



**Figure 1.** Sitting Bull (*Tatanka Iyotake*), Hunkpapa Lakota chief photographed at Bismarck, Dakota Territory, by Orlando Scott Goff, July 31, 1881, shortly after he had returned from a four-year exile in Canada. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. X-31935.





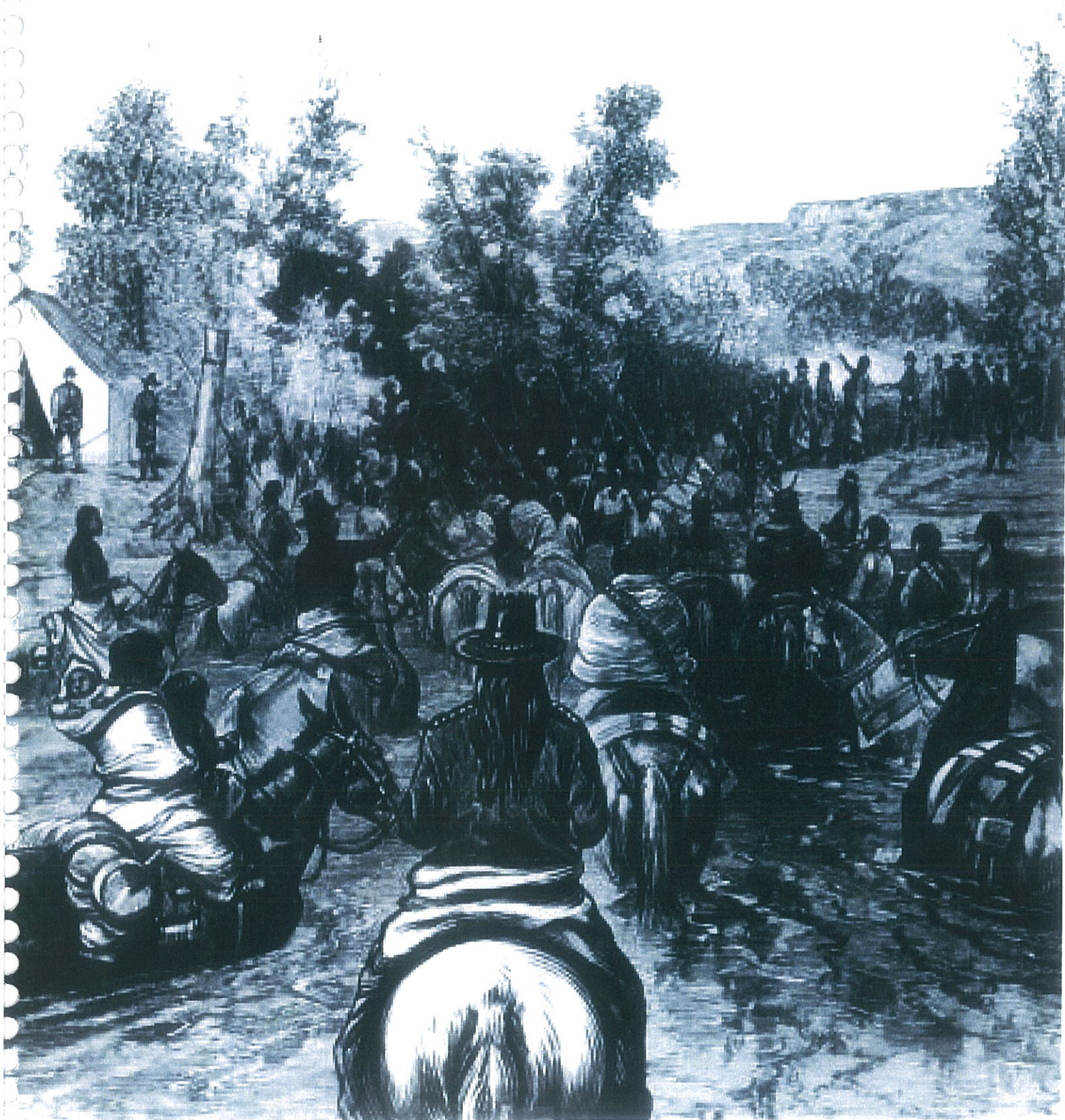
**Figure 2.** (Lower) Sitting Bull while a prisoner-of-war at Fort Randall, D.T. Drawing by Rudolf Cronau, 25 October 1881. Lamplin-Wunderlich Gallery, New York City. (Upper) A drawing by Sitting Bull while he was at Fort Randall, 1882 (National Anthropological Archives, Cat. No. INV 08589900). His horses are heavy-bodied; and his human hands are drawn with the four fingers and thumb extended. These details are radically different than the figures in the Wilkins Ledger, demonstrating that Sitting Bull could not have been the artist.





**Figure 3.** Historical marker at the abandoned site of La Grace, Dakota Territory, testifying to the sometime presence there of Sitting Bull, as a visitor. Charles A. Wilkins was a Justice of the Peace in Campbell County, in which La Grace was located. He told his family that the ledger of drawings was a gift to him from Sitting Bull, after he allowed the chief to sleep overnight as a guest in the jail at La Grace, when no other accommodations were available.





**Figure 4.** "Sitting Bull Indians Crossing the Yellowstone River, near Fort Keogh, to Surrender to General Miles." Engraving from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*, July 31, 1880. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. X-33625. Among the exiles with Sitting Bull in Canada were several hundred Oglala, led by Chief Big Road. Here, they are seen crossing to the south bank of the Yellowstone River, at present Miles City, Montana.





**Figure 5.** Big Road (*Canku Tanka*), 1891. He was chief of the Oglala from Crazy Horse's village who had spent three years in exile in Canada with Sitting Bull. They spent the winter of 1880-81 at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory; then were sent to Standing Rock Reservation, Dakota Territory, for one year; and in May, 1882, were returned to live with their Oglala relatives at Pine Ridge Reservation in the later state of South Dakota. Autry National Center, Los Angeles, CA, Neg. No. P\_36977.



*a.* Cankutanka, Big-Road. Big-Road is often called Good-Road because a road that is big or broad and well traveled is good. The tracks on both sides of the line indicating a mere path show that the road is big. The bird flying through the dusk indicates the rapidity of travel which the good road allows. This is the same chief as the following:

Fig. 540, Big-Road as appearing in Red-Cloud's Census, No. 96. The broad and big road is indicated by the artist of that series as having distinctly marked sides and horsetracks between these roadsides. In this instance as in several others it is obvious that the ideographic device was not fixed but elastic and subject to variation, the intention being solely to preserve the idea.

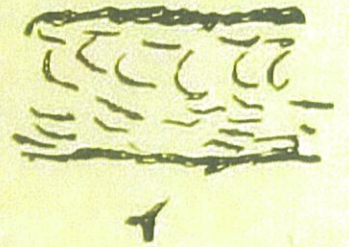


FIG. 540.—Big-Road.



FIG. 621.

Fig. 621.—Canku-sapa, Black-Road. The Oglala Roster. This road, on which horse tracks are shown, is distinguished from that of the head chief Big-Road (*a*, on Pl. XXVI) as being much more narrow and obscure, therefore black.

**Figure 6.** Pictographic name glyphs of Big Road, and a leading member of his village, Black Road (Canku Sapa), illustrating the intended meaning of the names (from Mallery, 1894: Figs. 540 & 621). A “big road” is broad and easily traveled; while a “black road” is one that is narrow and difficult to traverse. A “black road” is the road to war. According to his brother, Black Road was a “war prophet” (Meany, 1907). No portrait of him is known to exist. Many details throughout the Wilkins Ledger, which will be discussed in sequence, identify Black Road as the artist.



