very first type of spiritual altar constructed by the Lakota is a *kabláya* “make level by beating” (Figure 18).



Figure 18

In the oral tradition the first individual identified constructing this first altar type is *Tokáhe* “First to go.” To construct it you scrape away the surface soil four spans long and wide, a span measurement *napápašdecápi* is “the distance between the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger when stretched out” (Riggs 1992:330). With the surface soil removed you simply pound the area level with the palm of the hand. The surface soil is removed because the Lakota believe that the “surface of the earth is contaminated, but that the earth beneath is clean” (Powers 1982:13). Although no one can identify when it occurred, this altar type is the first to be incorporated into the *haŋbléceya* ceremony. A *kabláya* can still be found inside many fasting altars and it is the place a person stands and sits on while fasting. Since this is a prehistoric altar type

there will be no remaining physical evidence of this feature for an investigator to identify.

A second altar type consists of placing a *pte h́ćaka pa* “buffalo skull” next to the *kabĺaya* (Figure 19). This altar type is identified as a *tataŋka h́ocoka* “buffalo altar” (Grey Bear personal communication 2004) and is associated with men more so than women. It too is prehistoric in origin but it carries over into the historic period, and is symbolic of the relationship the Lakota have with the buffalo. Throughout the Black Hills region in South Dakota it has become somewhat of a common occurrence where people have stumbled across bleached buffalo skulls lying on isolated hilltops with no other animal remains in the area. And what many don’t realize is what they have chanced upon is the physical remains of a historic Lakota *hanbléceya* site.

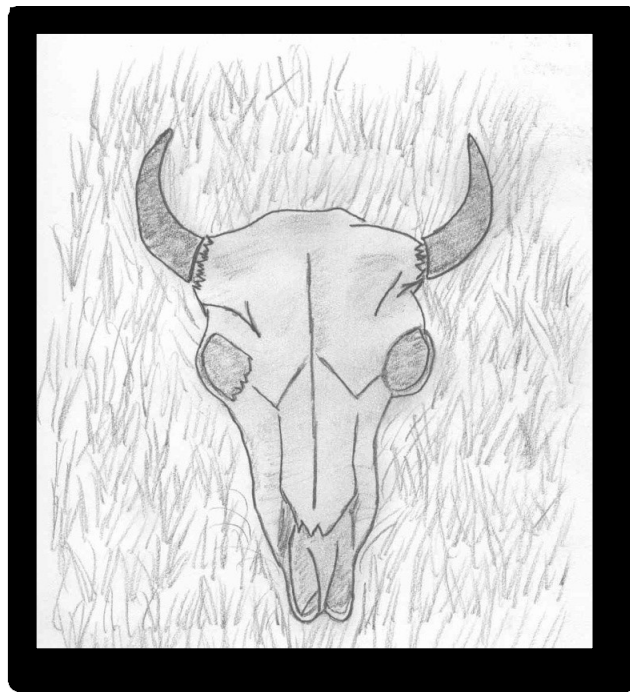


Figure 19

A third altar type is identified as a *hócoka inyan ti* “stone ring lodge” (Figure 20). The altar originates in the prehistoric period and is associated with the cultural figure *Maká wicáša sutá* “Hard man of earth,” who created the first one at the mouth of Red Cliff or Hell Canyon in the Black Hills of South Dakota. As an altar this feature is exclusive to men (Elder native informant group meeting July 2004) and may consist of a single-ring, a double-ring (Figure 21), or three or four rings. Unless the stones erode out or are over-covered by top soil, the remains of this altar are generally easily identifiable. Investigators must note that this particular altar type can be a completely manmade feature or a modified natural feature, and it need not be perfectly symmetrical in shape (see construction section for more details).



Figure 20



Figure 21

A fourth altar type is identified as an *Ománi škaŋ hócoka* “Moves walking altar.” It consists of a *kabláya*, a *pte ħcáka pa* “buffalo skull” and a *wápaha* “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it.” The staff is made from *caŋpá* “chokecherry” or *ħaŋjé* “cedar.” Tied to the top of the staff is a small *tahá gmigméla* “raw-hide disk.” It is quilled around the outer edge and has a single center tail *aópazaŋ* “eagle feather” suspended in its center (Figure 22). This altar is the foundation from which contemporary *ħaŋbléceya* altars are modeled after.



Figure 22

A fifth altar type identified as an *maká ok'e wówanyanke* “vision pit” originates in the prehistoric period, and carries over into the historic and contemporary era. This altar consists of excavating two types of pits in which an individual stands or sits in. The first type is a shallow circular shaped pit feature which may or may not be ringed with small stones. The second type as shown in the site sketch below (Figure 23) is actually more or less identified as a *wicáhapi* “grave.” It is larger and more oblong shaped than the first type of pit.

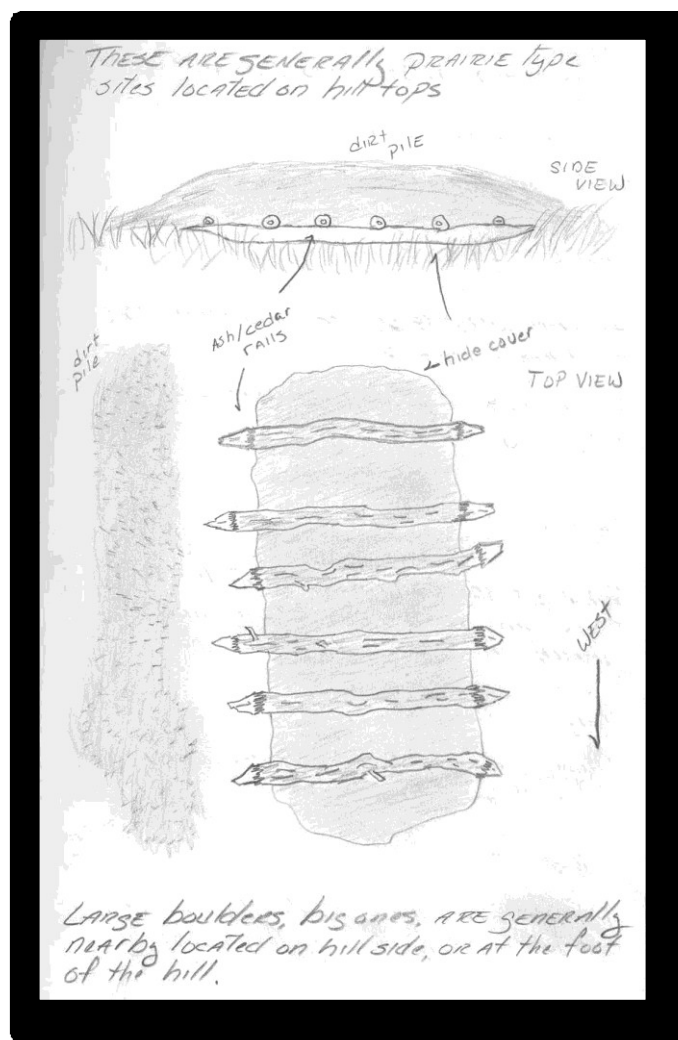


Figure 23

A sixth altar type identified as originating in the historic period is described by *Heháka Sápa* “Black Elk” in Brown (Brown 1989:44-56). The most prominent features recorded are the wooden posts and offering sticks used to erect the altar. The little offering sticks are called *caṅ cékiya* “prayer sticks” and the larger wooden posts are simply referred to as *caṅwákaṅ* “flag pole” or *tiyópa wákaṅ* “sacred door-entrance.” Depending on the environmental conditions, prairie habitat verses woodland, the age of a site, as well as the size of the wooden posts used to mark the four directions, there

may be shards of observable wood fragments still existing in a site which may be used to help identify the site location.

A seventh altar type is the more familiar *taié tob kin* “four-winds” fasting altar. It consists of various elements from the previous altar types, such as creating a central *kabláya*, and using a *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull,” and a *wápaha* “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it.” In these altars investigators can observe additional cultural items, such as four small *cañpá* “chokecherry” or *wípazutkañ* “June berry” saplings around the site to mark the four cardinal directions. Hanging in each little tree is a single leather or cloth made *cañlí opági* “tobacco offering.” The offering is color coded to a direction; west is usually represented using black, blue, brown or green. North is usually red. East is usually yellow, and south is usually white. Strung between these little trees is a long strand of *wapáhtapi* “tobacco ties” usually made of cloth. They too are colored coded to the four directions, west is usually black or blue, north red, east yellow, and south white. The strand can be placed on the ground or hang suspended between the four trees encircling the immediate altar area.

Another type of *hañbléceya* altar found at *cañgléška wakañ* “sacred hoop-medicine wheel” sites is identified as a *wilecala* “crescent moon” altar (Native Informant personal communication 2003). This feature is constructed from stone and is built at the end of one of the site’s radiating spokes (site sketch Big Horn Medicine Wheel Figure 24).



Figure 24

Construction: Building a *hanbléceya* altar is interpreted by the Lakota as performing an act of supplication and sacrifice. To construct an altar the petitioner begins by selecting the site area where they will perform the ceremony. Generally the interior diameter of an altar site will average 3 to 6 meters in size but actual size is dependent upon the stride of the petitioner who steps off the area. This stride is commonly 90 centimeters in length.

- A *taíé íob kiŋ* “four-winds” altar is based on the concept of *íob kiŋ* “four-winds” who are the messengers of *Wakanŋtaŋka* “god-creator” (Walker 1980:94). It consists of the following material components. A *kabláya*, four *taíé íópa can* “four-winds wood-directional staffs,” a *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull,” a *hunkáta can* “pipe rack,” a *wápaha* “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it,”

a *wakšica* “bowl,” a *mila* “knife,” *pejihóta* “sage,” a braid of *pejiwacánga* “sweet grass,” and *wapáhtapi* “tobacco ties” (see also Forbes-Boyte 1996:105; Feraca 1998:24; Catches 1999:149). The first component to be made is the small *kabláya* located in the center of the feature. The petitioner simply kneels down and levels flat with the palm of their hand a small area of earth approximately 20 to 30 centimeters square covering it with some sage. From this feature the petitioner locates the four directions, west, north, east, south, and steps off two or four steps in each direction to mark the location where the *taté íopa can* “four-winds wood-directional staffs” will be placed. These can be either *canpá* “chokecherry” or *wípazutkan* “June berry” trees which may be debarked and trimmed. Erecting the directional staffs is done sequentially and generally west is marked first followed by north, east, and south. A small hole 15 to 25 centimeters in depth and large enough to accept the shaft of each staff is punched into the ground and a pinch of loose tobacco is offered and placed inside the hole. The staff is inserted and tamped tightly so it will stand upright. Once they are erected generally a single leather or cloth made *canli opági* “tobacco offering” is tied to each staff. In some instances raptor feathers, primarily *wanbli* “eagle,” *cetan* “hawk,” or *hinhan* “owl,” will be tied to the staffs as well. However, it must be noted that affixing tobacco offerings and/or feathers to the directional staffs is a personal choice of the petitioner and some people do not use them when they perform the ceremony. The petitioner then creates a small mounded pile of dirt in front of the west staff. Ideally this dirt will be *maká napeheyathedan* “mole dirt” collected and brought to the site. On

top of the mound a *pte h́ćaka pa* “buffalo skull” is placed facing inward. Behind the skull the petitioner erects a small wooden *huḡkátacaḡ* “pipe rack.” This feature consists of two upright forked sticks approximately 40 to 60 centimeters in length and 10 millimeters in diameter which are driven into the ground with another straight stick of the same length and diameter lying over them. Then behind this feature the petitioner drives into the ground their *wápaḡa* “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it.” The petitioner may also set a small *wakš́ica* “bowl” down in front of the buffalo skull in which they will place a small *wayúh́taia* “food offering” of *wasná* “pounded meat” (Figure 25). The bowl is made of wood or it can be a naturally formed stone bowl or it can be a *tuḱtwinuḡkala* “mussel shell.” Next to this they may drive into the ground a small *mila* “knife.” The last component of the altar to be erected is the placing of a long strand of *wapáḡiapi* “tobacco ties” colored black or blue, red, yellow, or white, on the ground or hanging suspended between the *taié iópa caḡ* which encircle the immediate altar area (Plenty Chief personal communication n.d.).

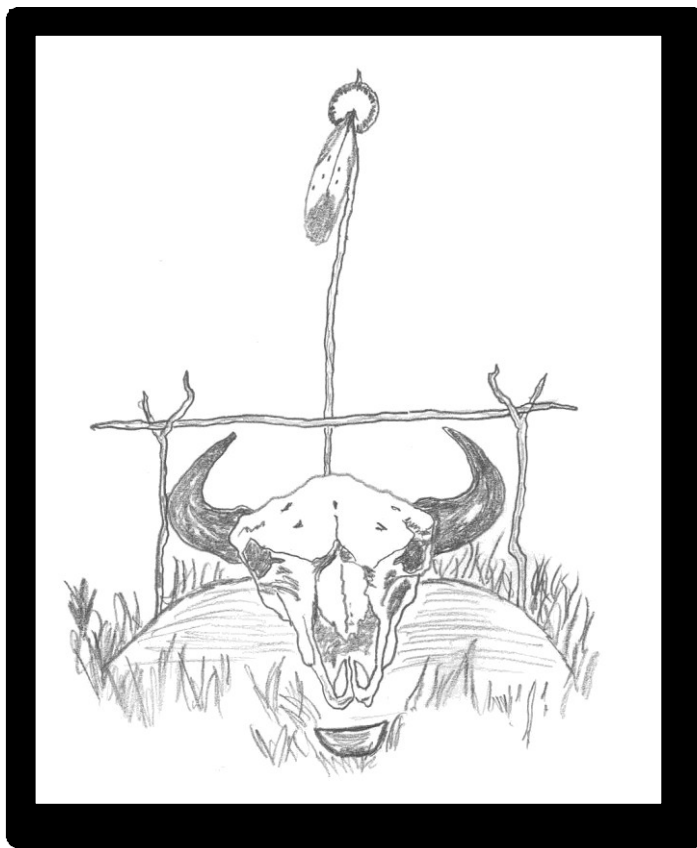


Figure 25

A *maká ok'e wówanyan̄ke* “vision pit” as a feature is simply a hole in the ground (Figure 26). The reason why the earth is excavated is based on the old traditional belief that “the surface of the earth is contaminated, but that the earth beneath is clean” (Powers 1982:13). This altar is an evolution of the original *kabláya* made by *Tokáhe* “First to go” and through time the pit grew deeper into the ground. Traditional tribal elders and spiritual leaders, who were interviewed about this, could only speculate that the probable reason for the increase in depth was the idea that the petitioner desired to be surrounded by *maká* “earth” (Native Informant personal communications 2000). Originally they were dug with a digging stick and scooped out using the hands so the

hole was bowl shaped. In the modern era shovels are used to excavate the pit resulting in the sides going straight down so they are now more cylindrical in shape.

The size of the pit can vary depending on how the ceremony is performed, either with the altar exposed or covered over. In olden times a circular pit was excavated ranging in depth from as little as 10 centimeters to 1 meter deep, and anywhere between 70 centimeters to 1.70 meters in diameter. The feature had to be large enough to accommodate a full grown individual if the pit is an exposed one. If the pit is to be covered over then the feature is referred to as a *wicáhapi* “grave” and is more oblong shaped. This type of pit will measure an average of 1.50 meters in depth, 1.50 meters in length, and 1 meter wide. The actual size of the feature is dependent upon the physical body size of the petitioner.



Figure 26

Although there is a degree of variability regarding their construction a *maká ok'e wówan̄yan̄ke* “vision pit” will consist of the primary component of a dugout pit. For an open pit generally there are a number of *in̄yan̄pi* “stones” encircling the rim (Figure 27).



Figure 27

If this feature is present then the stone ring is identified as a *caṅgléška wakan̄* “sacred hoop,” or a *hócoka* “circle.” “*Hócoka* is an old word that refers to the inner part of a camp circle, but as used ritually it means a sacred space, the center of the universe, within which a sacred person or supplicant prays, sings, or otherwise communicates with spirits” (Powers 1982:14). If the feature is the second type referred to as a *wicáhapi* “grave,” then 4, 7, 8, 12, or 16 wood rails long enough to lie cross-wise across the pit are used to cover the feature. Animal hide or canvas tarp is lain down over these and portions of the excavated earth is heaped upon it to cover up the altar (see also photo in Lame Deer and Erdos 1972:128). Historically, petitioners did not use directional staffs to mark out the site, and if *caṅlí opági* “tobacco offerings” were used, then generally the offering was in the form of loose tobacco placed or spread around the

feature. However, in the modern era petitioners utilizing this altar type will erect the *taté iob kiŋ* “four-winds” around the pit.

Traditionally the construction of a *hócoka iŋyaŋ ti* “stone ring lodge” is based on the concept of *iobiōb kiŋ* “four-by-four” (site sketch Figure 28). *Țobiōb kiŋ* “four-by-four” invokes the numeral 4, which represents the first four spirits of *Wakaŋtaŋka* “god-creator.” The numeral and its multiple by 2 are sacred numbers to the Lakota (see also Walker 1980:94).

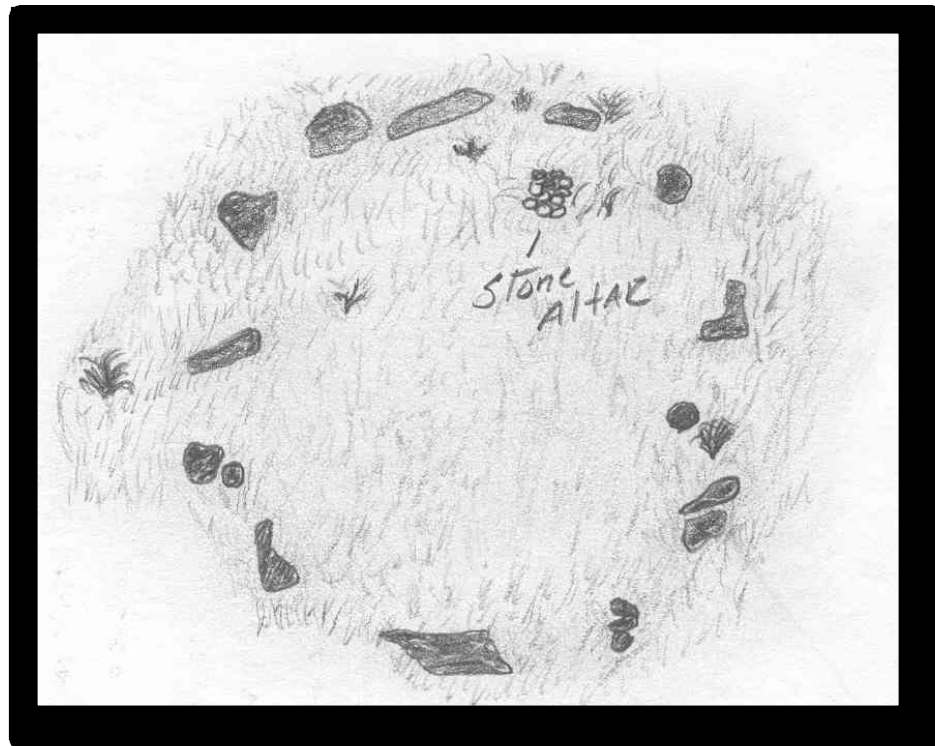


Figure 28

The stones in a *hócoka iŋyaŋ ti* can be spaced apart or they can lie abutting one another. Investigators must be cognizant that the size of these altars can vary greatly between sites. One reason for the variance is of course related to the stride of the

individual creating the feature; however, another factor which can and often does account for size variability is location. Hilltop plateau sites are often larger in size than sites located near woods, or hill bases. On average most single-ring sites will range between 2 to 6 meters in diameter, and double-ring sites, triple-ring sites, and quadruple-ring sites are larger in diameter than single-ring sites. Field stones used to construct the feature generally range in sizes from small 5 to 10 centimeters in diameter, medium 11 to 20 centimeters in diameter, to large 21 to 30 centimeters in diameter. The minimum stone count for the single-ring site when it is first constructed will be 8 stones. Four stones are oriented to the four directions, and four stones are placed between the open spaces to create the outline for the feature. However, the stone count is dependent upon the petitioner's personal preferences pertaining to expressing the concept of *īobīōb kīŋ* "four-by-four," so the number of stones in the ring when it is first constructed can be 8, 16, or 32 stones.