(?) **Black Road**<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> ♂ (M)  
(1836 - ), #37123

The nationality of (?) **Black Road** was Siksicela Itazipaco Lakota Sioux.<sup>1</sup> Also known as (?) Canku Sapa.<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> (?) Black Road was born in 1836.<sup>1,2,3</sup> Another source states that his was also listed with a birthdate in 1837.<sup>4</sup> He married (?) **Brule Woman** circa 1866.<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> (?) was listed as the "Head of the Household" on the US Indian Census Rolls at **Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, Shannon Co., South Dakota, USA**, on July 1, 1890.<sup>1</sup> (?) was listed as the "Head of the Household" on the US Indian Census Rolls at **Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, White Clay District, Shannon Co., South Dakota, USA**, on July 1, 1892.<sup>2</sup> (?) was listed as the "Head of the Household" on the US Indian Census Rolls at **Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, White Clay District, Shannon Co., South Dakota, USA**, on July 1, 1894.<sup>3</sup> (?) was listed as the "Head of the Household" on the US Indian Census Rolls at **Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, White Clay District, Shannon Co., South Dakota, USA**, on June 30, 1895.<sup>4</sup>

Children of (?) Black Road and (?) **Brule Woman** Also known as (?) Sicangu Win.<sup>4</sup> Also known as (?) Sicangu Winyan.<sup>2</sup> **Brule Woman** was born in 1841.<sup>1,2</sup>  
(♀) **Holy Forehead** b. 1866<sup>2</sup> Also known as (?) Itohu Wakan.<sup>1</sup>  
(♂) **Little Battle** b. 1867<sup>1</sup> Also known as (?) Okicize Cikala.<sup>1</sup>  
(♂) **Uses His Arrows** b. 1871<sup>1</sup> Also known as (?) Wan Kicun.<sup>1</sup>  
(♀) **Breath** b. 1873<sup>1,3,4</sup> Also known as (?) Niyan.<sup>4</sup>  
(♂) **Sore** b. 1873<sup>2</sup> Also known as (?) Ranhan. Unsure of spelling.<sup>1</sup>  
(♂) **Holy Sword** b. 1873<sup>3,4</sup> Also known as (?) Mazakan Yuha.<sup>2</sup> Also known as (?) Mazakan Wakan.<sup>1</sup>  
(♀) **Breast** b. 1877<sup>2</sup> Also known as (?) Maku.<sup>1</sup>

#### Citations

1. [S47] 1890.
2. [S556] 1892.
3. [S269] 1894.
4. [S561] June 30th 1895.

**Figure 7.** Black Road, his wife Brule Woman (*Sicangu Win*), and their seven children---including triplets---as found on census lists for Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, 1890 – 1895 (from: [freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mikestevens/2010-p/p46.htm#i37123](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mikestevens/2010-p/p46.htm#i37123) ).

Several of the children's names are poorly translated, a common problem when the census takers showed up. The Lakota name of "Uses His Arrows" meant more nearly to collect or reclaim one's arrows, i.e., to be careful and not lose them (*Kicu*; Buechel, 1970: 305). "Breath" meant more nearly "To Heal," "To Revive," or *breathe* life into (*niyan*; Buechel, 1970: 364), very appropriate for the daughter of one of the tribe's most-noted healers. "Sore" was not intended as "aching," but referred to *open sores*, partially healed over. "Scabby" would be a fair translation (*han*; Buechel, 1970: 192). We recall that Black Road's great vision, which inspired his founding of the Sacred Bow Society, occurred while he was delirious and suffering from smallpox. He would, therefore, have been covered in scabs, hence the duplication of *hanhan*, meaning "lots of scabs." It seems an odd name to give to a daughter, but may have been intended as protective, and an honorific, because Black Road had *survived* a disease that killed so many others. "Holy Sword" is a puzzle, because *mazakan* refers only to a rifle or other firearm, never to a sword (Buechel, 1970: 334). The translation, therefore, should be "Holy Rifle," or "Holy Gun." If, instead, the English gloss is the correct portion, then the Lakota name should actually be *Miwakan* (Buechel, 1970: 337), or *Miwakan Yuha*: "He Has a Sword," or "Sword Bearer." This is more likely, since Black Road shows himself prominently carrying a sword in several of the drawings.





**Figure 8.** He Dog (*Sunka Bloka*), one of the Shirt Wearers, or senior councilors, of the Oglala Lakota, and the brother-friend, or war partner, of the noted war chief Crazy Horse. Photo by Daniel S. Mitchell, at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska, Sept. 1877, shortly before the Oglala of Crazy Horse's band fled into Canada, after their leader was killed.





**Figure 9.** He Dog and his brothers, the Sorebacks band, photographed at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, by C.C. McBride, ca.1894. The six standing are, from the left : Short Bull; his son Charles Short Bull; Bad Heart Bull; his son, Amos Bad Heart Bull; He Dog; and Spotted Elk. Spotted Elk was not related. The other three, older men were brothers. The two in front may be their other brothers, Little Shield and Lone Man. Nebraska Historical Society.

He Dog, a close associate of Black Road, recalled that he: "...was regarded with almost superstitious respect. 'He was a *real* magician,' said He Dog, 'a great medicine man.' He truly possessed medicines that healed and protected. His snake medicine was especially potent. When he used it on snake bites they did not even swell; and people came to him from far and near for help...The Sacred Bow [Plate 26] is the man's greatest single gift to his people" (Blish, 1934: 180).





**Figure 10.** Chief Standing Elk, leader of the Northern Cheyenne at Pine Ridge, was the maternal uncle of Black Road. Standing Elk's two sisters married a Sans Arc (*Itazipcola*) Lakota man named Stinking Bear about 1835, and later they joined the Oglala. The couple had two sons, Black Road, born in 1836, and Stinking Bear, named for his father, born in 1847 (One Feather, 2014). Photo by J.C.H. Grabill, at Pine Ridge, S.D., 1891. Library of Congress, Neg. No. LC-USZ-62-13538.





**Figure 11.** Detail of Figure 10. When Black Road and Stinking Bear returned to Pine Ridge, from their sojourn in Canada, in May, 1882, their uncle Standing Elk probably was the first one to greet them.





**Figure 12.** Stinking Bear (*Mato Hwinmna*---Buechel, 1970: 334 & 196), younger brother of Black Road. Photo by George Trager, at Pine Ridge, S.D., July 4, 1890. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. X31416. Like his brother, Stinking Bear was also considered a spiritual healer, with unique powers granted by a black bear mentor (One Feather, 2014). That encounter may be depicted in Plate 75.





**Figure 13.** Stinking Bear (left), with his war partner Hollow Wood, photo by George Trager, at Pine Ridge, S.D., July 4, 1890. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. X-31291. Late in the 1860s, the two men together, leading eleven compatriots, stole more than 100 head of horses from a Crow camp on the Yellowstone River (Meany, 1907).





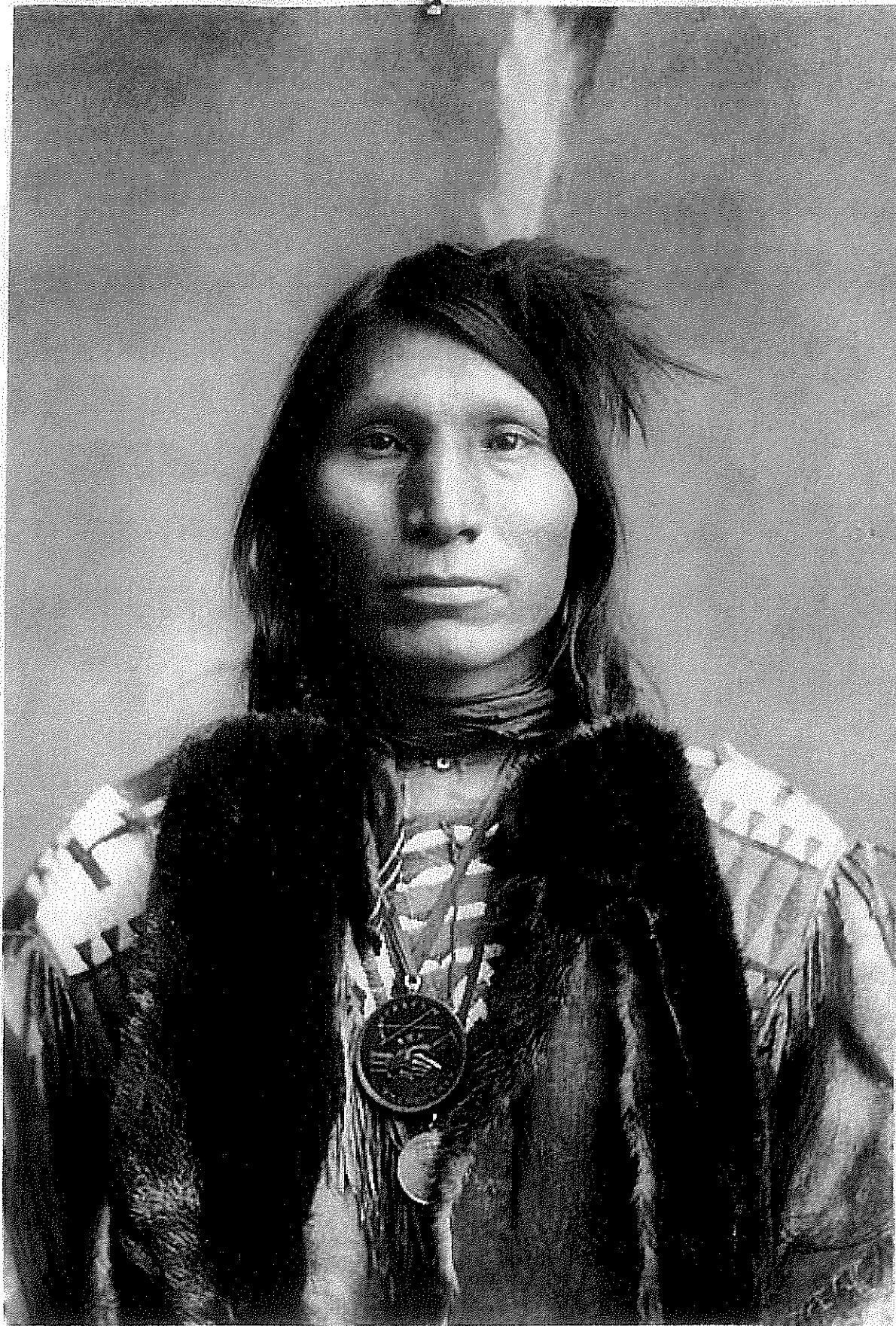
**Figure 14.** Stinking Bear (*Mato Hwinmna*), oil painting by Elbridge Ayer Burbank, at Pine Ridge, S.D., 1899, Private Collection. During the Battle of Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876, Stinking Bear was with Crazy Horse, in the diversionary force that swept around from the back side of Last Stand Hill and finished George Custer's 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry. He described a soldier who broke through the smoke, holding an empty pistol that he used like a club, until shot down with arrows (Stands in Timber, 2013: 403-04).





**Figure 15.** Brave Heart (*Cante Ohitika*), Oglala, a Lance Bearer of the *Cante T'inza* (Strong Heart) warrior society, ca. 1900. He was a close friend of Black Road, who testified for him in a Congressional investigation into damages suffered at the Pine Ridge Reservation during the Ghost Dance trouble in 1890 (Paul, 1994: 231).





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**Figure 16.** Good Eagle (*Wanbli Waste*), Oglala, photographed by Elliott & Fry, London, 1888, while traveling with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Another close friend, he testified for Black Road in 1891, in the same investigation into damages suffered by residents at Pine Ridge during the Ghost Dance uprising (Paul, 1994: 227).

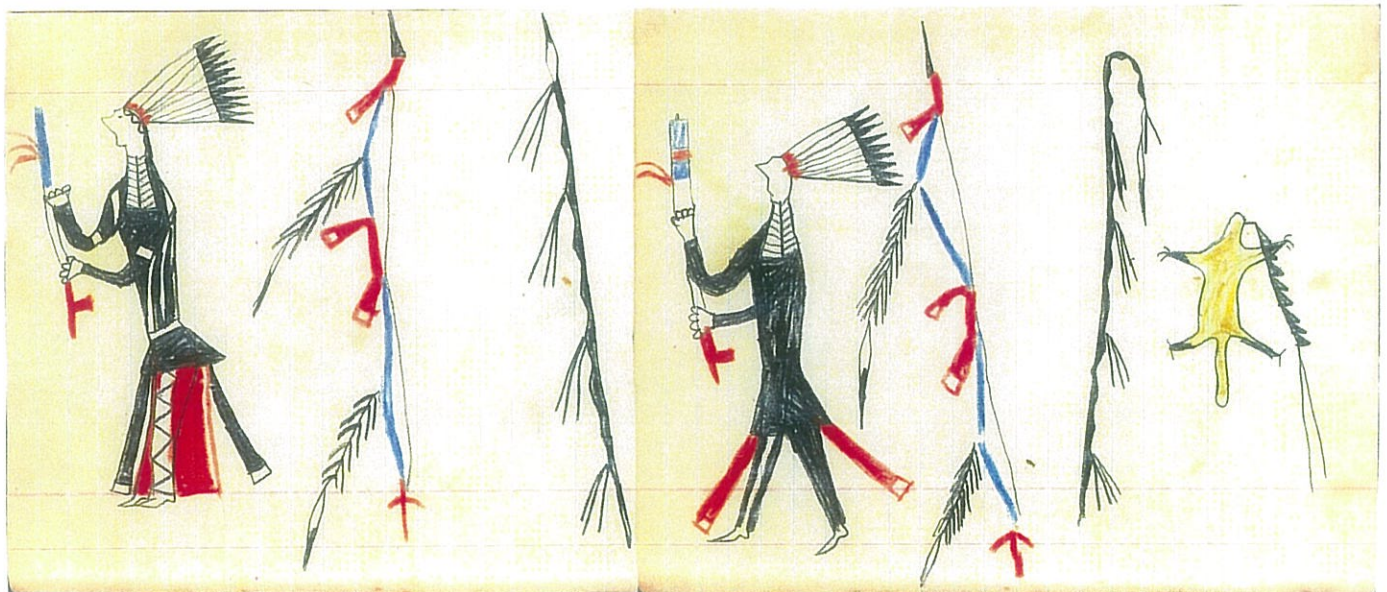
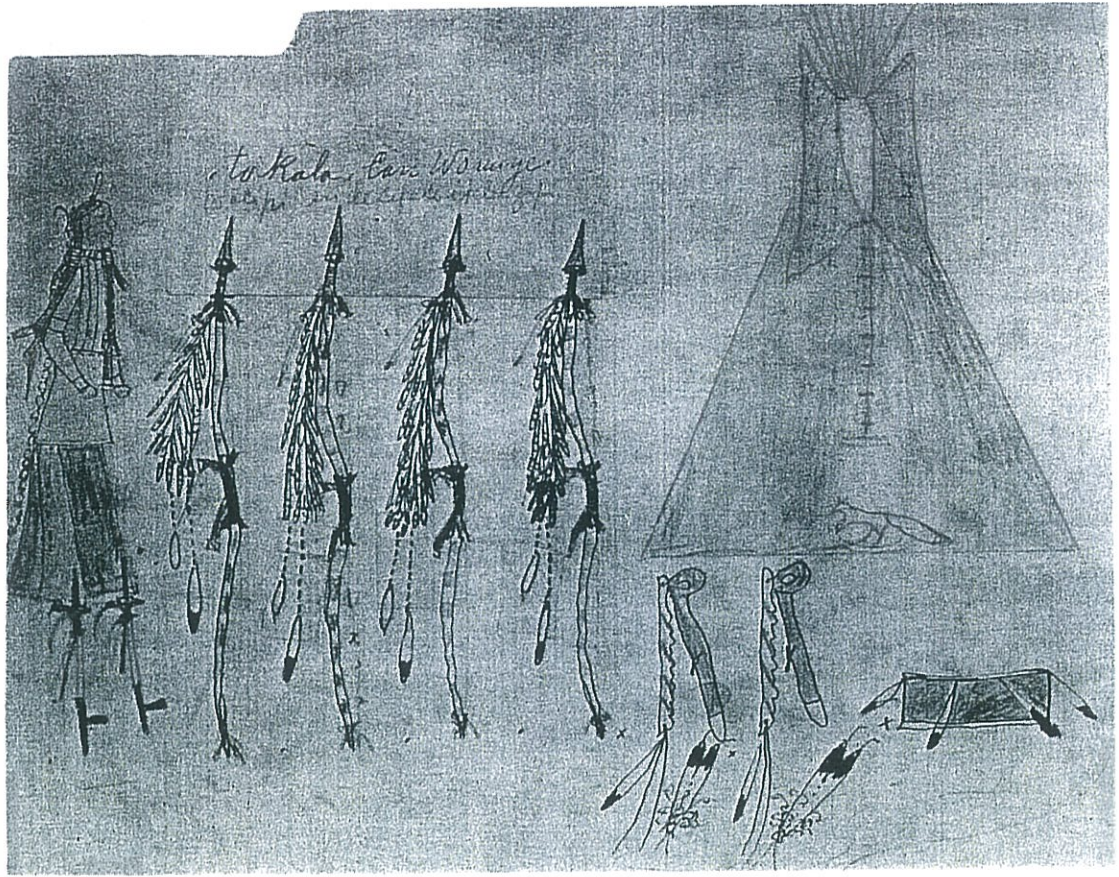
BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST





**Figure 17.** Black Elk (*Hehaka Sapa*) & Elk, Oglalas traveling with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, photo by Elliott & Fry, London, 1888. In the spring of 1881, while the Oglalas were interned at Fort Keogh, M.T., Black Road directed a ceremony for the benefit of Black Elk, to help him demonstrate a vision he had experienced (Neihardt, 1932: 156-176).