Investigators must also be aware that the Lakota took advantage of natural forms found in nature. Naturally formed ring features were often utilized as a substitute for creating a manmade ring. Many natural ring formations are somewhat undulating, pushing out here and there, and as a result of this these natural features may be dismissed as insignificant because it is obvious humans haven't modified the site in any manner. This is a mistake commonly made during field work. Simply because nature has created a form does not mean the form has no spiritual significance or useful purpose for the Lakota. Furthermore it must be stated that the Lakota dispute the archaeological identification of circular stone features as tipi rings. Prior studies of tipi rings and other kinds of stone alignments have established that stone alignment features

do represent ceremonial altars (Sundstrom 2003; Dormaar and Reeves 1993; Conner 1982). The belief that these features represent utilitarian use to secure lodge coverings to the ground appears to originate among the tribes occupying north-central Montana and Alberta (Kehoe 1958:861). And Krieger in an earlier report states the features do possess ceremonial significance (Krieger 1956:450). Malouf reported that archaeological excavations to determine if tipi rings are habitat remains revealed no findings of any underground features such as fire hearths or post holes (Malouf 1961:382).

Traditionally a single-ring *hócoka inyañ ti* is constructed with two components, the ring of stones and a secondary component consisting of a small stone pile which is identified as a *hekti* “lodge-what is past” stone cairn. To construct a site the petitioner begins by counting out their steps in sequences of 2, 4, or 8, off the center of the altar area. A diameter measurement will equal the multiple by 2 of these steps; 2 = 4, 4 = 8, and 8 = 16. The first four stones of the ring are oriented to the four directions, west, north, east, and south. The open spaces between these four stones are filled in by simply dividing the space up into halves and quarters through line-of-site. The *hekti* “lodge-what is past” stone cairn feature is built last. This component is generally located on the west side of the altar either inside the ring, on the ring, or outside the ring. This also has a minimum rock count 6 stones based on the concept of *tob kiñ* “four-winds.” One stone represents *kúyáikiya* “down below,” one stone represents *wanókáikiya* “up above,” and the other four stones represent the *taié tob kiñ* “four-winds.” It must be noted that in some sites this feature will be located on the north side of the altar.

Investigation: Identification of *taié iob kin* “four-wind” altars is generally based on identifying fallen directional staffs (Figure 29). Most directional staffs will pull out of the ground when they fall due to wind erosion. In the plains region prevailing winds are southerly in the summer months, and northerly in the winter, meaning staffs generally move northwest or southeast from their original locations when they blow down. Inspect the base of the staff to confirm it has been cut (Figure 30), then orient to the four directions over the staff. Face northwest or southeast and conduct a 1 by 1 meter ground truthing to locate additional staffs (Figure 31).



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31

The staff located in the most westerly direction will be your anchor point for the site. Once you have identified all staff remains search the immediate site area to locate any nearby *hanjé* “cedar” or *canpá* “chokecherry” trees. Inspect inside and below them to observe if any of the *opágipi* “offerings” used in the altar have been bundled and placed in them (Figure 32).



Figure 32

Investigating hill types is fairly straight forward. On a *heyōka ti* (Figure 10) investigators must understand that as contraries a *heyōka* does things backwards “the name itself means anti-natural” (Ray 1945:87). Where most men will seek out a high place to *hanblé* “fast” and construct an altar the *heyōka* will often do the opposite (see also Ray 1945:88). A kind of fasting altar only constructed and used by a *heyōka* is a

double-ringed *hóco'ka inyan ti* “stone ring lodge.” If this feature is present it will be located at the base of the hill. Remember that the feature may be either a naturally occurring formation or manmade. If they go to the top of the hill to fast and they do construct an altar it will consist of a small simple *hekti* “lodge-what is past” stone cairn. If no such feature is present then inspect the surface area on top of the hill to determine if there is a discrete stone scatter of small spherical stones 1 to 3 centimeters in diameter. Closely scrutinize the scatter to determine if one can make out a discernable outline of a star constellation such as the *wicin'cala šakówin* “seven little girls” Big Dipper. Animal outlines such as buffalo, bear, deer, dog, and eagle may also be discernible in these little stone scatters. The outlines can consist of full body profiles or parts such as heads, hoofs, paws, talons, or wings. This is a form of evidence we Lakota use to identify that the top of a *heyōka ti* has been used as a *han'bléceya* site.

Hills known as *he ipá* “promontory” (Figure 11) are generally grassy but some may have a single *han'jé* “cedar” or *wazí* “pine” tree growing near the top, or they may have a rock outcrop on them. If so investigators should inspect these areas to determine the presence of a site. If an investigator has been informed by a Native Informant that *eháŋni* “a long time ago” people were known to have fasted on top of these two kinds of hills then their identification as Lakota TCPs is based on this Native Informant information.

Pahá can'háhake “buffalo hump hill” types (Figures 12 and 13) should be investigated beginning at a point about one quarter of the way up the slope. On hills with no trees growing on them sites will be generally located at the top and towards the center of the hill. If there are shrubs such as *on'jin'jintka* “wild rose” growing on the

slopes or if there is a *ptemákokawaze* “buffalo wallow” on the slope, then the sites are generally located closer to the slope overlooking these kinds of features. On hills with *háñtíé* “cedar” or *wazí* “pine” growing in a circular formation on top of the hill the *hañbléceya* site can be located inside the open area between the trees. Along the edge of the plateau area the most likely kinds of altars to be identified will be fasting pits.

Cañwakiñ hu “saddle bow” hill types (Figure 14) need only be investigated in three primary areas. On top of the two peaks and in the center of the plateau area in-between the two peaks. The most common fasting altar types found on these hills are fasting pits.

On *bló* “ridge” hill types (Figures 15 and 16) sites will be generally located on the plateau area and on the slope of the ridge just below plateau. On ridgeline hills a lone *háñtíé* “cedar” tree growing below the ridge crest is identified as a good location to fast, and the tree will serve as the *cañwakan* “ceremonial post” inside a fasting altar. Terraced ridgelines often have fasting pits located near the edge of the terraced feature overlooking the down slope.

On *hé ipá blaská* “flat top hill” types (Figure 17) sites are found towards the center of the plateau and consist primarily of fasting pits and *hócóka iñyañ ti* “stone ring lodge” site types.

Hills that have a medium to large boulder on them are also potential places to find a site. If the rock is a solitary feature located at the top of the hill, along the hillside, or at the bottom of the hill, it may indicate that a hill is a potential fasting place. The relationship between the rock and the ceremonial activity is the rock functions as a natural *ohé waunyeya* “offering place” where offerings of tobacco or food will be set

out after completing the ceremony. The rock may also have a quality of shape projecting a discernable image of an animal or a human. If they are incised or marked, naturally or through human modification, with outlines of animals, human figurines, or geometric patterns, such markings are interpreted to mean that spirits are present in the area. Incidentally, if a simple circular impression anywhere between 1 to 2 meters in diameter can be observed in the grass on top of a hill, the Lakota immediately identify that spot as a site because they believe the impression is there because the spirits make the mark. Its presence means that someone will be directed to use it as a *hanbléceya* site.

Hanbléceya sites in areas containing paleontological or prehistoric fossil beds, as with Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (Figure 33), are specific to certain people.



Figure 33

Individuals known as *h̄muṅga wicáša* “stinging man” and *iktómi wicáša* “spider man” prefer to fast in these and other locations lying near snake dens, swamps, caves, and burial grounds in order to acquire *wih̄muṅge* “witch medicine.”

Associated Physical Features: Additional natural features that indicate the presence of a site can or may be a 40+ centimeter *iṅyaṅ pšun̄ka* “boulder,” a discernible naturally occurring *iṅyaṅ hócoka* “stone ring,” a naturally occurring *iṅyaṅ wakága* “rock image” resembling an animal or human form, or a single small stone bearing the same, as well as a small *maká pšun̄ka* “earth mound” located in or on the perimeter of a circular impression in the grass, a small circular *makówakicipa* “light hollow-depression,” a small circular shaped *makōšla* “bare ground,” a *ptemákokawaze* “buffalo wallow,” *iṅyaṅhuhupi* “fossil beds,” a *makóhloka* “cave,” a *iṅyaṅmayá* “cliff or rock ledge-shelf,” *wašun̄pi* “small animal dens,” or *hoh̄pi* “bird nests.” Various species of trees particularly *h̄an̄té* “cedar” and *wazí* “pine,” and fruit bearing trees particularly *caṅpá* “chokecherry,” *wípazutkaṅ* “June berry,” *kaṅta* “plum,” *wicáagnaška* “gold-buffalo current,” *capcéyazala* “beaver’s berries-black current,” and bushes like *on̄jij̄j̄j̄ntka* “wild rose,” can also indicate the presence of a site area.

An associated site generally located within proximity to a *heyōka ti* is an *iṅyaṅ wakága* “rock image,” which is generally in the form of a turtle (see *iṅyaṅ wakága* entry for additional information). These, if present, are generally located on the top of, or along the slope of a nearby hill. The turtles head is usually oriented in the direction of the *heyōka ti*. The presence of a turtle effigy is explained as being nearby because the turtle is the helper of *Wak̄iṅyaṅ* “Thunder being” and his image is commonly associated with *heyōka* activities. An associated feature often found on *caṅwakiṅ hu* “saddle bow”

hill types are *inȳaŋ wakága* “rock image” sites. These are generally located in the middle of the plateau area in-between the two peaks. On *he ipá blaská* “flat top hill” types other site types commonly located on this hill type are *inȳaŋ wakága* “rock image” sites located across the plateau area, and *hekti* “lodge-what is past” stone cairn sites located along the plateau rim overlooking the hillside. *Ohépi waunȳeya* “offering places” (Figure 34) are always associated with *hanȳléceya* (see *ohépi waunȳeya* category for site types) and lie out in the open making them easily identifiable.



Figure 34

Cultural Reference Section: The *hanȳléceya* ceremony is the oldest ceremony the Lakota possess and is one of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Lakota (Brown 1989; DeMallie 1984; Catches 1999; Lewis 1990; Powers 1982; Dooling 1984). Its purpose is

to communicate with the *awákaŋkapi* “spirits” whereby the individual hopes to receive a vision which will establish their path in life. Past studies of this activity focus primarily on “its quest phase rather than its action phase...when the vision quest is viewed in conjunction with the action phase, it becomes evident that visions not only served individual ends but were linked intimately with institutionalized social processes” (Albers and Parker 1971:206). This is a correct observation as little has been communicated about how an individual’s vision, the social function of the ceremony, benefits all the members of the group. The experience matures and socializes the person helping them to become a more productive member of the group.

The origin of the *haŋbléceya* is associated with *Kšabyá* “Bent dark” the spirit of wisdom who appeared among the *pte oyáte* “buffalo people,” the *huŋkáke* “ancestors” of the Lakota (see also Dooling 1984; Walker 1983). After their leaders *Atkúku* “father” and *Huŋku* “mother” die, *Kšabyá* appears and instructs their son *Wazí* “Pine tree” to go alone to a high place and *haŋblé* “fast” in order to learn what to do with their bodies. He will be shown how to release their *sicuŋ* “spirit” so they can return to the *wanágitamakoce* “the world of spirits.” After he returns he teaches the ceremony to his son *Tataŋka* “Bull buffalo.” Later *Wazí* appears to his grandson *Tokáhe* “First to go” the first human ancestor of the Lakota and leader of the *Ikcé oyáte* “real people,” and teaches him the ceremony as well. In turn *Tokáhe* teaches the ceremony to his son’s *Šuŋk* “Dog” and *Pahiŋ* “Porcupine” the first *wicáša wakaŋ*’ “medicine men” of the Lakota. The second leader of the *Ikcé oyáte* is *Wáta* “Boat” and he is associated with the ceremony as is the last leader *Taóyáte* “His people.” The *Ikcé oyáte* pass the ceremony down to their descendant group the *Saŋ ti oyáte* “white lodge people.” Their

leaders identified as performing the ceremony are *Waṅbli glešká* “Spotted eagle,” *Tokápa* “First born,” *Hakákia* “Last born,” and *Wakinyan lúta* “Red thunder.” The *Santi oyáte* pass the ceremony down to their descendant group the *Dakota oyáte*. Their leaders who continue the ceremony are *Tatanka slohan* “Slow buffalo” and *Omániškaṅ* “Moves walking.” The *Dakota oyáte* pass the ceremony down to their descendant group the *Océti šakówiṅ* “seven council fires” who are the *Mdewakəṅtoṅwaṅ* “dwellers of the spirit lake,” *Wahpékute* “shoot between leaves,” *Wahpetoṅwaṅ* “leaf dwellers,” *Sisitoṅwaṅ* “slimy ones,” *Ihaṅktoṅwaṅ* “camps at end,” *Ihaṅktoṅwaṅla* “little camps at end,” and the *Títoṅwaṅ* “dwellers of the prairie.”

The origin of the *hócoka inyan ti* “stone ring lodge” altar is associated with the spirits *Inyanškaṅškaṅ* “Rock that moves,” *Wiškaṅškaṅ* “Sun that moves,” *Wiwiṅ* “Female sun,” and *Wakinyan. Maká wicáša suiá* “Hard man of earth” builds the first altar at the mouth of Red Cliff or Hell Canyon in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Later on in time *Ptehahiṅšma lúta* “Red buffalo robe” is said to have made the first double ring type. The purpose of the stone ring is to protect the individual fasting in it from being harmed by the physical demonstration of a spirit’s power. The image of the stone ring is seen as a sacred way of doing when *wiacéiciti* “sundogs” manifest around the sun and the moon. It is an old way to fast for a vision that is almost never used any more among the Lakota because very few people understand what it means to fast inside a stone ring.

TYPE 2 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Iníkaḡa wókeya* and *Išnátipi*

Site Type: *Iníkaḡa wókeya* “sweat lodge” *Išnátipi* “dwelling alone”

Activity: *wakáṅ wicóhaṅ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákaŋ* “to make energy-life”

Location: Traditionally a sweat lodge was erected along the outskirts of a village encampment on the north side of the camp (Charging Eagle personal communication 2008). A site may be located on top of a hill as a result of the lodge being utilized as a *haŋbléceya* altar (see cultural reference section). A woman’s menses lodge was erected outside the main village encampment. Traditionally the lodge was located to the south in a secluded area well away from the daily activities taking place among the village inhabitants (Native Informant personal communication 2008).

Modern locations for sweat lodges are best discussed in terms of reservation settings. The structure is often erected at a person’s place of residence be it in the country or within a residential community. Other locations where sweat lodges are erected can be but are not limited to include tribal cultural center grounds, alcohol treatment centers and country retreat camps, hospital grounds, school grounds, law enforcement detention centers, community park lands, and tribal park lands. Urban Native American’s may be given permission by state and federal park entities to erect sweat lodges on state and federal park lands for the purpose of performing the ceremony (Figure 35). Often when a Native American group or individual living in an urban location receives permission to construct a sweat lodge on state or federal park lands the lodge site, if available, is often in an isolated area where a degree of privacy for the participants can be obtained.



Figure 35

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. All that is required to erect a sweat lodge is a small open, level area of grassy ground. Frequently in the rural areas sweat lodges are often built near trees, no specific species required, or near creeks.

Physical Attributes: An *iníkağa wókeya* “sweat lodge” and *išnátipi* “dwelling alone” are one and the same kind of manmade structure encircling a small shallow pit feature commonly referred to as the rock pit (see cultural reference for more information). The structure consists of a circular domed-shaped wooden frame stabilized by interlacing it with support rails. Ritually the lodge is constructed using sixteen *wahpiwizilya* “sand bar willows” but more can be used if desired (see construction for more details). The lodge is generally built large enough to accommodate several individuals who sit side-

by-side in the interior of the dome. Other components include either a circular or square shaped fire pit located on the west or east side of the lodge, and a small mound of earth located in front of the lodge's entryway. The remaining components consist of the lodge coverings, the rocks used in the ceremony, and the wood used to heat the rocks.

In olden days the coverings were animal hide, usually buffalo hides taken from an old lodge tipi. Modern lodge coverings can consist of nearly any kind of material large enough to cover the structure but canvas and polyurethane tarp are common coverings. The rocks for the ceremony are generally field stone granites or sandstone. In olden times tool types utilized to transport the rocks consisted of large multi-tine deer antlers either held in the hand or affixed to the end of a long hardwood staff. Any species of combustible wood was gathered to heat the rocks. Ash and rock shards from the fire pit were usually piled around the pit and oftentimes could and did grow to very sizable features. The used rocks removed from the interior of the lodge could be added to this pile or piled together in a separate location.

Construction: An *iníkaga wókeya* “sweat lodge” and *išnátipi* “dwelling alone” are ritually constructed using sixteen *wahpiwizilya* “sand bar willows” cut approximately 3 meters in length. Longer trees can be taken but 3 meters is the average. The lodge can be and has been built using other species of supple woods such as *cañpá* “chokecherry,” *wípazutkañ* “June berry,” or *cañyáh'u* “cottonwood” saplings. Twelve of these sixteen trees are used to create the dome. Their base diameter measurement is generally 5 to 10 centimeters ensuring the structure is strong enough to withstand repeated use and seasonal changes. The remaining four trees are used to stabilize the dome and are smaller in diameter generally measuring 2 to 4 centimeters. For an even stronger frame

the dome may be reinforced by adding additional trees to it. Construction begins by digging a small shallow depression, the interior rock pit, approximately 40 to 90 centimeters in diameter. The depth can range between 10 to 30 centimeters. Generally the distance between the rock pit and the lodge wall is measured by placing one foot in front of the other moving outward three steps. This measurement is called a *siiyúte* “foot measure.” The distance between the rock pit and lodge wall varies but generally ranges between 80 to 90 centimeters. In some sites this distance is far larger and can for personal reasons extend as far as 1 to 1.50 meters back from the rock pit.

An *iníkaga wókeya* “sweat lodge” and *išnátipi* “dwelling alone” will be built with their entrance either facing west or east. In sequence the entrance doorway is made first. This consists of driving two trees into the ground to a depth of 20 to 30 centimeters. Moving clockwise west, north, east, and south, this pattern is repeated marking each direction, and each direction is referred to as a directional doorway. The open space between the four doorways is made as wide apart as diameter of the interior rock pit so the distance averages between 40 to 90 centimeters. Placed in-between each doorway by a process of simply halving the distance between them, the remaining four trees are driven in and the basic dome structure is completed.