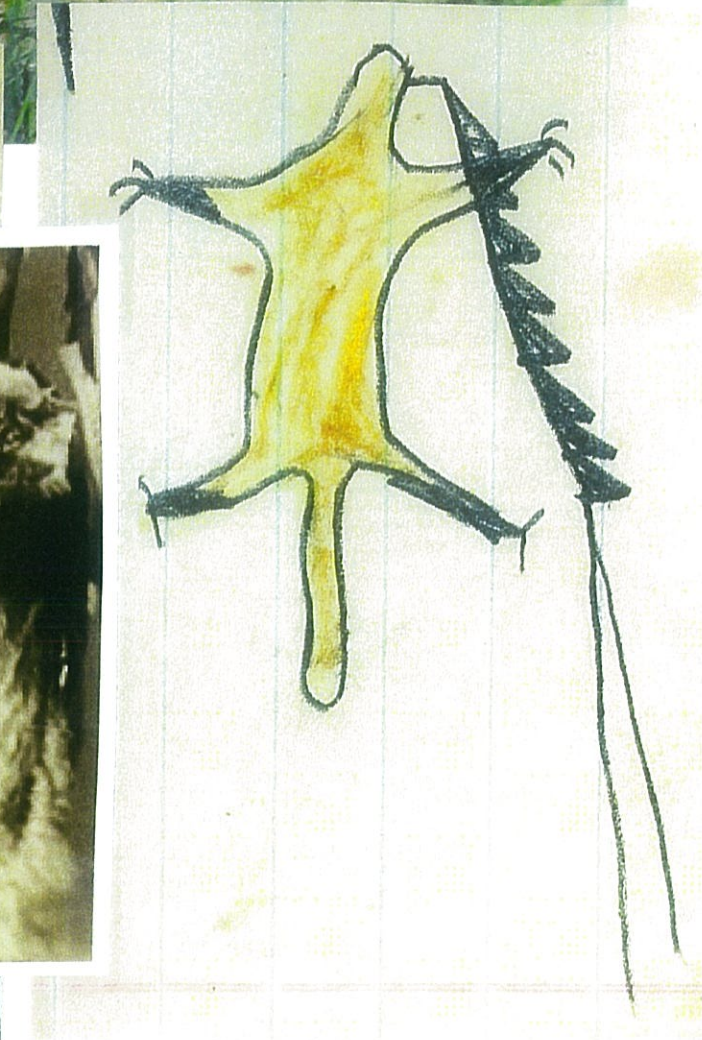
**Figure 18.** Officers and Regalia of the *Tokala* (Kit Fox) Warrior Society. (Bottom) **Plates 27** (right), & **28**. Two Pipe Bearers; two bow-lances, with one otter-wrapped straight lance and otter-wrapped crooked lance, are the emblems specified by Clark Wissler's Oglala informants (1912: 16). (Top) The regalia as depicted by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 114), included four bow-lances. The differences are not "mistakes," but probably represent variations in different years.





**Figure 19.** The *Tokala* Society otter lances, from Plates 27 & 28 (Center), compared with actual lances carried by Black Elk (left, compare Figure 17), and Standing Bear (right), as photographed in 1931 (John G. Neihardt Trust, Omaha, Nebraska).





**Figure 20.** The *Tokala* Society whips, as depicted in **Plate 27** (bottom, right); and as carried by Swift Dog (bottom, left), an Oglala photographed by F.A. Rinehart, Omaha, Nebraska, 1898 (Denver Public Library, Neg. No. x-31512). Although denominated as the “Kit Fox” society, the illustrations here, and in **Figure 18**, demonstrate that the actual canid associated with this warrior organization was the *kit* of the red fox species (*Vulpes vulpes*), shown at top. Note the white-tipped tail, and black legs. The kit fox (*Vulpes macrotis*) has grey legs and a black-tipped tail.

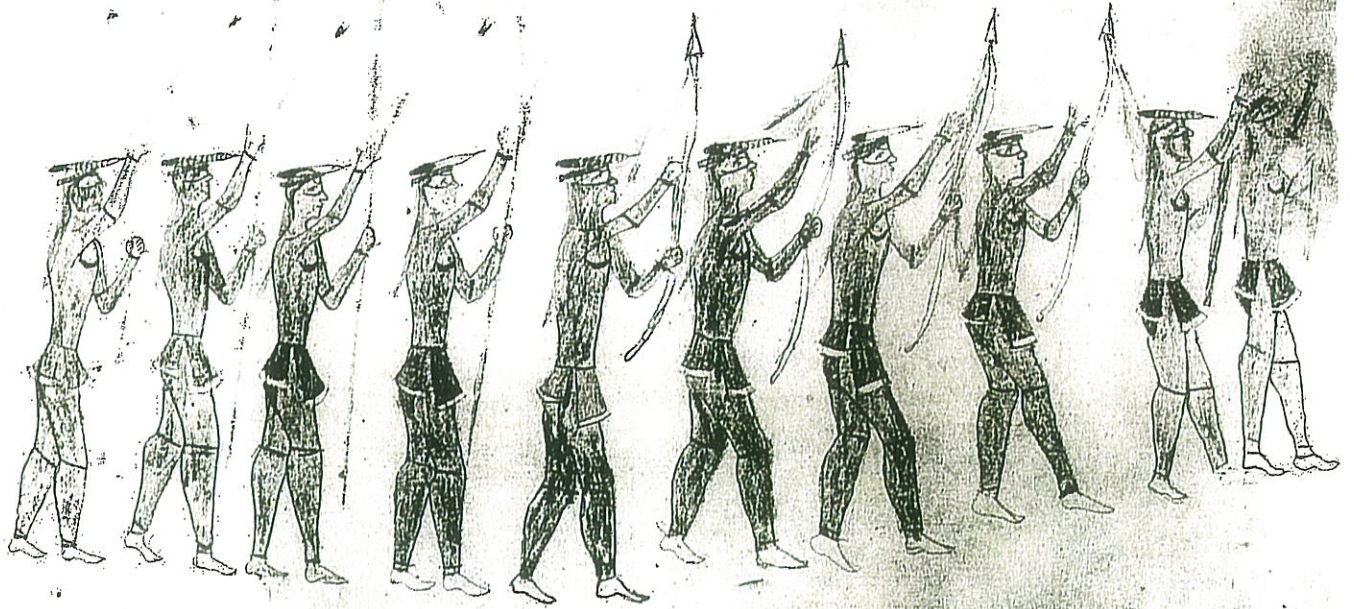




**Figure 21.** Cheyenne Contrary Warrior armed with a Bow-lance, 1870s. National Museum of Natural History, Cat. No. 166032\_08708100. Compare the red body paint, black lightning lines on the limbs, black buffalo “beard” at the ankle, and the bow-lance, with the figures of Black Road as founder of the Sacred Bow Society in **Figure 23**. Black Road's mother was a Northern Cheyenne woman. As a youth, he must often have visited his relatives in the Cheyenne camps, when he would have become familiar with the appearance and powers of the Contrary Warriors. Delirious with fever during the smallpox epidemic of 1850, the fourteen-year-old Black Road dreamed a synthesis of the Cheyenne and Oglala warrior traditions, combining the appearance and weapon of the Cheyenne Contrary Warriors, with the *Tokala* Warriors of the Oglala, to create a new brotherhood, the Sacred Bow Warrior Society (Blish, 1934).



*ita Zipa wakan ye Haki'yan Kapi*



No. 99

No. 99. EARLY SOCIAL LIFE AND ITS REORGANIZATION

A note in Lakota. Translation: "The Sacred Bow racing."

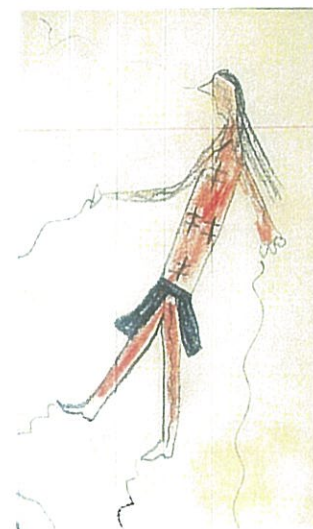
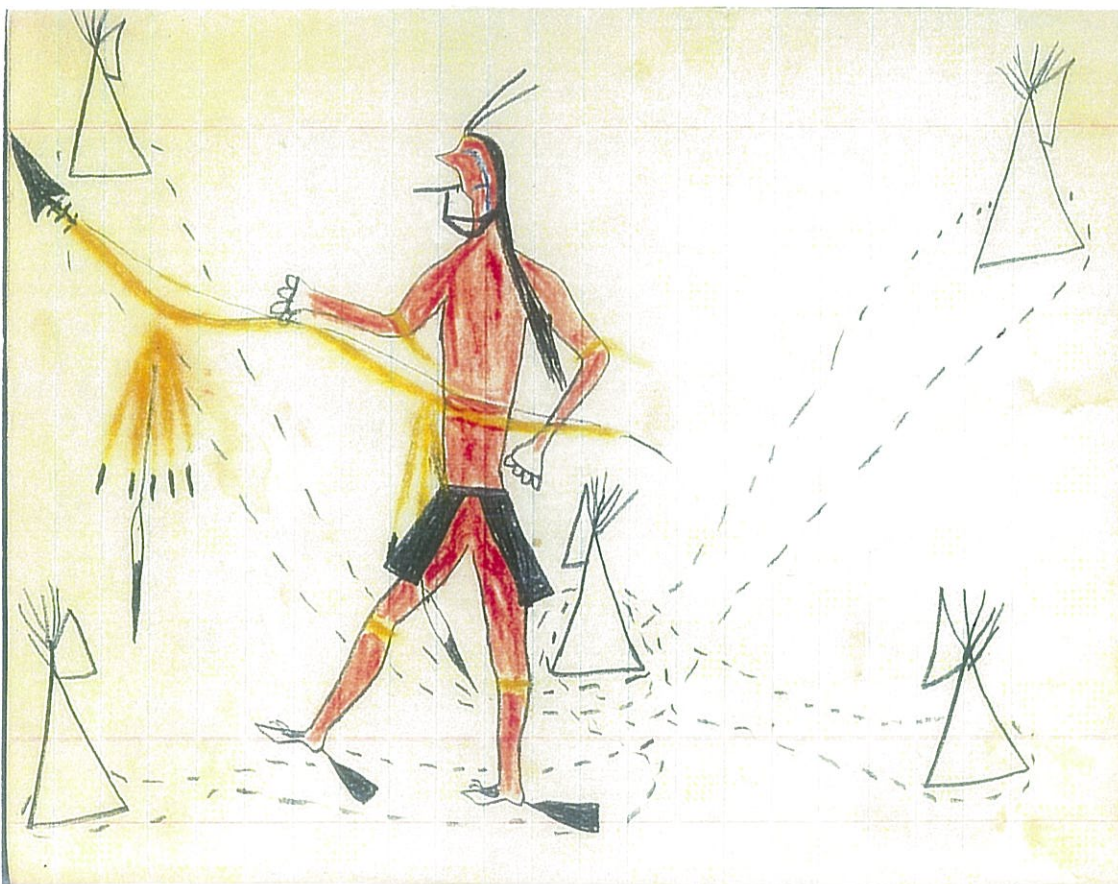
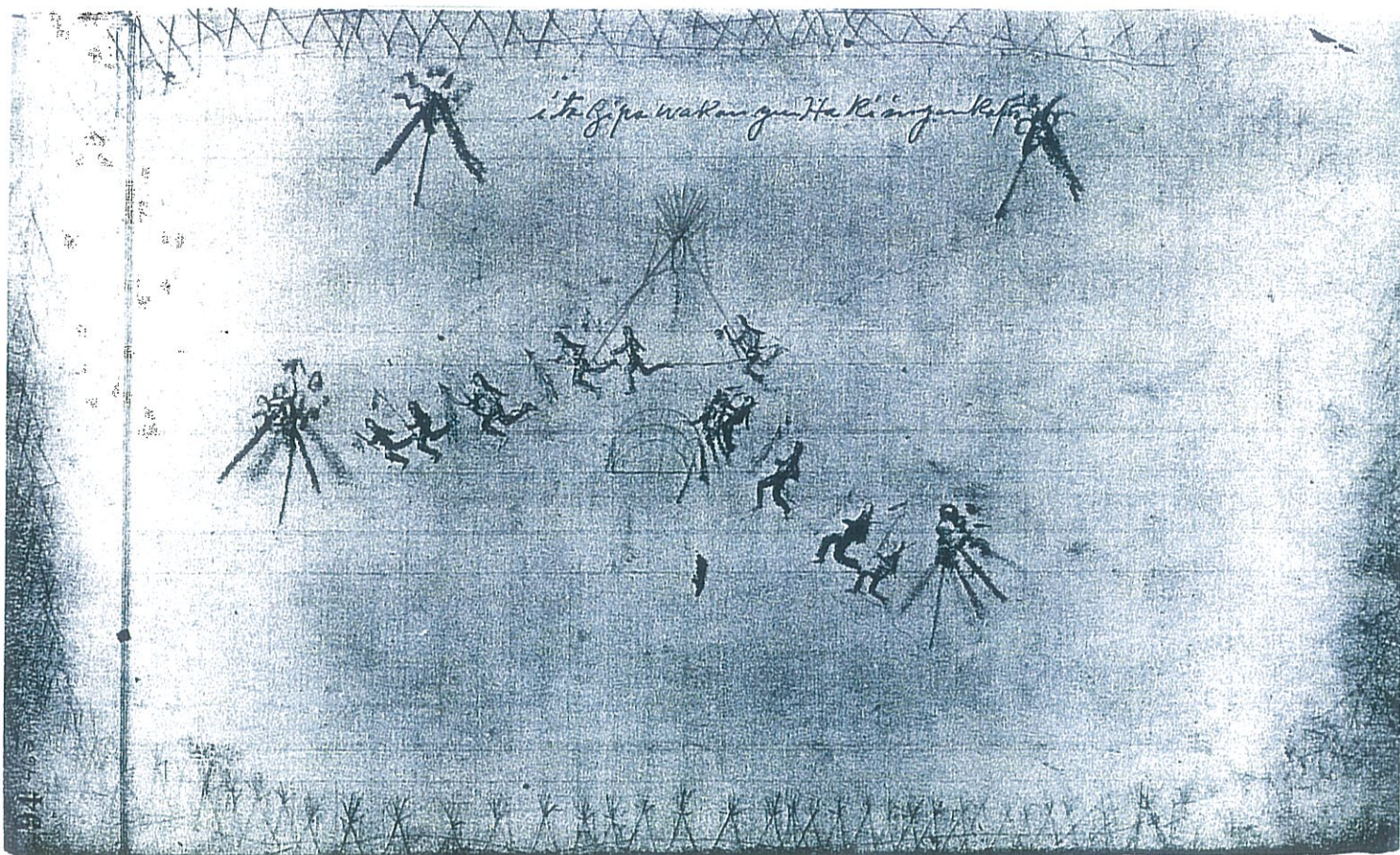
Close-up of the opening of the Sacred Bow ceremony.

The four bow carriers, the four hanger carriers, and two extra men (probably the official club bearers

of whom He Dog tells me but whom Wissler does not mention), who are to perform the ceremony, are shown in the opening rite. Just emerged from the sacred lodge, they stand facing the west, the right hand raised in appeal to the Great Spirit. Then they will start on their race toward the west.