To create the dome the doorways are bent over and lashed together, west to east, north to south, etc. The binding can be either the stripped bark off the trees, which is the old ritual way, or strips of hide. In modern construction people use string as ties, twine is a favorite. The next component is the fire pit which is located facing the entryway. In olden times the pit was not initially excavated, the process of repeated use of the lodge overtime eroded the fire pit down. For modern sweat lodges the fire pit is dug down

using a shovel. The depth can range between 20 centimeters to 1+ meters down. The average diameter of this feature ranges between 1 to 2+ meters, and the distance between it and the lodge entry doorway averages approximately 2.50 to 3+ meters.

Investigation: Identification of old sites where no remnants of the lodge remains require the finding of the old fire pit (Figure 36) and the old rock pit features.



Figure 36

To determine the site is the physical remains of an *inikağa wókeya* or *išnátipi*, the investigator simply lines the two features up, noting the directional orientation to west-east (Figure 37).



Figure 37

Generally the fire pit is the easiest definable remaining feature of an old site, since it is the largest area of disturbance. The interior rock pit is oftentimes more difficult to locate as it is always more shallow in depth. Before conducting a more thorough surface inspection of an older site, such as walking 1 by 1 meter transects to locate where the lodge structure stood, the interior rock pit, and the raised earthen prayer altar are, first locate the center of the fire pit. Orient yourself to the four directions and locate west. Bear in mind the Lakota do not use compasses to fix directions. Instead they will use the sun and its light patterns as their guide to fix a direction during the day, and will orient the altar accordingly. However, take into consideration that due to seasonal changes light patterns vary. A sweat lodge may not always lie oriented to true west. Once west is fixed it is a relatively simple matter to locate the position of the sweat lodge, its interior rock pit, and raised earthen prayer

altar. These features will be lying to the east of the fire pit. If an Investigator is accompanied by a field assistant, to save time, one person should remain standing inside the fire pit and the other with measuring tape in hand should begin walking a line eastward.

Generally the most common distance between a fire pit and the lodge is 5 to 6 meters, or seven-steps. Therefore the interior rock pit will likely be lying 7 to 8 meters, or eight-steps east of the fire pit. Once the two pits have been located using this technique, to determine the likely width of the lodge and help quickly locate any possible physical remains of the structure, such as sheared off or broken stumps of the lodge posts, the small holes where the lodge posts were inserted into the ground, or broken pieces of wood, perform the following ground inspection technique.

Using the interior rock pit as your hub orient yourself to the four directions by simply facing the fire pit and pick a doorway to sit in front of. Sit down on the ground next to the rock pit roughly 30 centimeters from the edge of the pit with your legs crossed underneath you. You should be sitting more or less comfortably upright. Once you have established your position, turn at the waist to look behind you and search for any possible lodge remains such those as described above. Use your hands to explore the area behind you. This is a very viable technique to use especially if you are in an area of thick cover and it is difficult to see the ground through the overgrowth. If no material is present in the area repeat this process in front of each doorway. Using this technique, two small pieces of willow end tips showing cut marks were located on the ground in front of the south doorway of the old sweat lodge site shown in Figures 36 and 37.

If no physical remains are located during your search, you must create an appropriate estimate for the minimal size of the structure. To accomplish this remain sitting on the ground facing the pit. Reach down behind you and place the palm of one hand firmly on the ground with your fingers outward. Your forearm should be resting against your back. Mark the location of your finger tips and use this point to measure to the center of the rock pit. By doubling your measurement, you have manufactured an estimate for the likely minimal width dimension of the lodge. Once you have completed this you will need to establish a minimal measurement for the overall length of the site. To do this use the eastside of the sweat lodge where the directional doorway is as an anchor point. Then measure the distance between this position to the western rim of the fire pit. This measurement will represent your east-to-west dimension for the site. You can use the estimated width diameter of the lodge itself that you created using this methodology as the site's north-to-south dimension.

To locate any remnants of a raised earthen prayer altar which would be situated in front of the west doorway, move there and position yourself on the ground facing west in-between it and the interior rock pit. Lean directly forward and position yourself on your hands and knees. Extend either arm in front of you and place your hand on the ground. Where your hand rests will be the likely area where you will locate any mound remains. This technique does allow you to approximate the location of the small altar mound. Once you have your site dimensions using this inspection technique, then implement a standard archaeological grid ground truthing search and conduct a thorough 1 by 1 meter surface inspection of the area expanding outward. In this manner the charred wood fragment (Figure 38) was located lying 3 meters north of the fire pit.



Figure 38

Associated Physical Features: When a site is abandoned the only material commonly removed from the structure will be the lodge coverings. Interior rugs, blankets, or padding placed inside the lodge for participants to sit on during the ceremony can be left behind (Figure 39). Every lodge site has its coverings anchored down with stones to hold them in place. These stones holding the covers down and the stones used for the last ceremony are also generally left in situ as well (Figure 40).



Figure 39



Figure 40

Associated sites generally located within proximity to an *iníkağa wókeya* or *išnátipi* are *ohépi waunyeeya* “offering places.” These sites generally consist of tobacco offerings affixed to trees (Figure 41), or female menses bundles placed inside stands of plum trees.



Figure 41

Cultural Reference Section: The *iníkağa wókeya* and the *išnátipi* are each one of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Lakota (Brown 1989; Dooling 1984). They are the same kind of physical structure but they are two distinctly separate *wakáŋ wicóhanpi* “energy-life ways of doing.” The purpose of the *iníkağa wókeya* is to purify the *nagi’* “spirit” of the individual participating in the ceremony. It is a common cultural activity other tribal groups such as the Cheyenne share with the Lakota (Grinnell 1919). Its origin is associated with *Tokáhe* “First to go” (Dooling 1984:128) and it can be performed either

by an individual, or as a group activity, at any time during the year. The interpretation of the sixteen trees which are used to construct the lodge is that each individual tree symbolically represents the sixteen different aspects of *Wakąntą́ka* “Great mystery.” Together all sixteen are the great circle of the spirits. Of all the Lakota ceremonies identified in the historic era the *iníkağa wókeya*, along with the *haᅇbléceya*, were the only two the Lakota managed to keep practicing without too much difficulty.

The *išnátipi* is a gender specific *wakaᅇ wicóhaᅇ* “energy-life way of doing” exclusive to Lakota women (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:67-71). As a monthly rite for adult women its purpose is to purify and renew their ability to create life. As a rite of passage for young girls its purpose was to ritually transform a young girl into womanhood upon attaining her first menstrual flow (Powers 1986:66-73). Among the Lakota a newer version of this ancient rite has emerged oftentimes called the *huᅇkaᅇpi* “makes relatives” (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:68). In this version young girls are escorted to camps by their older female elders where they receive old traditional teachings about what it means to be a woman in this modern era. These camps are considered *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” by the Lakota (Figure 42).



Figure 42

The full name of this ritual rite of passage is *išnáti ca lowaŋ* “sing of isolation.” Its origin is associated with *Tokáhe* “First to go,” and with *Wóope* “Law,” the daughter of *Tákuškaŋskaŋ* or *Škaŋ* “power working.” Traditionally these sites are strictly avoided by all men and a more public revitalization of this ancient rite has been occurring since the late 1980’s.

TYPE 3 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Wiwanyaŋk wacípi*

Site Type: *Wiwanyaŋk wacípi* “sun dance”

Activity: *wakaŋ wicóhaŋ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: Area filled with *ton* “emission of power” the quality of *wakaŋ* “energy-life”

Location: Traditionally this activity was performed on high open level plateaus in the plains, mountains, or foothills. Sites may also be located in large mountain canyons,

large open meadows in woodlands, or in river valleys (Riggs 1998:229-232; Walker 1980:94; Densmore 1992:93). In many instances the location of the ceremony is contingent upon the dance leader who may have been directed by the spirits to perform the ceremony in a specific location, such as Inyan Kara Mountain located in the Black Hills region of northeastern Wyoming or Deer Medicine Rocks located along the Rosebud Creek in Montana (Lone Bear personal communication 2003). However, a site may also be chosen through mutual consent of the people (Walker 1980:94).

Sites may be located near other sites such as *inyan wakáǵapi* “rock images” stone effigies depicting human figures, animal figures, geometric designs, or near *caṅǵléška wakan* “medicine wheel” and *hócoka inyan ti* “stone ring lodge” sites. Sites may also be located in the vicinity of certain waterfalls, pools of water, or freshwater springs which are known as *wanáǵitipi* “dwellings of the spirits.” On Lakota reservations generally the older sites are found in remote secluded rural areas commonly along a river bottom or a large creek bed that has fairly substantial tree growth in the immediate area thus providing a degree of privacy for the participants. Many of the more recent reservation sites, late 1980’s to present, are predominately located in rural areas on allotted lands, and these locations are well known among the general tribal membership. Urban dwelling Lakota have received permission from federal agencies such as the National Parks Service and the U.S. Forest Service to hold sun dance’s on federal park lands. In such cases the location of the sites are known to the agency personnel.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. However, in olden times the Lakota chose locations

containing an abundant wood source and nearby stands of *canyáh'u* “cottonwood” trees. The only real requirement for choosing a location is the area must be large enough to accommodate the people participating in the dance.

Other kinds of natural features can consist of a spiritually significant large boulder, or rock formation, which may or may not be marked with *wówapetogtonpi* “sacred marks.” A spiritually significant source of freshwater such as a waterfall, pool or spring may lie within the view shed of a site. And trees of various species growing in a large circular full-moon, three quarter-moon, half-moon, or quarter-moon pattern that forms a natural arbor encircling a wide open space may also represent a site area.

Physical Attributes: The components of a *wiwanyan̄k wacípi* “sun dance” have evolved through time. From the historic descriptions information about sun dances describes the activity taking place within a sun dance lodge *wiwanyan̄k wacípi ti* “sun dance lodge” (Walker 1980:103; Brown 1989:80), or occurring within a large circular arbor or bowery “*canóhanzi*” or “*canwapatipi*” (Riggs 1998:230; Densmore 1992:98). The two physical descriptions of the dance are materially physically distinguishable from each other. The main component in this activity is the sun dance tree which is a tall *canyáh'u* “cottonwood.” The size of the tree can range in diameter from 20 to 90+ centimeters, and 6+ meters tall. The size is often dependent upon the number of dancers participating in the activity, meaning the more participants the larger the tree is. A small dugout feature identified as an *owan̄ka wakan̄* “sacred place” serves as the ceremonial altar area for the ceremony, and a *pte h̄cáka pa* “buffalo skull” is placed there. If this feature isn’t present, it is often substituted by constructing near the tree a *taíé íob kin̄* “four-winds” altar (Figure 43).



Figure 43

Construction: Constructing a sun dance lodge requires cutting down 28 posts to build the outer wall of the lodge, 28 posts to construct the ceiling of the lodge, and 28 posts to place between the wall posts to support the structure. The cultural significance of the number 28 is best explained by reviewing Brown’s interview with *Heháka Sápa* “Black Elk,” who interprets the meaningfulness of this number (Brown 1989:80). Wall posts are approximately 2.5 meters in length, inserted into the ground approximately 40 to 60 centimeters in depth, leaving a height of approximately 1.80 meter for the wall. The diameter of the posts can range between 10 to 20 centimeters. Ceiling posts are approximately 10 to 20 centimeters in diameter and 8 to 9+ meters in length. The wall rails average 5 to 10 centimeters in diameter and 1.50 to 2 meters long. The sun dance

tree is erected prior to lodge construction and must have a fork or crutch in it (Figure 44).



Figure 44

In a sun dance lodge the top of the tree may be remove approximately 30 to 90 centimeters above the fork as the fork is used to support the ceiling rails. The distance between the tree and the lodge walls is measured out by taking seven extended strides which is approximately 6.50 to 7 meters. The distance between wall posts is four *siiyúte* “foot measure” of heel-to-toe steps or approximately 1.50 meters.

To construct a sun dance arbor the center of the dance area is established first. The grounds are stepped off to measure out the circle. This is done by taking 16 steps away from the center, which depending upon the stride of individual can be a

measurement of 10 to 12 meters. This process is repeated in all four directions resulting in establishing an interior dance area 20 to 24 meters in diameter. This is an average size but bear in mind that more dancers means the dance area can be much larger. The only pattern to building the encircling shade arbor is to step off 2 steps back from the directional doors marking the four cardinal directions. These doors will be represented by setting up two *caṅpá* “chokecherry” or *wípazutkaṅ* “June berry” saplings spaced two steps apart from each other, or approximately 1.50 meters wide.

The arbor frame posts can be any species of wood although *pséhite* “ash” a hardwood is preferred. The number of posts varies but generally 28 posts are erected for the interior face of the shade, and 28 posts for the exterior face of the shade. These posts must possess a fork at the top, and are cut approximately 2.5 meters in length. They are inserted into the ground approximately 40 to 60 centimeters in depth leaving a height of approximately 1.80 meter for the shade frame. Shade support straight rails are placed in the forks between these posts. The support rails average 5 to 10 centimeters in diameter and 1.50 to 2 meters long.

On the west side of the arbor an additional 8 posts are cut and erected in order to create a larger shaded area for dancers to rest under during the dance. Once the arbor is made it is covered over with leafy tree limbs or young saplings to create the shade (Figure 45). To mark out the actual dance area between the four directional doors a series of small *caṅ cékiya* “prayer sticks” approximately 40 to 60 centimeters in length and 1 to 2 centimeters in diameter can be driven into the ground between the four doorways. Each *caṅ cékiya* “prayer stick” will have a single *wapáhita* “tobacco tie” affixed to the top. The total number of these *caṅ cékiya* “prayer sticks” can range

between 64 and 405, meaning a minimum of 16 or a maximum of 101 are placed between each door.



Figure 45

Investigation: Lacking the presence of any physical remains of a lodge or an arbor, there are other kinds of physical evidence strewn throughout a *wiwanjank wacipi* “sun dance” site area that allows for its proper identification. In the overview image below (Figure 46) you can see the physical remains of an actual sun dance site. For spiritual

reasons this site was totally dismantled and allowed to sit unused for a period of four years until it was reconstituted in 2004. This site shall be used as a model for investigating a site where no large structural remains remain in place.



Figure 46

Locating and identifying a site is oftentimes accomplished by discovering some of the associated physical features in a *wiwanyan̄k wac̄ipi* “sun dance,” such as the physical remains of an *inik̄agapi wókeya* “sweat lodge” fire pit as shown on the following page (Figure 47). From the fire pit scan the area of the site to locate its center. Try to observe if there is a discernable lush growth of grass in the middle of the area where a tree would have been erected as shown on the following page in Figure 48.



Figure 47



Figure 48

Conduct a thorough ground truthing of the area of the tree area. Cultural items you should be searching for should be strips of colored cloth or rope remnants as shown in Figure 49.



Figure 49

Once you have evidence a tree stood in the location. To determine the size of the dance area orient to the four directions. Face west and step off 16 steps and repeat this process to the north, east, and south. You are locating the area of the four directional doorways using this procedure. Thoroughly inspect the ground to locate any small holes or depressions where the doorway posts would have been driven in. Following the construction techniques described in the construction section will help you locate the

placement of the arbor posts and the *owaŋka wakaŋ* “sacred place” near the west doorway were the *pte h́cáka pa* “buffalo skull” is placed.

Associated Physical Features: Oftentimes sun dance trees are left in situ when a site is abandoned. Knowing that the species of a sun dance tree is *canyáh 'u* “cottonwood” can let you identify a site. An in situ tree may be upright, broken and partially fallen, or completely broken off and lying prone on the ground (Figure 50 and Figure 51).



Figure 50



Figure 51

Cultural material remains in a site may consist of remnants of *caŋ cékiya* “prayer sticks,” *caŋlí wapáhíá* “tobacco ties,” *pte h́cáka pa* “buffalo skull,” or small *caŋpá* “chokecherry” or *wípazutkaŋ* “June berry” saplings approximately 2 to 4 centimeters in diameter and 1.50 to 2.50 meters tall, which served as the doorway markers. These will be oriented to the four directions and possibly have tobacco flags attached to them. Piercing skewers 7 to 12 centimeters long and 1 to 2 centimeters in diameter made of wood, bone, or stone may be lying on the surface of ground throughout the dance area. Pieces of rope either hemp or nylon may lie around the sun dance tree area or underneath the arbor area on the west side of the site.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *wiwan̄yank wacípi* “sun dance” site are *ohépi waun̄yeya* “offering places.” These are primarily tobacco offerings tied into nearby trees. Another associated feature where the sun dance tree was collected may be a tree stump with a tobacco offering tied on to it where the sun dance tree was collected from (Figure 52).



Figure 52

Associated sites generally located in proximity to sun dance sites are *in̄yan̄ wakága* “rock image” sites, which consist primarily of very large male or female outlines, or images of a turtle or a buffalo. *Can̄gléška wakan̄* “medicine wheel” and *hócoka in̄yan̄ ti* “stone ring lodge” sites are also often in the area.

Cultural Reference Section: The *wiwan̄yaŋk wacípi* “sun dance” is one of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Lakota (Brown 1989; Dooling 1984). Its origin is associated with *Kabláya* “Spread” an *Itázipco* “Without bow” who received the original vision for the dance (Brown 1989:67-100). The purpose of the ceremony is to give strength to the people and it represents a new way to pray. Traditionally it is a group activity and a very public ceremony performed at any time between *Tiŋpsin̄la itkáhca wi* “moon when turnip seed pods mature-June” and *Wasútoŋ wi* “harvest moon-August.” The ceremony is conducted according to the requirements of the *owáŋyaŋke* “sacred vision” the sun dancer leader has received. As part of the ceremony a small hide effigy figurine of a buffalo and a man are tied up into the tree (Beckwith 1930:342). Other tribal groups performing this ceremony are said to have borrowed it from the Lakota and incorporated it into their own belief system (Benedict 1922:9). There are many non-reservation historic sites recorded in the oral tradition. The most famous of these is the site along the Little Big Horn River where Sitting Bull received his vision of the pony soldiers falling upside down into camp (Utley 1993:138). A powerful Oglala medicine man often credited with keeping the ceremony alive among the Lakota during the early reservation period is Chief Frank Fools Crow an enrolled member of the Pine Ridge Sioux Tribe (see also Mails 1991). Other powerful Lakota spiritual leaders who kept the ceremony going are individuals such as Sidney Keith of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Mathew King of the Pine Ridge Sioux Tribe, and John “Fire” Lame Deer of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe.

As a result of past federal Indian policy to eradicate the Lakota traditional beliefs, performing the ceremony in open settings fell out of practice. On Lakota

reservations - to hide the ceremony from any prying eyes, especially the Indian Agents and their subordinates - people began to utilize heavily wooded bottomlands along rivers and creeks where access to the site could be regulated. This practice has become somewhat the norm now for many sun dance practitioners on the reservations and although there are a few sites in very public areas the ceremony is still predominately performed away from the general public in isolated locations.

There are known instances of Lakota men performing the ceremony alone, i.e., they danced alone. Generally when this has occurred the site is located out in the open on a high level hill top or ridgeline. Physical evidence to indicate the presence of a site may only be a single dead standing or broken off and lying on the ground cottonwood tree, small enough for two men to carry, or the remains of a sweat lodge site, such as rock fragments (Figure 53), stump remains (Figure 54) and lodge remains (Figure 55).



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55

TYPE 4 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Caṅlěška wakaṅ*

Site Type: *Caṅlěška wakaṅ* “sacred hoop-medicine wheel”

Activity: *wakaṅ wicóhaṅ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: Area filled with *ton* “emission of power” the quality of *wakaṅ* “energy-life”

Location: These sites are commonly located on elevated plateaus overlooking permanent or intermittent water sources in locations such as a mountain top, a hilltop, a ridgeline bluff top, and on isolated buttes in the prairies. However, they may also be located in flood plains generally in an elevated place away from but in view of the water source. They can be found in open grassland settings or they may be located in wooded areas. If so, they are commonly situated near the tree line or inside an open clearing.