**Figure 22.** The ten officer candidates for the Sacred Bow Warrior Society, about to begin the initiation rite, called the Sacred Bow Racing, depicted in **Plate 26**. From Amos Bad Heart Bull, 1967: 184.





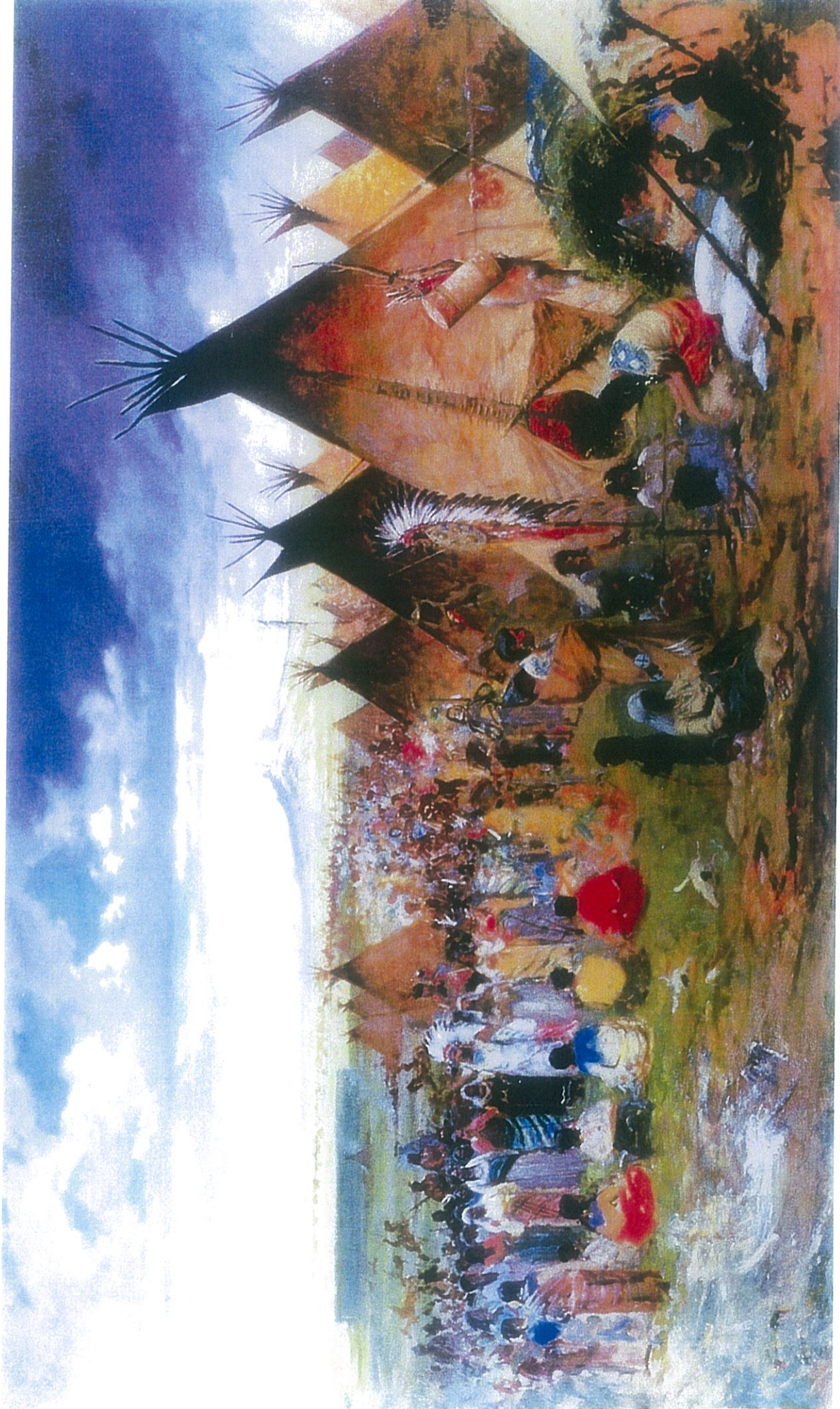
**Figure 23.** (Bottom, left) self-portrait by Black Road, directing the Sacred Bow Racing ceremony, from Plate 26. The dotted lines chart the course of the race, from the central tipi, to and around each of the four “goals,” finishing at the starting point. (Top) the same ceremony, with tripods substituted for the tipis, as depicted by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 182-83). (Bottom, right) alternate body painting design used by Black Road, when protecting a war horse, from Plate 24.





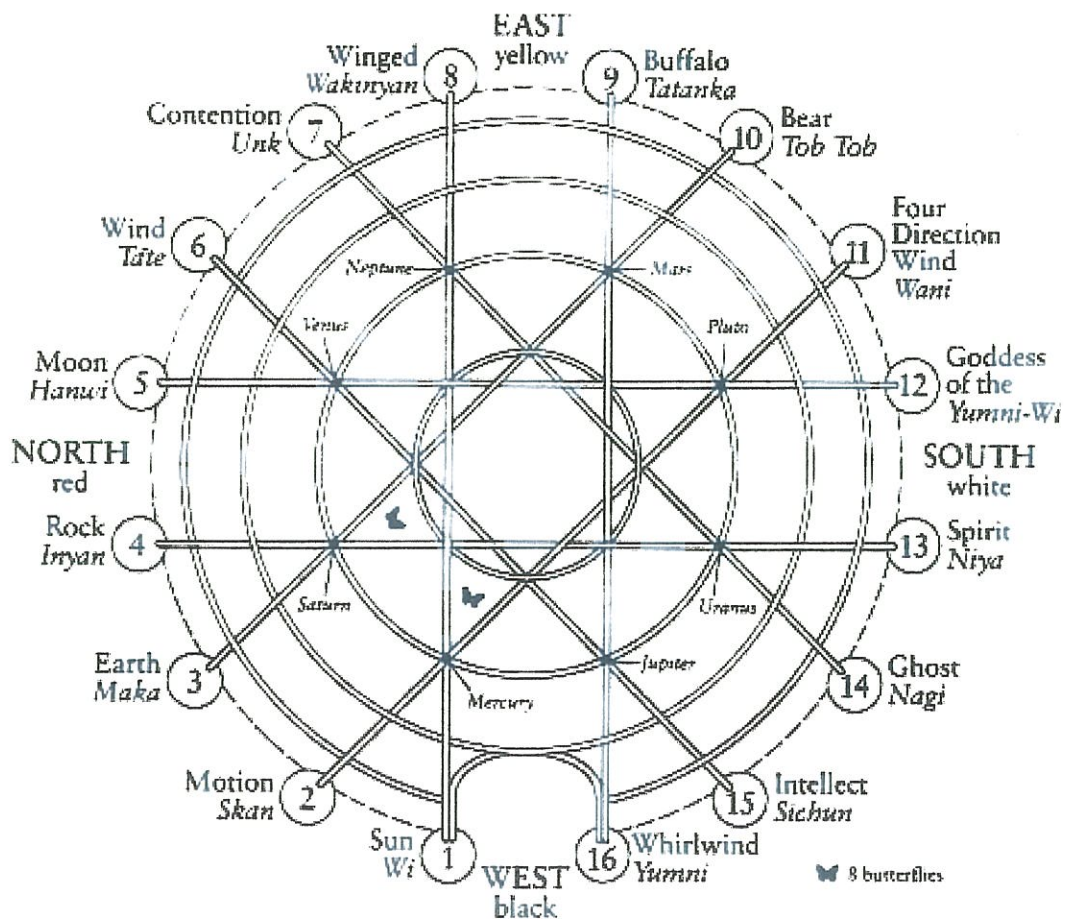
**Figure 24.** Effigy figures representing Crow enemies, tied to the “goal” tripods used in the Sacred Bow Racing ceremony, as shown in **Figure 23**, top. The officer candidates would strike each figure with their weapons as they ran by, as a public pledge for brave deeds in the next battle. (Left) Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, N.Y., Cat. No. 2946; L.: 32 in. (Center) Morning Star Gallery, Santa Fe; L. 22.5 in. (Right) National Museum of Natural History, Cat. No. E378361; L.: 25 in. All ca. 1860.