Sites can also be located near prehistoric and historic rock quarries such as the Big Horn Medicine Wheel formation in Wyoming.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location and their elevation with respect to the surrounding countryside.

Physical Attributes: To identify a *caᅅgléška wakaᅅ* an investigator must understand how the Lakota construct them so the various components of the feature can be identified and interpreted correctly (see construction section for more details). Traditionally a *caᅅgléška wakaᅅ* is spatially referred to as a *hócoka* “circle,” “an old word referring to the inner part of a camp circle but as used ritually it means a sacred space, the center of the universe, within which a sacred person or supplicant prays, sings, or otherwise communicates with spirits” (Powers 1982:14). A small site should consist of a minimum of 16, 28, or 32 stones forming a minimum of 4 radiating spokes. A large site should consist of a minimum of 64, 96, or 128 stones forming a minimum of 8 radiating spokes. The spokes are identified as representing *wíjanjaᅅ* “sun beams-rays” or *wanági caᅅkú* “spirit roads” or *tiyópapi* “doors” (Native Elder meeting personal communication 2008).

There are a variety of ways to refer to the spatial center of a site. If one is simply referring to the center of the feature they may use the word *kabláya* “holy place” or *hócoka* “circle” to make a general reference to the site’s center. They may also reference this space by identifying the stones in the center as an *owaᅅka wakaᅅ* “sacred place” or a *hekti* “lodge-what is past” (Curtis Campbell personal communication 2007). Sites may or may not be encircled by a perimeter ring of stones which if present is

identified as *makásitomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka* “road around the whole world” (Native Elder meeting personal communication 2008). This component is often the last aspect of the feature constructed and incorporates the perimeter stones of the radiating spokes. Based on the concept of *tobtōb kiŋ* “four-by-four” the stone count of this feature will generally equal the number of stones used to construct the site. Overall site size can vary widely. Older prehistoric and historic sites can measure 22+ meters in diameter. Newer modern era sites constructed on Lakota reservations in South Dakota can measure as small as 6 meters in diameter, to larger formations measuring 12+ meters in diameter.

Construction: Constructing a site can be done in two different ways. The old traditional way is to build the feature in alignment with the sun, moon, and Pole Star, with construction taking place on the spring, summer, or fall solstices. Once a location is chosen for the site during *aŋpo* “red dawn” the period before the sun rises a *cékiya* “prayer” is made and a *wakaŋ olówaŋ* “sacred song” is sung by the individual(s) creating the hoop (Native Elder meeting personal communication 2008). The first components of the feature to be laid out are the stones marking the four directions. To set the east and west alignment this is done by marking the rising and setting position of the sun on the horizon. North is marked using the Pole Star, and south is marked using the moon as it passes through the night sky. Once the four directions are set the next component constructed is the central altar. The spokes of the feature are laid out after the altar is completed. How many spokes are made depends on the number of stones being used, 16, 28, 32, or 64.

The second way to construct a site is to build it according to an *owányanke* “sacred vision.” Oftentimes this means construction will not coincide with a solstice event. When sites are built in this manner their directional alignment to the rising and setting sun, the Pole Star, and the moon do not factor into their construction. Traditionally when sites are constructed they are laid out by counting steps in sequences of 4, 7, 8, 16, or 32, off the center of the feature (Walter Plenty Chief personal communication 1980). A step is commonly 90 centimeters in length but this can vary depending upon the average stride of the individual placing the stones. A diameter measurement will equal the multiple by 2 of these steps; 4 = 8, 7 = 14, 8 = 16.

- The smallest *cangléška wakan* sites consist of 16 stones. They are generally 8 steps, 4-by-4, or roughly 6 meters in diameter and possess 4 spokes. To construct the site 4 perimeter stones will be oriented to the four cardinal directions west, north, east, and south. Next 4 stones will be used to assemble a small interior altar area in the center of the feature. These stones will be placed in line with the direction stones and may or may not lie abutting one another. Next 4 stones are placed in-line with and half-way between the perimeter and interior altar stones. The last 4 stones are then placed half-way between the four direction perimeter stones (Figure 56 model #1a). Constructing the *makásiŋomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka* around the site requires adding an additional 16 stones. Two each are placed between the perimeter stones (Figure 57 model #1b).



Figure 56



Figure 57

- Sites containing 28 stones are generally 14 steps, 7-by-7, or roughly 12 meters in diameter and possess 8 spokes. To construct the site 4 perimeter stones will be oriented to the four cardinal directions west, north, east, and south. Next 4 stones will be used to assemble a small interior altar area in the center of the feature. These stones will be placed in line with the direction stones and may or may not lie abutting one another. Next 8 stones are placed around this feature forming a ring encircling the central altar. When this feature is completed 4 stones are placed half-way between the four direction perimeter stones. The final 8 stones are placed half-way between the perimeter stones and interior altar area (Figure 58 model 2a). Constructing the *makásitomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka* around the site requires adding 16 stones. Two each are placed between the perimeter stones (Figure 59 model 2b).



Figure 58



Figure 59

- Sites containing 32 stones are generally 16 steps, 8-by-8, or roughly 14 meters in diameter and possess 8 spokes. To construct the site 4 perimeter stones will be oriented to the four cardinal directions west, north, east, and south. Next 8 stones will be used to assemble a raised interior altar which is identified as an *owan̄ka wakan̄* “sacred place” or a *hekti* “lodge-what is past.” Next 8 stones are placed around this feature forming a ring encircling it. When this feature is completed 4 stones are placed half-way between the four direction perimeter stones, and the final 8 stones are placed half-way between the perimeter stones and interior altar area (Figure 60 model 3a). Constructing the *makásitomiyan̄ can̄kú ahócoka* around the site requires adding 32 stones. 16 stones, two each,

are placed between the perimeter stones, and 16 stones, two each, are placed on the spokes (Figure 61 model 3b).



Figure 60



Figure 61

- Sites containing 64 stones are generally 32 steps, 16-by-16, or roughly 28 meters in diameter and possess 16 spokes. When a large site like this is constructed the interior altar is the first component of the site to be built. The stone count is 16 and the feature itself is the hub off which the remaining 64 stones will be placed around. The reason for this is the altar represents the *iobīōb kiŋ* “four-by-four” powers of *Wakaŋtaŋka* “god-creator” as one entity. The 64 stones which create the 4 rings encircling the altar represent the *iobīōb kiŋ* “four-by-four” of the four-ages of man (Native Elder meeting personal communication 2008). Once the interior altar is built 4 perimeter stones will be oriented to the four cardinal directions west, north, east, and south. Next 16 stones are placed around the interior altar feature forming a ring encircling it. Next 8 stones, two each, are

placed in-line and between the four directions perimeter stones forming four radiating lines off the altar area. A total of 9 stones, three to each ring, are placed between these lines (Figure 62 model 4a). Constructing the *makásiomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka* around the site requires adding 32 stones; two each are placed between the perimeter stones (Figure 63 model 4b).



Figure 62



Figure 63

Investigation: Investigators must also be aware that a site can consist of a naturally occurring large, or small, spoke pattern of semi-submerged stones of various sizes, shapes, colors, or mineral content, that has been modified by having quarry or field stones added to the feature. The directional orientation and linear alignment symmetry of a modified natural feature to function as a site may be unbalanced. However, as long as the spoke pattern is describable investigators should never arbitrarily dismiss such features out of hand. Obvious modifications will generally consist of added stones placed between the spaces of the natural stones to fill in the radiating spoke pattern which possesses a more uniform size similarity to each other. Modified natural sites should be inspected with care as added stones may not be submerged in the soil, or they may be dispersed due to erosion or human or animal intrusion. Furthermore modified

natural sites may contain very large, heavy stones, i.e., boulder size, 40+ centimeters in diameter and 30+ pounds in weight. Often the presence of large boulders can result in questioning a site's validity and may prevent making identification.

Inspecting such sites investigators should first begin by evaluating the directional orientation of perimeter stones to the site's inner feature the *owan̄ka wakan* "sacred place." This is done to determine if the stones fall within a feasible orientation for one or more of the four cardinal direction points. Second, measure the spatial distance of the perimeter stones to the site's inner feature. Measuring this distance to determine if it is roughly equal in distance from the center as it is opposite on the other side of the site can help an investigator determine if the natural boulder(s) were intentionally incorporated into the suspected features construction.

Measuring a site's size is best accomplished by simply taking a diameter measurement of the feature. The in-line spatial distances between stones forming the spokes can vary from site to site. This is due to how the open space between the perimeter stones is divided up. Newer sites and modified natural sites have these open spaces between stones while older manmade prehistoric and historic sites seldom do. Traditionally the Lakota method for dividing up this space is done by simply halving, or quartering, the space up through line-of-site.

Sites may also appear non-symmetrical in their construction especially if the site is aligned with solstice events. Generally a manmade site is constructed in an area containing a nearby rock quarry or an abundant source of field stone. Stones can range in sizes from 10 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and weigh from small ½ pound stones to

larger stones weighing as much as 20-25 pounds. However, rock quarries and available field stone needn't be in the immediate area of a site.

Around the site area investigators should scan the surrounding countryside to determine the presence of permanent or intermittent rivers, streams, springs, ponds, lakes, or wetlands, within the view shed of the site area. Fresh water sources are a component in determining why sites are located where they are in the landscape. Investigators should observe the lay of the land surrounding a site area to determine where the path of least resistance leading into a site lies. Carefully check to determine if there are observable natural pathways or drag lines present. Ease of access to a site is a component of determining where a site will be constructed, and it is an important element for investigators to ascertain as it will help in determining the proper identification of a site.

Associated Physical Features: A common modification to a *caṅgléška wakaṅ* site can be the presence of one or more associated stone formations located either on or at the end of one of the radiating spokes. These features usually consist of enclosed stone circles or semi-enclosed horseshoe shaped features which are identified as *haṅbléceya* altars. At many prehistoric and historic sites are *hekti* "lodge-what is past" sites constructed on or at the end of one or more spokes. Other material remains in a site may include *cehuḥuga* "potsherds," stone or wooden *wakšícapi* "bowls," *wahiṅpi* "flint points," *hupe* "bone points," and *míla* "knives," *tahiṅšpa* "bone awls," *wawóslata* "hollow bones-ornaments," *pte hćáka pa* "buffalo skull," *wápaha* "ceremonial staff," *caṅwákaṅ* "flag pole," bone or clay animal figurines, and flake material. Modern spiritual offerings may consist of cloth *wapáhtapi* "tobacco ties," pinches of loose tobacco, cigarettes, personal

items such as watches or rings, money, food offerings placed in Tupperware, and plastic wrapped processed food. Any one or combination of these items may be located on the ground near a site or placed or tied into the crutch of a nearby tree or bush, or placed inside cracks on nearby stones and boulders.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *caᅅgléška wakaᅅ* “sacred hoop” site are *hócoka iᅅyaᅅ ti* “stone ring lodge” sites, *hekti* “lodge-what is past” sites, *haᅅbléceya* “crying for a vision” sites, and *ohépi waᅅᅅyeya* “offering places” consisting primarily of *caᅅᅅli opáᅅipi* “tobacco offerings” such as *wapáhíta* “tobacco ties” tied up in a tree in proximity to the site. Bear in mind that the *opáᅅipi* “offering” may consist of food offerings wrapped in hide or placed in clam shells or pottery jars or vases, and set on or near the feature.

Cultural Reference Section: *Caᅅgléška wakaᅅ* sites function as places of prayer and are used by the Lakota to *wakíksuya* “receive communication from the spirits.” There will always be a spiritual reason explaining why a particular location for making a *caᅅgléška* “hoop” is chosen. Locating its position in the landscape is usually done according to a personal vision. A Lakota tenet based on the precept of *taku akaᅅtu wakaᅅ maka el wakaᅅ* “that which is mysterious-sacred up above is mysterious-sacred on earth” (Charger personal communication 2008), and the concept of *iobíob kiᅅ* best explains their construction. What is taking place building a site is a symbolic reconstruction of the creation of the world, and an acknowledgement of the relatedness of all living things inhabiting the world. Essentially making a *caᅅgléška wakaᅅ* means one is creating a *huᅅka* “relative-relationship” between oneself and the entire world. This is why these sites are often interpreted as representing the center of the universe. To pray with stone,

to recreate the world as it is described in the oral tradition, is to pass on this information to descendants within a *tióšpaye* “extended family” (Figure 64).



Figure 64

Among the Lakota sites are generally said to be affiliated with the spirits *Iñyanškanškan* “Rock that moves,” *Wakiñyan* “Thunder being,” and the cultural figures of *Šuŋk* “Dog” and *Pahiñ* “Porcupine.” The design of the formation relates to the sacred visions of *Šuŋk* and *Pahiñ* that instruct that all people are related kin to each other and that everyone shares a common ancestry (Walker 1983:379). The traditional interpretation for the layout of a *cañgléška wakan* is based on the concept of *iobiōb kin*

“four-by-four.” *Tóbtōb kiŋ* invokes the numerals 4, 8, 16, 32, and 64 and 7, 14, and 28, by their multiples of times 2. Their construction by the Lakota can be keyed to the spring, summer, or fall solstice. However, this is not a requirement in building one, as they can be built at anytime during the spring, summer, or fall (Whirlwind Horse personal communication n.d.).

Contrary to non-Lakota cultural interpretations the Lakota do not consider these sites as celestial observatories as speculated by Eddy (1974:1042). Breaking down the component parts of a *caŋléška wakaŋ* explains the feature’s symbolic meaningfulness as it tells the story of creation. The *owaŋka wakaŋ* “sacred place” in the center represents *ioŋšila* “compassion,” *okáge* “creation,” *okáhnihpica šni* “mystery,” and *wówakaŋ* “sacredness.” The stones represent *awákaŋkapi* “spirit beings,” their *wanágitipi* “spirit lodge,” their *hócoka* “sacred circle,” and *táku toŋ toŋ* “something physical.” The discernable *hócoka* “ring” form’s within the spokes represent the *wicóicaŋe* “ages” of creation. The first age is *Iŋyaŋ* “Rock,” followed by *Péia* “Fire,” *Itáziŋpa* “Bow,” and *Caŋnuŋpa* “Pipe.” The outer perimeter ring also represents the *makásiŋomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka* “the road around the world.” Four spoke sites represent the first four spirits, *Iŋyaŋškaŋškaŋ* “Rock that moves,” *Makáškaŋškaŋ* “Earth that moves,” *Tákuškaŋškaŋ* “Power working,” and *Wiškaŋškaŋ* “Sun that moves.” Eight spokes represent these four spirits and their *kicícapi* “companions” *Haŋwiŋ* “Dark Sun-Moon,” *Taté* “Wind,” *Uŋktehi* “Difficult water,” and *Wakiŋyaŋ* “Thunder being.” Sixteen spokes represent the first eight spirits and the remaining eight spirits who are the *ciŋcá* “off-spring” of the spirits *Wóoŋe* “Law,” *Kšabyá* “Bent,” *Íya* “Eater,”

Gnaškiŋyaŋ “Wild,” *Wiyóhpeyaia* “West wind,” *Waziyata* “North wind,”
Íwiyohiyaŋpata “East wind,” and *Itókağa* “South wind.”

Stone cairns found in line with *Waziyata wicáhpi* “Pole Star,” *Anpo wicáhpi* “Morning Star-Venus,” and *Htáyeiu wicáhpi* “Evening Star-Mercury” honor these spirit beings. They represent the *wicá* “male,” *wiŋ* “female,” and *wiŋkte* “becoming female” powers in the universe. In the old way of doing whenever a person visited a site they brought with them a single stone as an offering. Upon arriving at the site they would place it anywhere they chose to on the feature. A fasting altar erected on or at the end of an individual spoke means the individual is praying to a particular spirit for guidance in life.

Caŋléška wakaŋ is the name for the large Medicine Wheel formation in Wyoming. The name applies to all like sites but it is not applied to *hócoka iŋyaŋ ti* “stone ring lodge” sites. Beginning in the 1990’s on at least one Lakota reservation some traditional Lakota men have constructed medicine wheels. These sites are in isolated locations on the prairies and the rocks used to make the features have been hauled in from a different location.

TYPE 5 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Iŋyaŋ wakáğa*

Site Type: *Iŋyaŋ wakáğa* “rock image”

Activity: *wakaŋ wicóhaŋ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákáŋ* “to make energy or life”

Location: These sites may be found on the plateaus of hills, along hillsides, and in river and creek valleys.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. Generally sites are found in any type of grassland or woodland environment. Generally the site area will contain large surface deposits of field stones ranging in size from 5 through 50 centimeters in diameter that are used in feature construction. A site can be an isolated find or they may be in clusters.

Physical Attributes: Stones laid out in a human or animal pattern. The stones can be of any mineral content or color. Average sizes used in constructing the image often range between 10 to 30 centimeters in diameter and weigh between 1 to 20 pounds and may possess any shape.

Construction: Constructing any form of an *iṅyaṅ wakága* “rock image” requires only the gathering up of stones, and placing them out to generally outline the full body image of an animal or human figure. The size of the image is arbitrary but oftentimes these are fairly large sites ranging between 3 to 8+ meters in overall length. The most common animal images are of *kéya* “turtle” or *keglézela* “striped turtle,” either full bodied or just a representation of a turtle head (Todd 1886:2; Lewis 1889:162). Other forms are *tataṅka* “bull buffalo,” or *zuzéca* “snake” (Hughes County History 1937:16; Lewis 1889:161) and *ha taṅka* “great skin-mammoth.” *Šaké* “talons” are another image laid out in stone. This form consists of a single anchor stone off which radiate three straight lines (Native Informant personal communication 2008). These sites are small generally averaging 1 meter in overall length. The talon span can range between 1 to 1.50 meters wide across the tips. Anatomically represented human figures are also constructed by the Lakota (Figure 65 field sketch outline LeBeau 2007).