**Figure 25.** "Oglala Sioux Village, Southern Wyoming," by Jules Tavernier, 1874. Oakland Museum of California. Compare with **Plate 26 & Figure 23**. This painting of the same community wherein the Sacred Bow Racing ceremony occurred every couple of years, provides a visual scale for the extent of the course the initiates had to run. We can see leather tipis stretched far more than a mile into the distance.





**Figure 26.** Lakota Sweatlodge ceremony. (Bottom) an overhead view of the frame, formed of willow saplings planted in the ground, bent over and lashed into position. Note the top, central, quadrangular motif formed by the crossing willow saplings. (Top) An 1897 photograph during a pause in the ceremony, with the covering partly raised to allow the steam to escape and cool the bathers. Nebraska Historical Society.



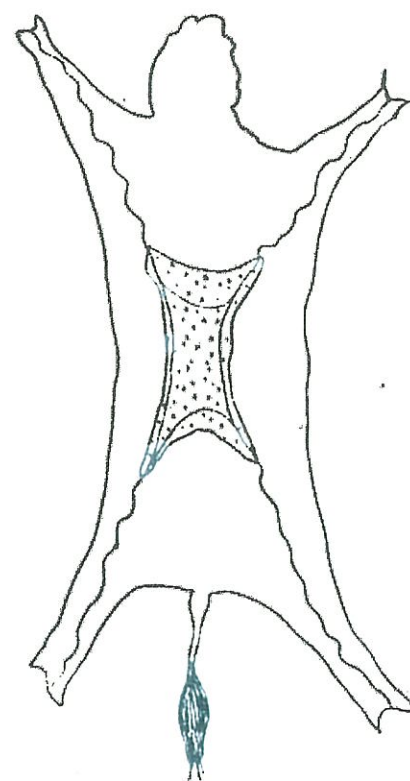
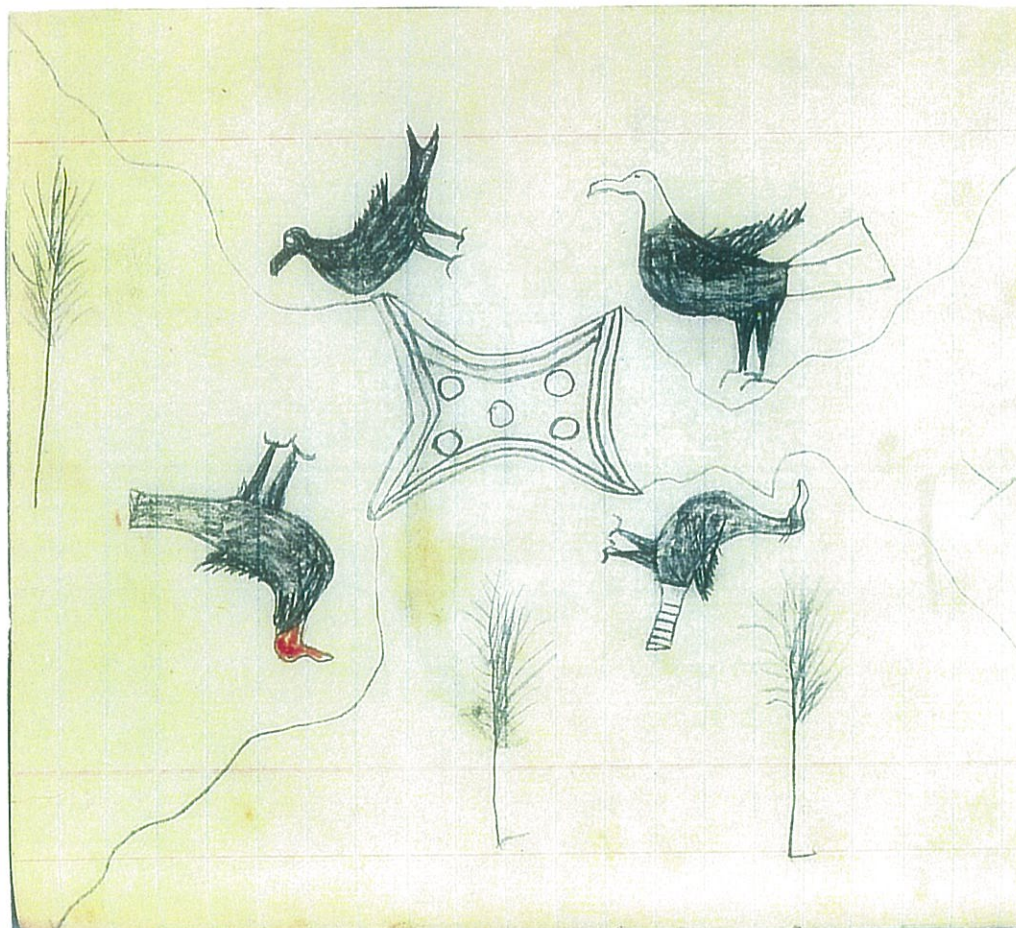
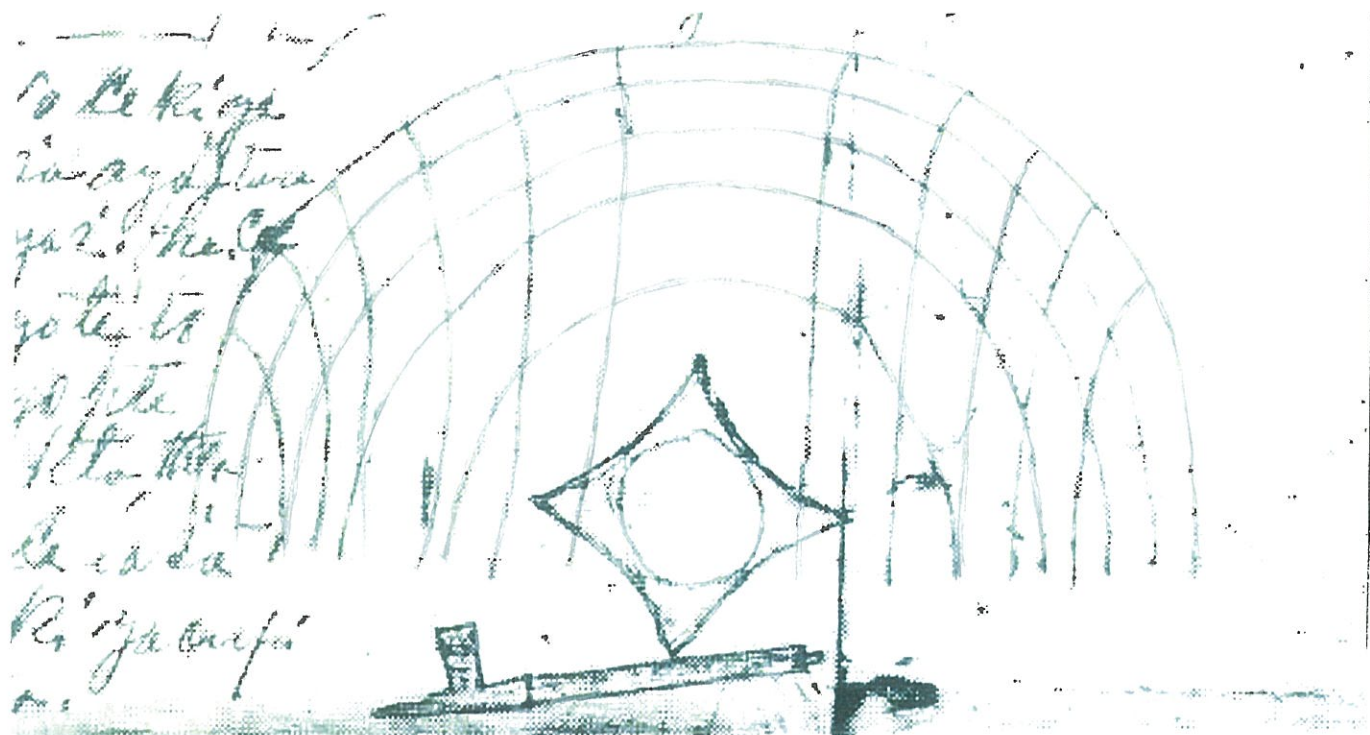


Fig. 24. Sketch of a Robe for the Medicine-bow Owner. Drawn by a Native.