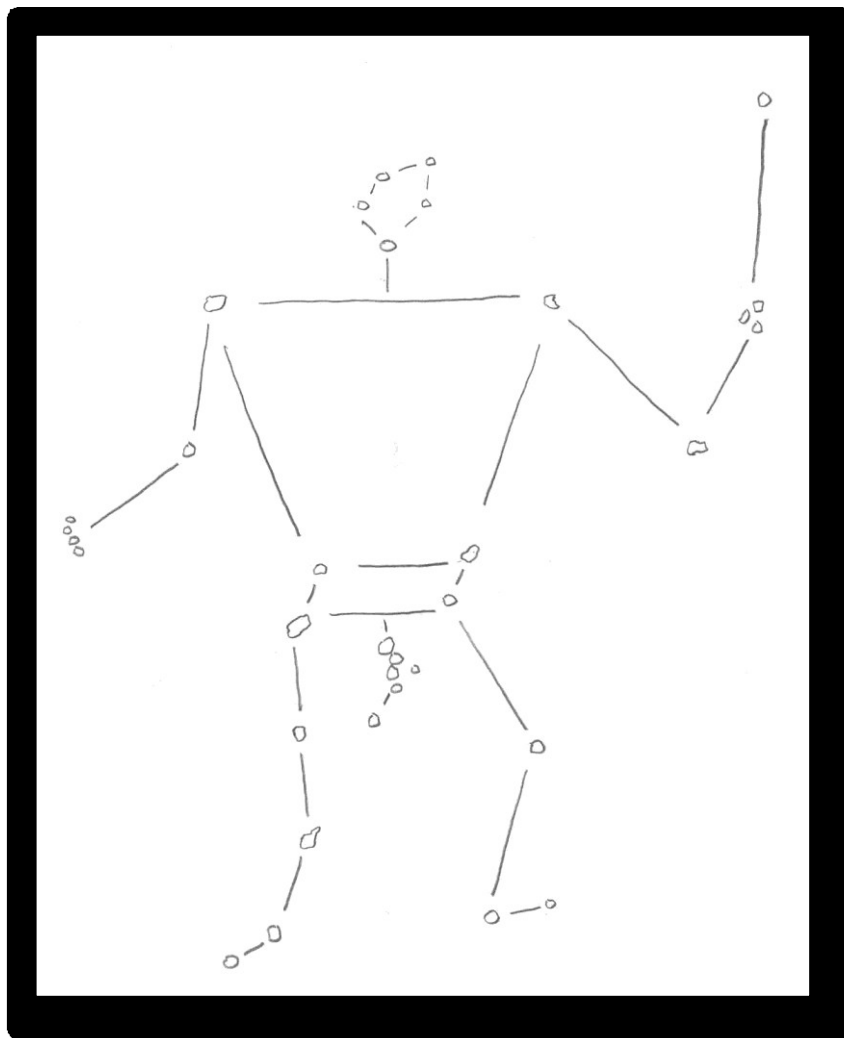


Figure 65

Human figures are built by first laying out the two shoulder points. Four waist points are laid next and these will be tapered inward from the shoulder points. This creates the *tacaŋ* “body” of the figure. Not shown in the sketch above but represented by the straight lines, the *naíá* “head,” *ah’co* “upper” and *isto* “lower” arms, *nape* “hands,” *hu* “legs,” and *si* “feet” of the figure are laid out. In this site the figure is that of a man, and the line of stones descending from the pelvis area represents the *cé* “penis.” Among the Lakota representing the reproductive potency of humankind and

animals symbolically represents life and continuance “*wi’oni*.” Female forms (Zimmerman 1985:128; Kehoe and Kehoe 1959:118; Lewis 1889:159) are also constructed following this same pattern of construction.

One rare figurine image specific to women and the *winkte* is the *tunsláognake* “snail shell” image (LeBeau 2008:15). This is a spiraling double row formation of stones oriented to the west and possessing a discernable pathway leading into the center of the formation. The image is constructed around a center stone usually 40 centimeters in diameter. On average the stone count is 24 and construction is based on the concept of *tobiōb kin* “four-by-four.”

Investigation: *Iḡyaḡ wakága* “rock image” sites are commonly found in high or low elevations. Investigating a site requires careful ground truthing and the best method to discern a site is to walk the pattern out. Since many of these sites are prehistoric and historic in origin the stones are often disbursed, partially sunken, and generally heavily over grown with grass making them difficult to locate. When a site is located on a *páhá caḡháhake* “buffalo hump hill,” or on a *bló* “ridge” it is generally found lying on the plateau area near the rim or below the plateau rim. If the hill type is a *caḡwakiḡ hu* “saddle bow” the site is generally located between the opposing peaks. On a *hé ipá blaská* “flat top hill” the location is towards the center of the table top. There are no sites found on a *heyōka ti* “lodge of the clown.” However, they can be generally found in proximity to this hill type and the most common form is a *kéya* “turtle.”

On *páhá caḡháhake* “buffalo hump hill” and *bló* “ridge” hill types, if a site is lying on the plateau area ascertain the path of least resistance leading up the hill. What you are searching for is the *wanáḡicaḡku* “spirit road,” a single line of stones that leads

into the site area. Beginning at the feature which is nearly always oriented north to south, move to the down slope side and walk a 1 by 1 meter transect pattern moving down away from the feature. The *wanáģicaŋku* “spirit road” pathway often meanders its way up to the site, so begin your search by ascertaining the path of least resistance which is often a game trail. Your search may entail moving alongside a small drainage channel like a ditch feature or small creek running down slope. Follow the game trail or channel down the hill and search for a discernable line of stones. Keep in mind that stone shape is seldom relevant in making this feature. Some stones will be rather large and submerged in the soil so only their top surface is visible. Others may be 5 to 20 centimeters in diameter, partially submerged, lying in-between the large stones and more or less identifiable as being hand placed. At the end of the line at the bottom of the hill you should observe a small *hekti*, probably deflated or disbursed, marking the beginning of the *wanáģicaŋku* “spirit road.” If this feature is present identify it as an associated component of the *iŋyaŋ wakáģa* “rock image.”

If a site is lying on a *caŋwakiŋ hu* “saddle bow” or a *he ipá blaská* “flat top hill,” move around the feature and search for the beginning of the *wanáģicaŋku* “spirit road.” On these hill types you will often discover a *hekti* located somewhere along the rim of the hill that the stone line will run to. Bear in mind that since an *iŋyaŋ wakáģa* is a ground feature the *hekti* marking its location on the plateau may in fact be located right next to the site. When the *hekti* is placed alongside the feature it’s there to serve one or two purposes. First because an *iŋyaŋ wakáģa* is a surface feature they are hard to see from a distance and the *hekti* functions as a marker for them. Second the *hekti* may function as a *wáģle wóšŋapi* “altar” on which *opáģipi* “offerings” is placed. As it is with

the *wanágicaŋku* “spirit road,” if a *hekti* is present identify it as an associated component of the *iŋyaŋ wakága* “rock image.”

Associated Physical Features: In extended conversations with traditional elders and spiritual leaders the only type of cultural items reportedly left in an *iŋyaŋ wakága* site area by the Lakota were *caŋlí opági* “tobacco offerings” and *wayúhtatapi* “food offerings.” Women elders reported that container remnants like turtle shells or *cehuhuga* “potsherds” may be found in sites.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *iŋyaŋ wakága* site are a *hekti* “lodge-what is past” sites, a *wanágicaŋku* “spirit road,” *caŋgléška wakaŋ* “medicine wheel” sites, *hócoka iŋyaŋ ti* “stone ring lodge” sites, *wiwayaŋk waciŋi* “sun dance” site, and *ohépi waunyeŋya* “offering places.”

Cultural Reference Section: The ancestral *Saŋ ti oyáte* “white lodge people” are said to be the first people to construct this kind of site. Cultural figures associated with these features are *Waŋbli glešká* “Spotted eagle,” *Tokápa* “First born,” and *Hakákta* “Last born.” A *Dakota oyáte* cultural figure associated with these sites is *Tataŋka slohaŋ* “Slow buffalo.” The purpose of making an *iŋyaŋ wakága* “rock image” is to bestow *wōwitay* “an honoring” upon an animal, or to honor a related or non-related tribal person who has accomplished a great deed or made a great sacrifice.

The stone effigy figures of a human male and female at Punished Woman Lake in South Dakota (Zimmerman 1985) are specifically discussed in the oral tradition. The name of the male figure is *Waŋbli taŋka* “Big Eagle” and *Wewake* (no translation) which may be a misspelling of *Wawaká* “Strip quill.” The Sioux Mosaic site on Snake Butte near Pierre, South Dakota is an example of the Lakota creating an *iŋyaŋ wakága*

to honor the courage of an enemy (South Dakota Writers Project 1941:130; Kehoe and Kehoe 1959:119). Long ago an Arikara warrior was mortally wounded by an advancing Lakota war party. Dying from his wound the scout ran across the butte to warn his village of the impending attack. To honor his sacrifice and courage the Lakota placed stones on top of every drop of blood that dripped from his wound. Where the man eventually fell down and died they created an *inyan wakága* “rock image” of a turtle.

The purpose of the *tuyśláognake* “snail shell” is to invoke the assistance of the snail animal helper, the spirit being *Yumnínni* “Little whirlwind” and *Wakinyan* “Thunder being.” The snail is significant to women and *wiŋkte*’s because it carries its home on its back wherever it goes, and its shell has value as religious paraphernalia. The spiral shape of the shell represents *Yumnínni* a child spirit who is the younger brother of the *Wóope* “Law.” The teaching of the whirlwind deals with its being unpredictable in its movements. Yet its power to lift material objects off the ground is visible evidence of its spiritual influence to uplift and free a person from the constraints of difficult times or emotional distress. When these little whirlwinds physically strike individuals it is interpreted as a spiritual blessing, and being struck by a whirlwind is considered good luck among the Lakota. Lastly the spiral pattern is one of the symbols for thunder which is a healing and interpretive spiritual power.

TYPE 6 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Hekti* and *Wágle wóšŋapi*

Site Type: *Hekti* “lodge-what is past” *Wágle wóšŋapi* “altar”

Activity: *wakan kágapi* “acts of worship”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákan* “to make energy-life”

Location: Traditionally these sites are located on hilltops, plateaus, shorelines, adjacent to trail ways, on small islands in rivers and lakes, below waterfalls, above the source of freshwater springs, on buttes overlooking encampments, river fords, stone quarries, burial grounds, fossil beds, caves, and kill sites.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. The site area will generally contain large surface deposits of field stones ranging in size from 5 through 50 centimeters in diameter that are used in feature construction.

Physical Attributes: A natural square or round shaped flat-top stone pedestal 10 to 30 centimeters in diameter and 30+ centimeters high surrounded by smaller or similar size stones (Figure 66 and Figure 67). A square or rounded pile of stones of various sizes and shapes (Figure 68), collapsed remains of the same (Figure 69), scattered remains of the same (Figure 70), or a deflated pile of the same (Figure 71 and 72).



Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72

A small site consists of a minimum of six stones of any mineral content or color, but the sizes and shapes of the stones can vary. Some sites can have very large stones in them (Figure 73) and others consist of widely varying sizes (Figure 74). Large sites can contain literally hundreds of stones and can actually look like large upright columns in the landscape. This particular style is more commonly found in Minnesota and is a particular type closely associated with the Mdewakanton, and one of their sub-bands the Kemnichan (Curtis Campbell personal communication 2008). Due to animal disturbance or erosion stone counts are not a requirement in identifying a site. It is the shape of the feature that identifies a *hekti* or stone altar.



Figure 73



Figure 74

Construction: Constructing a *hekti* or a stone altar is based on the concept of *tob kiŋ* “four-winds” or *tobiōb kiŋ* “four-by-four.” *Tob kiŋ* means the construction of the altar will use a minimum of 4 stones which symbolically represent the first four aspects of *Wakaŋ taŋka* “Great mystery.” It will be placed oriented to the four directions west, north, east, and south. If six stones are used the remaining two stones represent *akaŋtu* “up above” and *kúya* “below.” The *kúya* stone is placed first and will be encircled by the four direction stones. Once these are placed the *akaŋtu* “up above” stone will be placed on the top of the feature. *Tobiōb kiŋ* invokes the numerals 4, 7, 16, and 32, by their multiples of times 2. Naturally shaped pedestal stones may be surrounded by placed stones using either concept. Generally stone sizes will range between 10 to 30 centimeters in diameter and weigh on average 3 to 10 pounds. These stone features are built upright because they represent the *ouŋye* “domain” of *Inyaŋškaŋškaŋ* “Rock that moves.”

Investigation: *Hekti* sites are predominately found in high or low elevations and not so much in between. To locate a site search in high locations like on top of the hills and ridgelines, or go low and search near shorelines. Investigators need to be careful identifying historic era stone piles located throughout South Dakota prairies, because under the Civilian Conservation Corp Works Project created by President Roosevelt in 1933 people were given work collecting and piling field stone lying strewn throughout the prairies. These stones were collected and transported to rock crushers to make gravel.

To discriminate between a CCC stone pile and a *hekti* first note the location of the pile. CCC stone piles will have two-track access roads running beside them and the

piles will be in locations not consistent with *hekti* sites (see location section). Moreover these stone piles contain very large stones oftentimes 60+ centimeters in diameter and weighing 50+ pounds, far too large to effectively construct a *hekti*. How do you determine this? The process is simplicity itself.

Pick up the largest available stone from the pile and carry it a minimum of 6 meters away from the pile. Pay attention to how you are actually carrying the stone. Are you holding it up tight against your belly with you humped over it? Or are you supporting it up against your shoulder, tipped to one side trying to maintain your balance?

When you hit 6 meters away from the stone pile, throw the stone as far away from you as you can. Then without pausing to catch your breath, pick it back up and immediately return it to the pile. If you are winded, and you will be, the stone is far too big to use in constructing a *hekti*. This is how you determine the difference between true *hekti* and a CCC rock pile.

On average a Lakota will use a stone easily manageable and transportable. More often than not the weight of a large stone at its heaviest will range between 10 to 20 pounds. Bear in mind that *hekti* sites do possess odd stone counts apparently inconsistent with the concepts of *tob kiŋ* “four-winds” or *tobiōb kiŋ* “four-by-four.” The reason for this is because of the *wicóahope* “custom” governing the ritual manner in how one prays at these sites. When an individual visits a site they add a single stone to the feature. This stone is their sacrifice and symbolically represents the *óhiŋnini* “eternal-always” commitment behind their prayer. This is why stone count is not a factor in identifying a site as over time the number of stones often increases.

Often *hekti* sites may proliferate through a hilly area boarding river ways. The features will be located high up on the hilltops and be in line-of-sight with each other. Under these conditions they function as *wápetokéca* “markers” which can serve numerous purposes. They can identify an *owénape* “place of shelter” or an *oóyuhpa* “temporary place of resting” below the site where a passerby can rest. If a *hekti* is discovered below the plateau of a butte resting on a bench feature the site is probably marking a *hanbléceya* hill. This means the plateau will need to be ground truthed for a *hanbléceya* altar.

Large *hektipi* easily discernable from a good distance away on top of hill may be there to mark a burial site and can function as a prayer altar. A *hekti* located away or near the edge of an old *ohé wicóti* “village-camp place” may mark the location of a *nahmá* “hide it-cache pit.” Search the immediate area surrounding the feature for signs of a circular slanting depression 1 to 2 meters in diameter. If located, excavate the center of the feature. Shovel testing may reveal charcoal remains and sediment disturbance below the charcoal. In olden times this was a common method of disguising a *nahmá*, making it look like an old camping place (see also Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1998:20-21; Deloria 1983:47). Caching food supplies was a common *wōecoy* “practice” among all plains Indians.

Hekti sites are interpreted by the Lakota in a variety of different ways because they can serve a variety of different purposes and functions. Nevertheless, a *hekti* is always identified as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” regardless of its function related to more common daily activities. Previous studies have stated a *hekti* can be constructed to mark sites for ceremonial site areas, they can be prayer altars, burial markers, or support

for scaffolding of a burial, or memorials/monuments for the dead, for battles, trail markers, boundary markers, bison drive alignments, or finishing lines for horse or foot races; they can function as supports for tipi or flag poles, or meat drying racks, supports for spears or other kinds of weapons. Some may have been constructed as platforms for buffalo skulls by hunters and/or spiritual leaders in anticipation of a kill; they could also have been constructed by playing children or represent trash piles (see also Lueck et al. 1989). Additionally some *hektipi* may be a result of clearing a space of rocks for a fireplace or sleeping place (Sundstrom 2003:270).

Associated Physical Features: Cultural material remains which may be located at a site may be a *pte h́cáka pa* “buffalo skull,” *cehuhúga* “potsherds,” *wahin* “flint point,” *mila* “knife,” *wakát'ozapi* “stone hammer,” *wawóslata* “hollow bones-ornaments,” *hepi* “animal horns,” *wicánatašloka* “dry human skull,” an animal tooth or teeth, and *tašísake* “nails or hoofs of animals,” such as those of a young deer. Pieces of fossilized bone from prehistoric mammals such as the buffalo, bear, elk, deer, horse, camel, beaver, turtle, and mammoth, or turtle shell *wagmúha* “medicine-spirit rattle,” and a wood or rock *wakš́ica* “bowl” or carved bone figurine, may also be present.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *hekti* are *hócoka inyan ti* sites, *hanbléceya* sites, *inyan wakága* sites, *canléška wakan* sites, *wanági waci* “ghost dance” sites, *pteówaci* “buffalo wallow dance” sites, and *ohépi waunyeya* “offering places.”

Cultural Reference Section: The association of a cultural figure for these sites is clouded but the manufacturing of this site type is most often attributed to *Taóyate* “His people.” He was the last leader of the *Ikcé oyáte* “Real people” who brought the people

to *mniháha* “laughing water-Sioux falls” in South Dakota just before the advent of the great flood. In some instances rock cairns do function as graves. On White Butte in the Badlands National Park such a site containing a human skull was identified by this author in July 2002 (LeBeau 2002a).

TYPE 7 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Wówapetogtoŋpi*

Site Type: *Wówapetogtoŋpi* “sacred marks”

Activity: *wakáŋ wicóhaŋ* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákáŋ* “to make energy-life” or *wóšice* “negative-bad.” What an individual senses when entering a site depends upon the purpose and function of the images.

Location: Traditionally these sites were located in canyons, on mountain ledges, smooth faced cliff walls, caves, and on stones and trees along river and lake shores.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. Generally sites are found in any type of grassland or woodland environment. If a site is a large boulder, it can be an isolated find, or it may lie within a cluster and the stone can be named (Lewis 1887:640).

Physical Attributes: Sites consist of a large solitary boulder, a large dead tree stump, a log in a river or creek bottom (Keyser and Klassen 2001:227), or rock walls (Sundstrom 2004; Grant: 1992). These features will possess incised or painted images depicting human or animal figures, or spiritually significant geometric patterns on their surface.

Construction: There is no specific pattern technique to inscribe or paint a stone. To understand the concept of constructing a site it must be contextualized in terms of *ohe kágapi* “making place” through performing a ritual prayer activity synonymous to the

practice of *hañblóglaka* “vision talk” (Charger personal communication 2008). Only in this situation the vision of a person is not verbalized out loud it is communicated by creating its meaningfulness through making marks. The individual presenting their vision underwent ritual purification either by going into an *inípi* “sweat lodge” or by *azilwakiya* “I smudge myself” using either *pejíwaštémna* “sweet grass” or *pejíhota* “sage.” An *olówan* “song” was sung before initiating a mark and once the image(s) were completed *opágipi* “offerings” were made and the person left. In olden times when the people would gather for a large group activity like the sun dance, known locations for these sites would be visited prior to dancing and prayer and offerings were made to these sacred marks (Amiotte 1987:86).

Investigation: Investigating a *wówapetogtonpi* “sacred marks” site is relatively straight forward. An investigator simply records the marks. Unless directed to their locations by native informants these sites are more or less unexpectedly stumbled upon during surveys. What an Investigator needs to be aware of is to search out the surrounding area of a site to attempt to locate associated site types often found in close proximity to these sites (see below).

Associated Physical Features: *Canli opági* “tobacco offerings” and *wayíhtatapi* “food offerings” are the common kinds of material items left in these sites. Traditionally the offerings were always placed on the ground below the marks. Nowadays offerings are found hanging in nearby trees or if the site is on a stone surface they are found lying within cracks and crevices.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *wówapetogtonpi* “sacred marks” site are *iníkağa wókeya* “sweat lodge” sites, *hekti*

“lodge-what is past” sites, *hanbléceya* “cry for a vision” sites, *inȳaŋ wakága* “rock image” sites, *caŋgléška wakan* “medicine wheel” sites, and more distant away from the site a *wiwanȳaŋk wacípi* “sun dance” site. *Ohépi waunȳeya* “offering places” will proliferate around a site especially since many known site areas are being visited by the Lakota again.

Cultural Reference Section: The association for these sites is with the cultural figure identified only as *Huŋkáke* “ancestor” and *Heslátkala* “Young elk.” It is said they are responsible for starting this practice. These sites are extremely powerful *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” once visited annually by the Lakota. These sites are not and should never be thought of as rock art sites. A great disservice has been done to the Lakota as a result of uninformed and unenlightened non-Indians trying to interpret the cultural meaning and significance of these sites. It is sufficed to say *wówapetogtonȳi* “sacred marks” site are places of immense spiritual significance to the Lakota. Interpreting the meaningfulness and cultural significance of these sites should be left for them to do.

In a 2003 TCP survey a previously undiscovered site above the “Little Bend” on the Missouri River near Bloody Run Creek was recorded. The site consists of a large red granite boulder 1.50 meters long and 1.20 meters wide bearing the stick figure of a man holding a *wápaŋa* “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it” in his right hand. Next to him is the incised image of a boat. There are other images on the stone as well, and when this site was reported to tribal elders, they interpreted the marks as depicting the migration of the *Titoŋwan* “dwellers of the prairie” returning to the Black Hills (LeBeau 2003:24).

TYPE 8 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Wicágnakápi* and *Owicahe*

Site Type: *Wicágnakápi* “scaffold burial” *Owicahe* “grave”

Activity: *wakáŋ wicóhan* “energy-life way of doing”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákáŋ* “to make energy-life”

Location: Traditionally a scaffold burial was located on a hilltop or within traditional burial grounds located near semi-sedentary encampments (Spotted Eagle personal communication 2005; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1998:18). Below ground interments are more of a historic era type of Lakota burial. They too are also generally located on hilltops or on benches of hillsides (Drapeau, Robinson, Douville, Taken Alive, Mestes personal communication 2005).

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. Yet generally burial sites are located in view of a *caŋkú* “road-trail.”

Physical Attributes: There are two types of scaffold burials practiced by the Lakota. The first is an actual wood scaffold, *wicágnakápi* “to lay out a body.” The second is a tree burial where the body is placed in the forked crutches of a tree (Yarrow 1976:66). A *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull” or remnants of the same may be present on the ground in site areas as these were often hung suspended from one of the support poles on the west side of the structure. In scaffold burials there is generally a large flat-topped stone 15 to 30 centimeters in diameter. The stone may range in height between 2 to 20 centimeters and should be located on the south side of the feature adjacent to one of the main poles. The base of each post may or may not be supported by a conical shaped pile of stones of various sizes and number. If the posts were supported these four stone features will

often be present in a site, oftentimes dispersed, but present. Below ground internments possess marker stones of various sizes and numbers encircling the burial, or a *hekti* will be constructed marking the burial location.

Construction: The construction of a *wicágnakápi* “scaffold burial” is based on the concept of *tob kin* “four-winds.” The preferred wood species is *pséhte* “ash” as it is a hardwood species. Lakota scaffolds are oriented north to south and consist of 4 main forked support posts. These were inserted into the ground to a depth of 40 to 60 centimeters and stand upright approximately 2 meters high. The overall length of the structure, the north and south distance between the support posts, depended upon the size of the deceased. Most scaffolds were stepped-off four paces, an average of about 3 meters in length. The east and west distance between the support poles was generally two paces or 1.50 meters. The diameter of the posts may range between one-half to one full span *napápašdećapi* “the distance between the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger when stretched out” or approximately 10 to 20 centimeters in size. The cross-rails supporting the platform upon which the body rests is half a span “*napápašdećapi*” in diameter or roughly 10 centimeters, and approximately 1 to 1.50 meters in length. They are tied into the forks using old leather or rawhide. The platform rails may consist of a minimum of 8 or a maximum of 16 rails approximately 2.50 to 3 meters in length and half a span “*napápašdećapi*” in diameter.

When all the soft tissue of a body has decomposed the bones were taken down from the platform and interred in the ground underneath the scaffold. This interment grave is generally 4 spans long and 4 spans wide, and excavated to a depth of at least 1.50 meters. Great care was given to making the cavity cylindrical or bell shaped. To

help prevent animals from digging up the bones which were placed in red colored leather bag. Stones were placed over the remains prior to covering them up with earth. A *hekti* was generally constructed over the grave to mark it.

Below ground internments are generally historic era sites outlined with stones (Figure 75) or covered over with stones (Figure 76). It is important to note that historic ground internments, especially with the Dakota which was one of their burial customs, was to bury more than one individual in the same coffin (Curtis Campbell personal communication 2008; Gibbon 2003:97).



Figure 75



Figure 76

Historic graves were excavated using modern tools, shovels, and picks. It is important for investigators to know that in the winter, to bury a body in frozen ground the Lakota would build a large fire over the grave area. This was done in order to thaw the ground, and the process needed to be repeated until the frost line was reached (Red Dog, LeBeau, Miner, Brown, Dubray, Ducheneaux, In the Woods, Dupris, Blue Arm, Marshall, Two Bulls, Under Baggage, Bear Stops, Charging Eagle, Different Horse, Annis, personal communications 2003).

Since the advent of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (PL 101-601), many tribal internments of repatriated human remains and grave goods consist of marking the burial sites by building a *hekti* over them and outlining the grave with stones (Figures 77 and 78). Re-internment graves are by choice often located as close to the original grave site(s) as possible. This means many re-internment sites lie in close proximity to old graveyards and village burial sites.



Figure 77



Figure 78

Investigation: Lacking any presence of scaffold structural remains site identification depends on identifying other kinds of physical evidence, such as identifying four stone piles used to support a structure, identifying a circular depression on which rests a *hekti*, or identifying a flat-topped stone resting on the ground near these kinds of features similar to the kind shown below (Figure 79).



Figure 79

When investigators are inspecting a suspected historical burial site you should conduct a thorough ground truthing of a potential site area. Graves erode through time and often grave goods, particularly loose beads and coffin parts (Figure 80), become exposed and are visible as surface deposits.



Figure 80

With scaffold sites it is also possible under certain conditions that evidence of a site may consist of relocating the four support post holes for the feature. This was the case in relocating the site of a 1930's scaffold burial near the Red Scaffold community on the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation in 2002 (LeBeau 2002). If there are identifiable remains, four post holes or four stone piles oriented to the north and south should approximate the width and length measurements provided in the construction section. These kinds of physical remains are considered among the Lakota to be ample evidence to identify an old scaffold site. A *hekti* lying within a circular depression approximating the measurements provided above is also considered by the Lakota as ample evidence to identify an old scaffold site. Lastly conduct a thorough surface

inspection to observe any eroded grave good items such as loose beads, which are the most common form of in situ evidence found in old scaffold burial sites.

Below ground burials are as difficult to identify as are old scaffold sites. The best approach to investigate a site area is to search for large oblong-or square-shaped depressions measuring approximately 2.50 meters long and 1.50 meters wide. These features are often encircled with stones or there may be a deflated *hekti* lying upon them. These depressions often have small animal dens dug into them because the soil was disturbed by the excavation and therefore easy for small burrowing animals to dig into.

Associated Physical Features: Small bone fragments can often be seen eroded out of old graves. Material grave good items are wide ranging (Pond 1986:162), and as previously stated, the most common kind of in situ grave goods indicating the presence of a site are generally loose beads lying on the surface.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *wicágnakápi* “scaffold burial” or below ground *owícahe* “grave” are *ohépi waun̄yeya* “offering places.” These are primarily tobacco offerings tied into nearby trees.

Cultural Reference Section: The scaffolding and laying out and wrapping of the deceased is an acknowledged traditional funerary practice among the Lakota (Huffstetter 1998:17; Yarrow 1976:158). This original burial rite among the Lakota is associated with *Tokáhe* “First to go.” As an old man he left the camp to go to a hill to give up his spirit. Tradition states that when his sons went to find him they observed him still alive but resting in a sitting position upon a spider web strung across the top of four posts. They left him alone and returned a short time later to discover his body was

gone (Dooling 1984:132). It is a result of this event that explains the reason why the Lakota adopted scaffolding as their burial custom.

TYPE 9 *Ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” *Wanágitipi* and *Caŋ oñila*

Site Type: *Wanágitipi* “dwelling of the spirits” *Caŋ oñila* “little tree dweller spirit lodge”

Activity: *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship”

Intrinsic Nature: *wóokihí* “power-potency”

Location: These sites are identified in the oral tradition; however, understand that a spirit can dwell anywhere. Hence it is impossible to physically describe a general location for this site type. Some examples of locations linked to oral traditions are places like *wašuw niyá* “breathing cave-wind cave” (LaPointe 1976:80), *mni wakaŋ* “spirit lake-devils lake” (Durand 1994:60), *kágápa págéya* “cut open fleeing” or “*kagha paga*-evil spirit hill-Harney Peak” (Nabokov 2006:213), and *caŋ oñila páhá* “little tree dweller butte-spirit mound” (LeBeau 2002:4; DeVota 1953:22). Among the Lakota it is understood that a spirit can reside in any location (Johnson 1992:209) and when those locations are encountered, if they are not linked to oral traditions and many are not, then they are called *wanágitipi* “dwellings of the spirits.” These locations may also be called *caŋ oñila* “little tree dweller spirit lodge” if the location is a wooded area and the spirits are identified as *caŋ oñila* “little tree dwellers.”

Natural Site Features: A hill, a tree, a cave, a body of water, a hole in the ground, a stone or a stone formation.

Physical Attributes: Variable (see above)

Construction: Essentially these sites are natural features. To understand the concept of constructing a site it must be contextualized in terms of *ohe kágapi* “making place” through performing *wakaŋ kága* on, in, or beside them as these sites are visited for the purposes of making sacrifices.

Investigation: A *wanágitipi* “dwellings of the spirits” site can be investigated when they are located such as the site encountered in a 2005 river survey which consisted of a small cave feature along the shores of the Missouri River (Figure 81). Investigators must understand that there is always something “spiritually” present in the site itself and is expressed physically in a feature component.



Figure 81

In this example that spiritual presence was expressed in the form of a large grey-black stone observed inside the center of the cave (Figure 82) which was shaped like a skeletal head.



Figure 82

This natural feature possessed identifiable physical characteristics resembling a sloping forehead, pronounced brow ridges, and two small circular depressions resembling eye sockets. A vertical protuberance ran down between the depression forming a raised relief outline of a nose, and below that was a deep horizontal cut resembling a mouth. A white clayish substance outlined and highlighted the head and facial image. The pattern of this clayish material resembled the paint pattern worn by Lakota sun dancers. The *toy* “emission of power” within the site combined with the

presence of this stone was sufficient for identifying the site as a *wanágitipi* “dwellings of the spirits.” Additionally at the base of the stone lay a loose pile of driftwood on which were incised geometric markings, and lying upon these was a loose bundle of *pejłhota* “sage” around which lay several pieces of shell material. This material had been *oglé* “placed-set” there by a person using the site as an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place.”

A *wanágitipi* “dwellings of the spirits” such as the one above are the most culturally difficult sites to record. This is because their initial identifications are based exclusively on experiencing and interpreting their possession and quality of *toŋ* “emission of power.” This makes it difficult for non-Lakota investigators to recognize them because quite frankly they are *yutaŋ* “felt” before they are seen.

Caŋ ołila “little tree dweller spirit lodge” sites are as difficult to identify as a *wanágitipi*. These sites often consist of hollowed out tree stumps (Howard 1955:170; Skinner 1919:169; Dorsey 1894:473; Oneroad and Skinner 2003:92) and again it is experiencing the *toŋ* “emission of power,” the feeling of that emission of power which leads an Investigator to their location. Often the stump will possess a gnarled shape or have a discernable stick-figured facial or body image on it. Twisted and braided appearing tree roots often lie around the site area. In many instances these twisted roots will resemble a *sagyé* “cane” an object collected from the site area and incorporated into a man’s medicine altar (Curtis Campbell personal communication 2008). If there is no tree stump, but there is an overwhelming presence of *toŋ* “emission of power” in the area, closely scan the surrounding trees. What you are looking for are tree limbs that possess small human-like facial features or full body-like figures. Locating this kind of

feature also identifies the site and if practical, it too will be collected and incorporated into a man's medicine bundle (Native informant personal communication 2008).

When investigating a potential *wanágitipi* or *caṅ oṭila* site, it is imperative the investigator document the natural features in detail. Nothing within the site context must be overlooked or left out of the documentation process, as all things in and around a site are relevant to its proper identification. Furthermore search the surrounding area for *ohépi waun̄yeya* "offering places" located near the site. And lastly, the most important component of the investigation is to get a tribal spiritual leader or tribal elder to visit the site area, and have them make the final determination of identification.

Associated Physical Features: Material cultural items located within a site consist of natural plant material consisting of loose tobacco and offerings of sage. As in the discovery of the site located during a 2005 survey, wood bearing incised geometric markings and pieces of shell material may also be present in a site. These items are placed within, on, or below the feature.

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *wanágitipi* or *caṅ oṭila* sites are a *wówapetogtoṅpi* "sacred marks" sites, *hekti* "lodge-what is past" sites, and *ohépi waun̄yeya* "offering places."

Cultural Reference Section: Spirit dwelling places are essentially a location identified as the dwelling of a spirit. The Lakota believe this world is occupied by spirits and we share our existence with them. A spirit is a supernatural being that can take any shape or any form concerning how they appear, or to whom they reveal their presence to. Spirits are not bound by any natural laws or physical constraints concerning where they live-dwell. They can live equally in the *wanágimákoce* "spirit world" or in the physical

world. A ghost however is different. A ghost is the *sicun* ‘“spirit” of a human being who is *núniyan* “wandering-lost.” They are material beings and can only appear in the form of the individual they were in life. Ghosts have no supernatural powers to help, aid, or guide human beings like a spirit does. Ghosts remain physically tied to the location where their bones rest and can only occupy that place which is between the spirit world and the physical world. In order to move on a ghost must be kept and *taught* how to become a spirit.

The *Cañ oñila* are small spirit-like creatures the descendants of two baby raccoons who were changed by *Iktómi* “Trickster” into human like beings (Walker and Jahner 1983:287-289). Originally they were little tricksters just like their creator because they possess his nature. After the Dakota returned to *Mdewakan* “spirit lake-Mille Lacs” they changed their nature and became helper spirits. They give medicine bundles to men. A *cañ oñila* bundle is affiliated with *táhca itópta sapa* “black streak faced deer” the sacred animal that led *Táhca sintésapela wicása* “Black tail deer man” to Spirit Mound in South Dakota. He was the first man to receive and possess this type of medicine bundle. The *cañ oñila* bundles are common among the Dakota but they can also be found among the Lakota. There are two families living on the Cheyenne River reservation which have these types of medicine bundles.

The Lewis and Clark expedition visited Spirit Mound in 1804 to investigate it out of curiosity, because the Indians had told them that the mound was the home of little evil spirits who possessed human form. These spirits lived in-on the mound and were only 18 inches tall with extremely large heads and were armed with arrows that killed people at a long distance (DeVoto 1953). The Lakota believe the presence of white men

on Spirit Mound resulted in the *caŋ oŋila* abandoning their home and moving west out into the prairies eventually migrating into the Black Hills. Those that left Spirit Mound turned to living in small freshwater pools and this resulted in the Lakota calling them *wíwila oŋila* “little water spirits” but they are still *caŋ oŋila*. There is a huge *wíwila oŋila otóŋwahe* “little water spirit village” in the Black Hills where many of these spirit-like creatures live (LeBeau 2002c).

TYPE 1 *Ohé waunŋyeya* “offering place” *Wáŋna wosnapi*

Site Type: *Wáŋna wosnapi* “altar of sacrifice”

Activity: *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwákáŋ* “to make energy-life”

Location: Traditionally this kind of site is an isolated stone feature or may be a stone formation located on hills, high plateaus, open or wooded ridgelines, along river shorelines, creeks, streams, lakes, or on small islands in rivers and lakes. Sites may also be located along natural trails, roads, river fords, stone quarries, burial grounds, fossil bed deposits, caves and kill sites.

Natural Site Features: The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location. Generally these sites are distinctive and noticeably separated spatially from their surrounding environment.

Physical Attributes: A large boulder or boulders possibly possessing a quality of shape such as a discernible image of a human or an animal. The surface of the stone may bear an impression identified as a *wakaŋjoyé* “spirit track” of a human hand or foot print, or the hoof or paw print of an animal (Figure 83), or bird track (Native Informant personal communication 2007). Additionally the stone may possess a small circular bowl-shaped

depression identified as a *wakšica woniya* “spirit bowl” (Iron Hawk personal communication 2006).



Figure 83

Some sites (Figure 84 field sketch) consist of a large base boulder supporting a smaller boulder on top of it (Douville personal communication 2007). A site may also consist of a large stone that may have smaller stones encircling it (Sundstrom 2003:278). Other types of physical attributes are to observe if the stone is shaped like a *tacanjia* “buffalo heart” (Native Informant personal communication 2006) or a stone may possess cracks and crevasses outlining an animal shape or part.

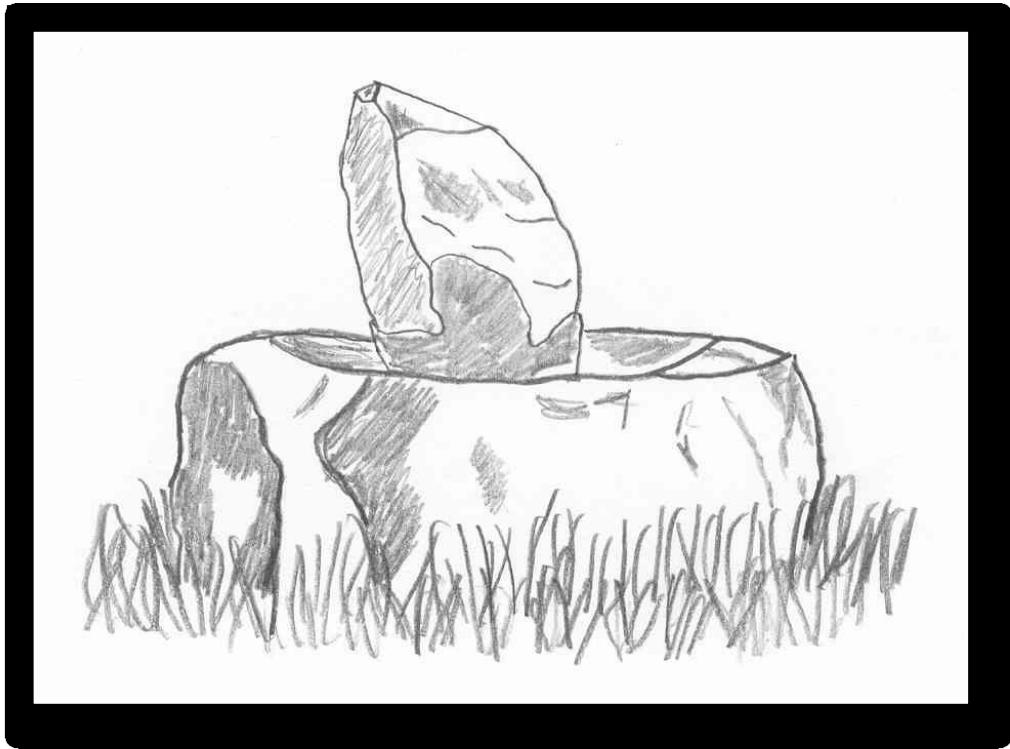


Figure 84

Construction: Essentially these sites are naturally occurring features and the only potential human modification to them may be encircling the stone with smaller stones.

It must be understood however that these sites are *kága* “made” through performing *wakan kága* upon them and this is how they primarily obtain their cultural significance.

Investigation: These are primarily large boulder sites. The size of a stone on average for a single boulder is 1 meter wide, 1 meter high, and 1 meter in length. Yet these site’s may also be huge in size such as the *inyan tanka* “big rock” site held as sacred by the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community in Minnesota (Wabasha personal communication 2007). This particular stone is well over 8+ meters high, wide, and long, and weighs several tons.

The first characteristic of these sites to search for is to determine if there is a visible human or animal shape to them. Oftentimes the most common shape a boulder possesses is that of a *tacañta* “buffalo heart” (Figure 85).



Figure 85

Search the entire surface area of the stone to observe if there is a discernable *wakanoyé* “spirit track” of a human, animal, or bird on it. Keep in mind that these may be present anywhere on the boulder. Animal print shapes most commonly seen will be a *pte* “buffalo” as shown in (Figure 83); a *íáhca* “deer,” *šunġawakan* “horse,” *šunġka* “dog,” *igmú* “cat,” or *šaké* “talon.” Bear in mind these will be naturally occurring features and not human-made incised shapes. Also peer over a stone to search for a distinguishable *wakšica woníya* “spirit bowl” shaped depression in the surface. There

are two primary types, a shallow circular depression between 10 to 20 centimeters in diameter, and 2 to 5 centimeters in depth. Or the second type which is basically a hole in the stone approximately 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter, and 5 to 10 centimeters in depth. Bowl features like these generally occur towards the edge of the stone. Pay particular attention to cracks running through a stone as oftentimes these can outline an animal shape or a significant mountain shape like *Mató Pahá* “Bear Butte” (LeBeau 2008:25). Inspect the base of the stone to determine if smaller stones ranging between 10 to 40 centimeters in diameter have been piled up against it or placed around it in the form of a circle.

Investigators should observe the lay of the land surrounding a site area for the purposes of determining where the path of least resistance leading into a site lies. Check to determine if there are observable natural pathways or drag lines present. If a potential site is located at a high elevation, such as on the slope of hill, investigators must note the degree of the slope and consider how stringent a climb up to the feature will be. Ease of access to a site is an important element for investigators to ascertain, as it will help in determining the proper identification of a site.

Traditionally *wágha wosnapi* sites were visited on fairly regular cycles but not all sites have been recorded, which is why this entry exists in this methodology. More often than not many are linked to oral traditions or they are remembered in family narrations discussing important sites like this (Wabasha personal communication 2007). Also be aware that among the Lakota these kinds of sites were often referred to in general conversations as *wowasag'kdepi* “landmarks” (Rousseau, Traversie, Clown, Red Bear personal communication 2007). As a result it can be difficult at times to

distinguish between a site and just a large boulder deposited in the landscape. Keep in mind that what sets this site type apart from a *wówapetogtonpi* “sacred marks” site where a large boulder has been incised with spiritual markings is the physical marks on the stone for this site type consists of naturally occurring features. Using the investigation techniques described above previously unrecorded sites can be identified.

Associated Physical Features: Cultural material remains in a site area may be *caṅli opági* “tobacco offerings” consisting of *wapáhía* “tobacco ties” or *wayúhtatápi* “food offerings.” Additionally there may be remnants of hand tools found in a site area such as *cehuhuga* “potsherds,” *wahiy* “flint points,” *míla* “knives,” *wakát'ozapi* “stone hammers,” and *wawóslata* “hollow bones-ornaments.”

The most commonly associated site types found in close proximity to a *wáгна wosnapi* are *hanbléceya* sites (Figure 86).



Figure 86

Iḡyaḡ wakága “rock image” and *hekti* “lodge-what is past” sites are also found in proximity to these sites. Additionally there is always a specific type of plant in the immediate area of a site that individuals will pick and use as a medicine power. The plant is either incorporated into their medicine bundle or simply eaten because it is part of what is supposed to be done by people when visiting these sites.

Cultural Reference Section: It is well established in the historic record that the Lakota hold many large boulder sites as *owaḡka wakaḡ* “sacred places” (Densmore 1992:206; Enoe 1903:162; Heilbron: 1958:18-23; Lewis 1889:159-165). Densmore references Riggs in her work relaying “large bowlders were selected and adorned with red and green paint, whither the devout Dakota might go to pray and offer his sacrifice” (Densmore 1992:206). Examples of these kinds of sites included *iḡyaḡ wakaḡ* “medicine rock,” which was located near the mouth of the Little Cheyenne River in South Dakota. As a formation they can be found in groups such as the *witaḡšna yámnímní* “three maidens” a large rock formation located next to Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota. They can be geological formations like *wakiḡyaḡ hoḡpi* “thunder beings nest-the needles” in the Black Hills. One stone identified by this site type is *iḡyaḡ wiḡyaḡ* or *iḡyaḡ wiḡyaḡ nájiḡhaḡ* “stone woman, standing woman rock” now located at Fort Yates, North Dakota (Figure 87). It is small enough that it was kept by a Lakota band and taken along with them as they move between camp sites (Deloria 1999).



Figure 87

As previously stated these sites are made culturally significant by using them as offering places where people go to pray and leave spiritual offerings. In the olden days our people would paint a stone used for this purpose either *ša* “red” or *tozí* “green.” This act is considered a prayer resulting in the stone undergoing *yutōkeca* “transfiguration.” It is ritually recognized as imbued with *wóokihi* “power-potency” becoming *ótan̄ij* “visible.” The belief among the Lakota is all things sacred are colored red, or when green is used, a female color, it represents the power of *uñci maká* “grandmother earth.” Oftentimes our people would paint the palm of their hands and leave their hand prints marked on the stone. Red, black, and white was used by men; green and blue were used by women and *wiñkte*.

In the Black Hills there are numerous locations where these sites (Figure 88) are generally found in close spatial association with *haṅbléceya* sites.



Figure 88

It was *wicóahope* “custom” to name stones according to the kind of shape or image visible in their form or as seen on their surface. For example a stone shaped like buffalo will be named *iṅyaṅ tatanáka* or *iṅyaṅ pte* “buffalo rock.” A stone can also be named according to the identification of an animal print found on its surface, such as *iṅyaṅ šuṅkawakan* “horse rock.” Keep in mind that the stone will be a separate site apart from a *haṅbléceya* site.

TYPE 2 *Ohé waunyeya* “offering place” *Owáunyan̄pi* and *Héktiakiya níicú*

Site Type: *Owáunyan̄pi* “acts of sacrifice” *Héktiakiya níicú* “give back”

Activity: *wakan̄ kágapi* “acts of worship”

Intrinsic Nature: *yuwák̄an̄* “to make energy-life”

Location: Traditionally these sites are not adversely affected by the surrounding environment regardless of the physical conditions surrounding a site area. Most sites are found on or in proximity to *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” and lie alongside well-traveled wilderness trails, paths, and roads. Sites may also be found near natural freshwater springs, waterfalls, river fords, hilltops and wooded creeks, near caves, or near stone and mineral quarries.

Natural Site Features: Typically sites are natural features located out in the open where they can be easily seen. The environmental setting surrounding these sites can vary depending upon their location.

Physical Attributes: As natural features a site can consist of trees or stones on which are placed various *opágipi* “offerings” consisting of *canlí opági* “tobacco offerings” and *wayúh̄itatapi* “food offerings.” Sites may also be objects such as a *pte hcáka pa* “buffalo skull” (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1992:139), stones placed in the forks of trees (Rezatto 1989:30), or remnants of a *wícaške-wanági wópah̄ta* “spirit wrap-spirit bundle” (LeBeau 2005:53). They may be a three-poled wood structure identified as *wanágitipi* “spirit lodge” which supports a spirit bundle (Brown 1989:10-30; Crow Dog and Erdoes 1995:143; Densmore 1992:79; Dorsey 1889:145; Fletcher 1993:296; Rice 1984:338).

An *owáunyanpi* “acts of sacrifice” site may also consist of placing *caṅlí opági* “tobacco offerings” on a commemorative sculpture (Figure 89) or a historic sign (Figure 90).



Figure 89



Figure 90

Construction: Essentially these sites are natural features or modified human objects as shown above in Figures 89 and 90. To understand the concept of constructing a site it must be contextualized in terms of *ohe kágapi* “making place” through performing *wakaŋ kága* after which the offering is placed on, in, or beside the feature.

Investigation: In *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places” identification of an *ohé waunyeya* “offering place” is relatively straight forward. Investigators need only scan the surrounding area to observe the presence of any *opágipi* “offerings” consisting of *caŋli opági* “tobacco offerings” hung up in trees (Figure 91) or on the ground (Figure 92). Identifying *wayúhtatapi* “food offerings” is done through identifying vessel remains consisting of *makácega* “pottery” or *cehuhuga* “potsherds,” *caŋwakšica* “wood bowls” or *tukíwinuŋkala* “mussel shells.”



Figure 91



Figure 92

A *héktakiya níicú* “give back” site is generally a location where a person sets out the carcass remains of a raptor such as an eagle, hawk, or owl (Figure 93) (Blue Arm and Charger personal communication 1999). Oftentimes these sites will have a *hekti* marking their location.



Figure 93

Other material objects such as a *cañnuṅpa* “pipe” set out on hilltops or inside stands of *cañpá* “chokecherry” or *wípazutkaṅ* “June berry” may also represent a *héktakiya níicú* site (Native Informant personal communication 2003). Most reservation site areas are known locations and an investigator should interview local residents requesting these localities be pointed out to them. Oftentimes a known location will be linked to use by a particular family (LeBeau 2006:20). On reservations some sites used

by residential and rural families will fashion a small wood or earthen platform upon which the bird carcass is placed (One Skunk personal communication 1999). A woman's menses bundle is set out inside stands of *kaṇta* "plum" trees or thorny stands of *onjiṇjiṇtka* "wild rose," or *wicáḡnaška* "gold-buffalo current," and is called a *witaunšnatila* "woman's little place" (Randall, Two Bulls, and Annis personal communication 2002; Powers 1986:66; Walker 1980:79).

Associated Physical Features: *Owáunyanṇpi* "acts of sacrifice" are performed most commonly within or in proximity to *ohépi wócekiye* "prayer places" and *ohépi wakámna* "gathering places."

Cultural Reference Section: The act of setting out *opáḡipi* "offerings" is an ancient *wōecon* "practice" and *wicóahoṇe* "custom" based on *wakaṇ káḡa* "perform acts of worship." As a form of ritual prayer *owáunyanṇpi* "acts of sacrifice" can be stand alone sites. However, they are commonly spatially associated with *ohépi wócekiye* "prayer places" and *ohépi wakámna* "gathering places."

A *witaunšnatila* "woman's little place" is a gender specific site and is strictly avoided by men. The site is commonly spatially associated with *išnátipi* "dwelling alone" sites and the ritual rite of passage is *išnátí ca lowaṇ* "sing of isolation." When a stand of *kaṇta* "plum" trees, or thorny stands of *onjiṇjiṇtka* "wild rose," *wicáḡnaška* "gold-buffalo current," is used for this purpose, the site is no longer considered an *ohé wakámna* "gathering place" to procure natural resources. Only when the menses bundle is gone do women re-enter the location to collect a resource and thus cause the site to *yukíni* "to live again." Investigators must bear in mind that these sites are nearly always exclusively restricted to reservation localities.

The creation of a *héktákiya níicú* site where the item is raptor carcass remnants is considered performing an act of burial (Native Informant personal communication 1999). The origin of this *wōecon* “practice” and *wicóahope* “custom” is sometimes attributed to *Wicáhpi hiñhpáya* “Falling star” whose adopted parents were *jiálepa* “meadowlarks” (Woolworth 2003:102-106; Goodman 1992:3). In some instances oral tradition stories do describe certain hills as locations where raptor remains were set out such as Eagle Butte on the Cheyenne River Sioux Indian Reservation (Native Informant personal communication 1996). On reservations site selection depends upon the individual who uses the site. Therefore it is usually required that the user identify the location of a site for an investigator.

TYPE 1 *Ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” *Wakámna*

Site Type: *Wakámna* “gathering”

Activity: *wicóahope* “custom” *wōeconpi* “practices”

Intrinsic Nature: *wíconi* “life” and *wówaš'ake* “energy”

Location: Any environmental setting containing natural or mineral resources.

Natural Site Features: Variable pertaining to the kinds of plant resource(s) gathered. But sites can also be physical features such as a *ptemákokawaze* “buffalo wallow,” *wašun* “small animal den,” *maká oké* “quarry,” *wahinheyapablu* “prairie dog hills,” *cápa ti* “beaver lodge,” *omákiñca* “deer lair,” *šun̄kciñca oti* “wolf den,” *wašun šun̄gila* “fox den,” *wašun šun̄kmánitu* “coyote den,” *wamáni ti* “bear den,” or a raptor nest specifically that of a *wañbli* “eagle.” A site may also be a small naturally formed stone object known as a *wakšíca woníya* “spirit bowl” (Figure 94). Another kind of object that

can constitute a site is a fossilized ammonite called a *wicóti tuḡkaḡ* “camp stone” (Figure 95).



Figure 94



Figure 95

Physical Attributes: Any plant, tree, or fungi resource possessing spiritual or medicinal properties identified as culturally significant to the Lakota. The common kinds of non-plant resource items gathered for use in performing any *wakaŋ wicóhanpi* “energy-life ways of doing” and *wakaŋ kágapi* “acts of worship” are things like *wahiŋyajice* “down-fur” from a buffalo (see also Blish 1934:185), *hepóla* “buffalo horn,” shed *heyúhaha* “deer-elk antlers,” and shed *aópazan* “eagle feathers.” The common kinds of mineral resource items are things like *tunkaŋ* “spirit stones” (Lame Deer & Erdoes 1992:147; Rice 1998:57); *maká* “dirt” (Crow Dog 1995:87; Lame Deer & Erdoes 1992:247; Lewis 1990:83), *weoyáte kiŋ-caŋnuŋpa šaša* “blood of the people-red pipe stone,” *wahiŋ’* “flint,” and *wasé* “red earth paint,” *makáto* “blue earth paint,” *wisaŋye* “white paint,” and *makázi* “yellow paint.”

Construction: *Ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” are not constructed but are identified according to the name of the resource gathered, or named according to the kind of feature it is collected from like an animal den (Figure 96) or an eagle nest (Figure 97).



Figure 96



Figure 97

Investigation: Investigators must be cognizant that identifying and investigating *ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” consisting of plant resources is often problematic if the identification is based on locating in situ evidence that a site has been or is being used. The Lakota practice of *wók'upi* “feeding” *wayúhtaiapi* “food offerings” or *caŋlí opági* “tobacco offerings” to growing things being collected means these offerings will be placed loosely on the ground next to it (Quiver personal communication 2007; Pretty Sounding Flute 2000:55). This means any physical evidence of *opágipi* “offerings” is seldom ever present in a site. The best method of identifying a site is to simply have the area identified for you by a native informant. The most effective use of this category is to use it as a means of identifying areas containing flowering or leafy plants and fungi resources lying within *ohépi wócekiye* “prayer places,” or an area lying adjacent to or in spatial proximity to them.

In a locality where the identification of a site is being undertaken without native informant input because it contains a variety of different plant and grass species, all of which possesses spiritual and medicinal qualities, the first criteria for identification should be access to the site. Although the Lakota will go and have gone to rather extraordinary lengths, physically taxing undertakings, to reach areas containing spiritual plants that must be collected for incorporation into a personal medicine bundle (Hill personal communication 2006), most plant gathering sites are relatively accessible by old people and hence this is a factor to consider when identifying an area (Randall personal communication 2003).

Scrutinize the landscape in a site area and determine if there are easily traversable clear natural trails or paths leading to or running alongside the area

undergoing investigation. Assessing the size of the concentration of flowering and leafy plants, and how many different species of growing things are there, is another factor involving site identification. The principle to follow is there should be a combined minimum of 20 different flowering and leafy plant species, all possessing spiritual-medicinal value to the Lakota, contained within an area measuring approximately 90 meters in length and 45 meters in width.

Ground truthing a site can be tedious because you are trying to find physical evidence such as plants with their stalks cut *pahí* “gathered up” or *oke* “dug” up from the roots, or *yušpi* “picked” with their petals and leaves showing clear evidence of having been removed by human hands. These are the things you are seeking to identify in order to support your identification of a site area. To begin searching walk the trail or pathway first as most people will collect in clear zones before necessity requires them to enter into thickets and shrubs. After that move through the site area and conduct a standard 1 by 1 meter transect pattern search.

In feature sites such as a *wašuy* “small animal den,” *wahinheyapablu* “prairie dog hills,” *šun̄kciŋca oti* “wolf den,” *wašuy šun̄gila* “fox den,” *wašuy šun̄kmánitu* “coyote den,” or a *wamáni tí* “bear den,” observe the immediate area around the opening. The Lakota visit these kinds of features for the purpose of gathering small stones from them. “The natural objects one finds around any burrow are particularly efficacious for religious purposes. Animals and insects that go back and forth between the surface of the earth and the underground have knowledge of both worlds and themselves form a fraternity whose members may be called upon to aid people” (Powers 1982:13).

A ptemákokawaze “buffalo wallow,” *cápa ti* “beaver lodge,” and *omákiŋća* “deer lair,” are also places the Lakota visited in order to collect natural items incorporated into an individual’s personal spiritual paraphernalia (Whirlwind Horse personal communication n.d.). Men and women visit these features to collect *maká* “dirt,” *wahinyajice* “fur-hair,” *hepóla* “buffalo horn,” and shed *heyúhaha* “deer-elk antlers,” *hi* “teeth” and *tuj’kaŋ* “sacred stones.” A principle to adhere to is associate any of these features to an *ohé wócekiye* “prayer place” and describe its cultural significance as a part of your report. During field work if you encounter a *wanbli hohpi* “eagle nest,” a *maká oké* “quarry,” or deposits of *wasé* “red earth paint,” *makáto* “blue earth paint,” *wísanye* “white paint,” and *makázi* “yellow paint” always identify and record the sites regardless of their spatial proximity to any other site.

Associated Physical Features: Variable

Cultural Reference Section: As a cultural activity, identifying sites where the gathering of natural and mineral resources occurs is an important component of identifying TCPs. *Ohépi wakámna* “gathering places” are as important to the Lakota today as they were in the prehistoric and historic period. Many important healing plants are still identified and collected during the night by healers shown these plants by spirits. They are guided to them and told which plant to collect (Not Help Him personal communication 2002; also Kemnitzer 1976:264). The purpose of documenting these kinds of sites is to present a fuller and more in-depth understanding of the Lakota.

When a known eagle trapping site is located near a known campsite area sites can be located readily enough by simply observing where the highest hill top is located (Bear Stops personal communication 2000; Howard 1954:71).

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Appendix: *Lakota oíeya* “Lakota word glossary”

A difficulty with writing Lakota is there is no standardized alphabet. I have used the Buechel alphabet as the spelling system to record the Lakota words in this work as well as build the following pronunciation guide (Buechel 1970:22).

Pronunciation Guide:

a as in father
 aŋ as in French word blanc
 b as in rib
 c as in chair
 e as in they and elk
 g as in rig
 h as in hip
 h̄ as in German word ach
 i as in bee
 iŋ as in ink
 j as in joy
 k as in kill
 k̄ clicked no equivalent in English
 l as in love
 m as in man
 n as in name
 ŋ as in ink
 o as in smoke
 oŋ as in soon
 p as in pink
 p̄ as in bill
 s as in say
 š as in ship
 t as in take
 t̄ as in day
 u as in rule
 uŋ no equivalent in English
 w as in way
 y as in yonder
 z as in zero

Glossary:

ah̄'co “upper”
ahókípa “to value as one’s own.”
ákanl waunyan̄pi “an upright altar”

ak̄aŋl wawágluwakaŋpi “a sort of altar-making sacred”
ak̄aŋtu “up above”
Ak̄ítapi “research”
aŋpo “red dawn”
Aŋpo wicáhpi “Morning Star-Venus”
aópazaŋ “eagle feather”
Aópeya kte tókēcapi kiŋ “merging the differences”
atkúku “father”
Awáciŋkel “thinking upon”
awákaŋka “spirit”
awákaŋka wiŋ “female spirit being”
awákaŋkapi “spirit beings”
awákaŋkapi “spirits”
aziłkiya “smudge”
aziłwakiya “I smudge myself”
bló “ridge”
Ca “step”
Cajékaŋapi “making a name”
cajéyata “name”
caŋ cékiya “prayer sticks”
caŋ oíila “little tree dweller spirit lodge”
caŋ oíila pahá “little tree dweller butte-spirit mound”
caŋgléška wakaŋ “medicine wheel”
caŋgléška wakaŋ “sacred hoop”
caŋgléška wakaŋ “sacred hoop-medicine wheel”
caŋhlógaŋ waštemna iyececa “sweet smelling hollow stalk-fleabane”
caŋkú “road-trail”
caŋli opági “tobacco offering”
caŋli wapáhtapi “tobacco ties”
caŋnuŋpa “pipe”
caŋnuŋpa šaša “red pipe stone”
caŋóhaŋzi “arbor-bowery”
caŋpá “chokecherry”
caŋté t'inza okólakiciye “brave heart society”
caŋwakaŋ “ceremonial post”
caŋwákaŋ “flag pole”
caŋwakiŋ hu “saddle bow”
caŋwakšica “wood bowls”
caŋwapatipi “arbor-bowery”
caŋyáh'u “cottonwood”
cápa ti “beaver lodge”
capcéyazala “beaver’s berries-black current”
će “penis”
cehuŋuŋa “potsherds”
cékiya “prayer”

cetaŋ “hawk”
ciŋcá “off-spring”
Dakota oyáte “Allied people”
ehaŋna wicóhaŋ oyáka “oral historian”
Ehaŋna wóyuhapi “old possessions”
eháŋni “a long time ago”
Ektá épazo “to look at”
Gle “put-place”
gnáka “lay-place”
Gnaškiŋyaŋ “Wild”
ha taŋka “great skin-mammoth”
Hakákta “Last born”
haŋblé “fast”
haŋbléceya “cry for a vision”
haŋblóglaka “vision talk”
háŋié “cedar”
Haŋwiŋ “Dark Sun-Moon”
Hau oyakáhniŋa yelo “Yes, you understand.”
hcala kiŋ “identifier”
he ipá “a promontory”
he ipá blaská “flat top hill”
he ótaŋiŋ okíciyak aupi “tradition manifests itself”
Hécel uŋkítókecaŋi “in this way we are different”
Héceŋu yeló “Enough said”
Heháka Sápa “Black Elk”
héktakiya níicú “give back”
hekti “lodge-what is past”
hepi “animal horns”
hepóla “buffalo horn”
Heslátkala “Young elk”
heyōka “clown”
heyōka ti “lodge of the clown”
heyúhaha “deer-elk antlers”
hi “teeth”
hiŋhaŋ “owl”
hmuŋga wicáša “stinging man”
Ho Lakota “a Lakota voice”
hócoka “circle”
hócoka “sacred circle”
hócoka iŋyaŋ ti “stone ring lodge”
hócoka kaŋiya i'céya “altar where he makes it difficult for himself”
hoŋpi “bird nests”
hokšicaŋkiyaŋi “spirit keeping”
hótaniŋ “to have one’s voice heard”
Htáyetu wicáhpi “Evening Star-Mercury”

hu “legs”
hu pe “bone points”
huŋka “relative-relationship”
Huŋkáke “ancestor”
huŋkákepi “ancestors”
huŋkálowaŋpi “making relatives”
huŋkápi “makes relatives”
huŋkátačan “pipe rack”
Huŋku “mother”
Iápi “language”
icáhpe hu “knocked down stem-purple cone flower”
iciglapšunpšunyaŋ inyaŋ “piled up rocks-stone cairn”
igmú “cat”
Ihaŋkeia “at the end”
Ihaŋktoŋwaŋ “camps at end”
Ihaŋktoŋwaŋ wiŋyaŋ “Yankton woman”
Ihaŋktoŋwaŋla “little camps at end”
Ihuŋnikiya “competed”
Ikcé oyáte “Real people”
ikcé wicáša “ordinary man”
Iktómi “Trickster”
iktómi wicáša “spider man”
iníkaġapi wókeya “sweat lodge”
inípi “sweat lodge”
Iŋyaŋ “Rock”
iŋyaŋ hócola “stone ring”
iŋyaŋ pšunka “boulder”
iŋyaŋ pte “buffalo rock”
iŋyaŋ šuŋkawakaŋ “horse rock”
iŋyaŋ taŋka “big rock”
iŋyaŋ tataŋka “buffalo rock”
iŋyaŋ wakáġa “rock image”
iŋyaŋ wakáġapi “rock images”
iŋyaŋ wakaŋ “medicine rock”
iŋyaŋ wiŋyaŋ “stone woman”
iŋyaŋ wiŋyaŋ nájiŋhaŋ “standing woman rock”
iŋyaŋhuhupi “fossil beds”
iŋyaŋmayá “cliff or rock ledge-shelf”
iŋyaŋpi “stones”
Iŋyaŋškaŋškaŋ “Rock that moves”
ioŋšila “compassion”
išnata awicalowaŋ “maiden advance to womanhood”
išnátí ca lowaŋ “sing of isolation”
išnátípi “dwelling alone”
isto “lower”

itaŋcaŋ “chief”
Itázipa “Bow”
Itázipco “Without bow”
Iiókağa “South wind”
Iwanyaka “review”
iwáši “to employ for a certain purpose”
Íwiyohiyaŋpaíta “East wind”
Íya “Eater”
jiálepa “meadowlarks”
kabláya “holy place”
kabláya “make level by beating”
Kabláya “Spread”
kabláya “to make level by beating, a holy place”
kacégu uŋ “short-coated one”
káğa “made”
káğápa págéya “cut open fleeing”
kagha paga “evil spirit hill-Harney Peak”
kaŋ “energy or life”
kaŋta “plum”
kéglézela “striped turtle”
Kemnichan “hill water wood”
kéya “turtle”
kicícapi “companions”
Kšabyá “Bent dark”
kúya “below”
kúyátakiya “down below”
Lakōl wakaŋ wicóhaŋpi “Lakota energy or life ways of doing”
Lakōl wicóhaŋ “a Lakota way of doing”
lakōl wōecoŋ “Lakota practice”
Lakota wóyaglaka kte yeló “you will speak Lakota”
Íkutkutekápi “trials”
maká “dirt”
maká “earth”
maká napeheyathedaŋ “mole dirt”
maká oké “quarry”
maká ok'e wówayyaŋke “vision pit”
maká pšunka “earth mound”
Maká wicáša sutá “Hard man of earth”
makáceğa “pottery”
Makáiyuta tokáhe kiŋ “the first survey”
makásiomiyaŋ caŋkú ahócoka “road around the whole world”
Makáškaŋškaŋ “Earth that moves”
makáto “blue earth paint”
makázi “yellow paint”
makóhloka “cave”

makōšla “bare ground”
makōwakicipa “light hollow-depression”
Mató Napé Pahá “Bear Paw Butte”
Mató napé pahá “Bear paw butte”
Mató Pahá “Bear Butte”
Mató Típila “Bears Lodge”
Mdewakan “spirit lake-Mille Lacs”
Mdewakanṭonwan “dwellers of the spirit lake”
míla “knife”
Mitákuyepi “my relatives”
Miye yeló “this is me”
mni wakan “spirit lake-devils lake”
mniháha “laughing water-Sioux falls”
načá hereditary “headman”
naḡi’ “spirit”
nahmá “hide it-cache pit”
napápašdečapi “span-the distance between the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger when stretched out”
nape “hand”
napóštan “pour out swelling-prairie coneflower”
natá “head”
núniyan “wandering-lost”
Océti šakówiṅ “seven council fires”
oglé “placed-set”
ohe káḡapi “making place”
ohé okitaṅin “manifesting special place”
ohé waunṅyeya “offering place”
ohé wicóti “village-camp place”
ohé wócekiye “prayer place”
Ohépi “places”
ohépi okitaṅin “manifesting special places”
Ohépi tókéca wanyanḡka “to see different places”
ohépi wakámna “gathering places”
ohépi waštéštie “good places”
ohépi waunṅyeya “offering places”
ohépi wócekiye “prayer places”
óhiṅnini “eternal-always”
Ohútkan “the beginning of things”
Oinažiṅta “the place of standing”
Ok’a makáblu “dirt digger” archaeologist
Okáḡapi “model”
okáḡe “creation”
okáhnihpica šni “mystery”
óké “dug”
okólakiciye “traditional society”

olówaŋ “song”
omákiŋća “deer lair”
Ománi škaŋ “Moves walking”
Ománi škaŋ hócoka “Moves walking altar”
oŋjinjŋtka “wild rose”
oóyuhpa “temporary place of resting”
opáŋipi “offerings”
ótanŋ “visible”
ouŋye “domain”
owaŋka wakaŋ “sacred place”
owáŋyaŋke “sacred vision”
owáŋyaŋpi “acts of sacrifice”
owénape “place of shelter”
owícahe “grave”
oyáte “people”
Oyúma “to confirm”
pahá caŋháhake “buffalo hump hill”
Pahá pajóla “a prominent, conspicuous hill”
pahí “gathered up”
Pahiŋ “Porcupine”
pejihóta “sage”
pejŋwacáŋga “sweet grass”
pejúta awícaŋspuya “itch medicine-common yarrow”
pejúta heyōka “clown medicine-scarlet globe mallow”
Pejúta Pahá “Medicine Hill”
Péia “Fire”
Pílámaya “Thank you”
píya kága “transformed”
pséhte “ash”
pte hcáka pa “buffalo skull”
pte oyáte “buffalo people”
Pteháhiŋšma lúta “Red buffalo robe”
Ptehiŋcala Caŋnuŋpa Awáŋyaŋka “Keeper of the Calf Pipe”
ptemákokawaze “buffalo wallow”
pteówaci “buffalo wallow dance”
ša “red”
Ša “scarlet red”
sagyé “cane”
šaké “talon”
Šaŋ ti oyáte “white lodge people”
sapuŋ “black coated one”
si “feet”
šicuŋ “in a thing which is spirit or spirit-like”
sicuŋ “spirit”
siyúte “foot measure”

šina sápa “black robe”
Sisítoḡwan “slimy ones”
ská uḡ “white coated one”
Škaḡ “power working”
Škaḡškaḡ “movement and power expressing living energy i.e., spirit but it is something you cannot see”
Šuḡk “Dog”
šunḡka “dog”
šunḡkawakaḡ “horse”
šunḡkciḡca oti “wolf den”
tab waḡkáyeyapi “throwing the ball”
tacaḡ “body”
íacaḡja “buffalo heart”
tahá gmigméla “raw-hide disk”
táhca “deer”
táhca itópta sapa “black streak faced deer”
Táhca siḡtésapela wicása “Black tail deer man”
tahiḡšpa “bone awls”
T'akini “born again”
Takója huḡkákepi kiḡ wócekiye kákiya yo “grandson the ancestors prayed over there in that place”
taku akaḡntu wakaḡ maka el wakaḡ “that which is mysterious-sacred up above is mysterious-sacred on earth”
Íáku oḡ “the reason why”
íaku toḡ toḡ “something physical”
Tákuškaḡškaḡ “Power working”
Taóyate “His people”
taśisake “nails or hoofs of animals”
Tataḡka “Bull buffalo”
tataḡka hócoka “buffalo altar”
Tataḡka slohaḡ “Slow buffalo”
Taté “Wind”
taté iob kiḡ “four-winds”
taté iópa caḡ “four winds wood-directional staffs”
Tiḡpsinḡla itkáhca wi “moon when turnip seed pods mature-June”
tióšpaye “extended family”
Títoḡwan “dwellers of the prairie”
tiyópa awaḡyaḡka “intercessor”
tiyópa wákaḡ “sacred door-entrance”
tiyópapi “doors”
tob kiḡ “four-winds”
tobiób kiḡ “four-by-four”
Tokáhe “First to go”
Tókaiápi “a foreign language”
Tokápa “First born”

Ītóketu oyáka oie “definitions”
tóksape “his-her wisdom”
toŋ “emission of power”
toŋ 'toŋ “that which has physical properties”
tozi “green”
tukiwinuŋkala “mussel shell”
tuŋ 'kaŋ “sacred stones”
tun'kaŋ “grandfather”
tun'kaŋ spirit stones”
tunsláognake “snail shell”
Unktehi “Holy being”
Unktehi “water being”
uŋci maká “grandmother earth”
uŋhcéla yúta oítaŋcaŋ “peyote eating leader”
Uŋktehi “Difficult water”
Wa “I”
Wa “refers to the being which possesses *kaŋ*”
waciŋkiksuya “to remember all things well”
wágle wóšŋapi “altar”
wágle wóšŋapi “I put-place myself in sacrifice.”
wagmúha “medicine-spirit rattle”
wáгна “I lay-place.”
wáгна wosnapi “altar of sacrifice”
wahiŋ “flint point”
wahiŋ' “flint”
wahiŋheyapablu “prairie dog hills”
wahiŋpi “flint points”
wahinyajice “down-fur”
Wahpékute “shoot between leaves”
Wahpetoŋwan “leaf dwellers”
wahpiwizilya “sand bar willows”
wakakaŋša “story-teller”
wakámna “gathering”
wakaŋ “energy-life”
wakaŋ kága “act of worship”
wakaŋ kágapi “acts of worship”
wakaŋ olówan “sacred song”
wakaŋ wicóhan “energy-life way of doing”
wakaŋ wicóhanpi “energy-life ways of doing”
wakaŋoyé “spirit track”
Wakantaŋka “god-creator”
Wakantaŋka “Great mystery”
wakaŋya wówanŋanke “sacred vision”
wakát'ozapi “stone hammer”
wakiksuya “receive communication from the spirits”

wakiksuyapi “memories”
Wakiñyan “Thunder being”
wakiñyan hohpi “thunder beings nest-the needles”
Wakiñyan lita “Red thunder”
wakšica “bowl”
wakšica woniya “spirit bowl”
wakšicapi “bowls”
wamáni ti “bear den”
wanági cañku “spirit roads”
wanági waci “ghost dance”
wanági wopahta “spirit bundle”
wanágicañku “spirit road”
wanágitamakoce “the world of spirits.”
wanágitipi “dwelling of the spirits”
wanágitipi “spirit lodge”
wanáhcapi “flowers”
wañbli “eagle”
Wañbli glešká “Spotted eagle”
wañbli hohpi “eagle nest”
Wañbli táñka “Big Eagle”
wañkátakiya “up above”
wañkipaksapi “lizards”
wápaha “ceremonial staff with feathers tied on to it”
wápaha “ceremonial staff”
wapáhtapi “tobacco ties”
wápetokeca “markers”
wasé “red earth paint”
wasná “pounded meat”
Waštéhca uñ “very good use”
wašun “small animal den”
wašun niyá “breathing cave-wind cave”
wašun šunčila “fox den”
wašun šunkmánitu “coyote den”
wašun wamákaškan “animal den”
wašunpi “small animal dens”
Wasútoñ wi “harvest moon-August”
Wáta “Boat”
Wawaká “Strip quill”
Wawiyewakiyapi “I recognized some things”
wawóslata “hollow bones-ornaments”
wayúhtata “food offering”
wayúhtatapi “food offerings”
wayúhtatapi “things offered in sacrifice”
Wayúieska “to translate”
Wayúpika táku hwo “whose expertise”

Wazí “pine tree”
wazí “pine”
Wazíyata “North wind”
Wazíyata wicáhpi “Pole Star”
weoyáte kin “blood of the people”
Wewake (no translation)
Wi “sun”
Wi škaṣkaṣkaṣka “Sun that moves”
Wí wiṅ “Female sun”
wiacéciti “sundogs”
wicá “a male of the human species, a man”
wicá “male”
wicágnakápi “scaffold burial”
wicágnakápi “to lay out a body”
wicáгнаška “gold-buffalo current”
wicáhapi “grave”
wicáhcala “old man, precious aged man”
Wicáhpi hiṅhpáya “Falling star”
wicálapi “belief”
wicánatašloka “dry human skull”
wicáša “man”
wicáša pahiy “porcupine man”
wicáša pejúta “medicine man”
wicáša wakaṅ “holy man”
wicáša wakaṅ’ “medicine men”
Wicáške “spirit wrap”
wiciṅcala šakówiṅ “seven little girls”
Wicó uṅ “behaving like a relative”
wicóahoṅe “custom”
wicóahoṅepi “customs”
wicócajeyate “tradition”
wicócajeyatepi “traditions”
wicóh’anṅpi “ways of doing”
wicóicage “ages”
wiṅoni “life”
wiṅoni “life-continuance”
wicóti tuṅkaṅ “camp stone”
wicówoyakepi “true stories”
wihmuṅge “witch medicine”
wiṅjanjaṅ “sun beams-rays”
wilecala “crescent moon”
winúhcala “old woman-precious aged woman”
wiṅ “female”
Wiṅkte “becoming female”
wiṅktepi “Lakota third gendered individuals”

wiŋyaŋ wóasniya “woman healer”
wípazutkan “June berry”
wisaŋye “white paint”
Wiškaŋškaŋ “Sun that moves”
witaŋšna yámnimni “three maidens”
witápiha “horned toads”
witaŋšnaŋi “woman’s little place”
wiwaŋyaŋk wacípi “sun dance”
wiwaŋyaŋk wacípi ti “sun dance lodge”
wíwila oŋila “little water spirits”
wíwila oŋila otóŋwahe “little water spirit village”
Wíwiŋ “Female sun”
Wiyóhpeyata “West wind”
wócekiye “prayer”
wōeconpi “practices”
wóksape “wisdom”
wók’upi “feeding”
wóokihi “power-potency”
wóoŋspekiye “teaching”
wóoŋspekiyepi “teachings”
Wóope “Law”
wópiye “medicine bundle”
wóšice “negative-bad”
wóslolyapi “knowledge”
wóslolye “knowledge”
wosna “sacrifice-something offered.”
wówakaŋ “sacredness”
Wówakaŋ maká kiŋ yeló “the earth is sacred”
wówaŋpetogtoŋpi “sacred marks”
Wówapi “books”
wowasag’kdepi “landmarks”
wówaš’ake “energy”
wōwitaŋ “an honoring”
Wówiyukcaŋ Lakota kiŋ “The Lakota philosophy”
Wówiyukcaŋpi “thoughts”
Wóyaglaka táku hwo “what are you talking about”
wóyakapi “a narration”
wóyake “to tell”
wóyu haŋble yuha “vision carrier”
yukini “to live again”
Yumnimni “Little whirlwind”
yušpi “picked”
yutaŋ “felt”
yutōkeca “transfiguration”
yuwákaŋ “to make energy-life”

zuzéca “snake”