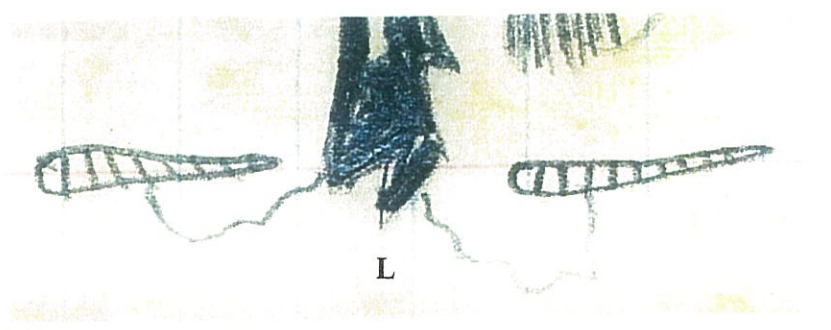
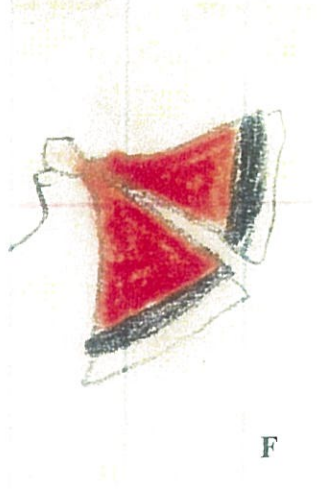
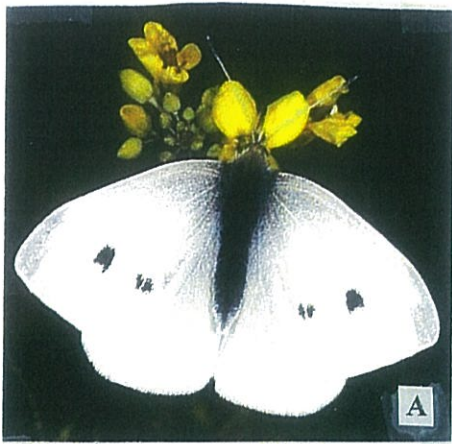
**Figure 27.** Lakota Sweatlodge ceremony. (Top) the lodge frame, lateral view; with an overhead view of the center pit into which the red-hot stones are placed. The quadrangular shape, which mirrors the same design formed at the top, center of the frame, is called *Yumnia* (Buechel, 1970: 644), and represents the cleansing power of the whirlwind. The same design (bottom, right) was painted on leather robes worn by owners of the four Sacred Bows of Black Road's warrior society (from Wissler, 1907: Fig. 24). The same, *Yumnia* motif in **Plate 15** (bottom, left), connotes a sweatlodge ceremony in progress. Black Road is documented as calling eagle spirits into his ceremonies to forecast victory (Meany, 1907).





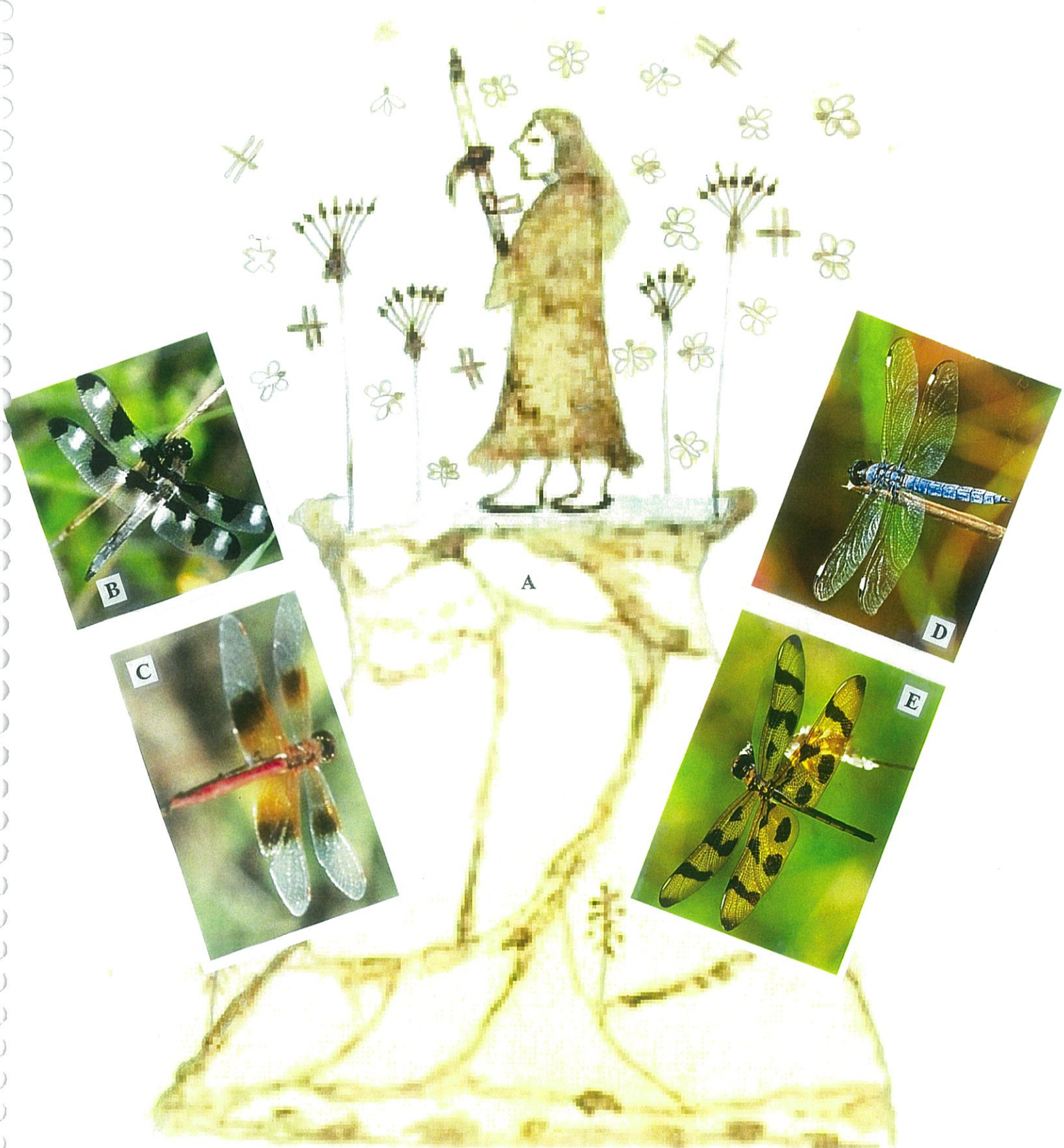
**Figure 28.** Creating Thunder Power, the protection of lightning. (Top) **Plate 24** unites the floating and irregular movements of butterflies, dragonflies, the magpie, and the slippery quality of the channel catfish (at left), to aid a war horse in eluding danger. Note that the lightning painted on the horse issues directly from the fingers of Black Road. (Bottom) two horses with identical lightning lines in a depiction by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 415) of horses painted by Black Road for the visionary ceremony of the young Black Elk (**Figure 17**), in 1881 (Neihardt, 1932: 162-176). (Center, right) Black Elk as dressed by Black Road for the 1881 ceremony, in a painting by Standing Bear (**Figure 19**). John G. Neihardt Trust, Omaha, Nebraska. (Left) Black Elk in 1937, in a pose illustrating the Sun Dance ceremony. Note the lightning lines painted on his arm and body; and compare with Black Road and the other figures.





**Figure 29.** Butterfly Power (*Kimimila Sicun*), to protect a war horse. South Dakota species: A- Cabbage White Butterfly (*Pieris rapae*); B- Bluish Spring Moth (*Lomographa semiclarata*); C- Plate 24; D- Regal Fritillary Butterfly (*Speyeria idalia*); E- Monarch Butterfly (*Danaus plexippus*); F- Plate 24; G- Two-tailed Tiger Swallowtail Butterfly (*Papilio multicaudata*); H- Western Tiger Swallowtail Butterfly (*Papilio nutulus*); I- Plate 24; J- Monarch Butterfly caterpillar; K- Tiger Swallowtail Butterfly chrysalis; L- Plate 24.

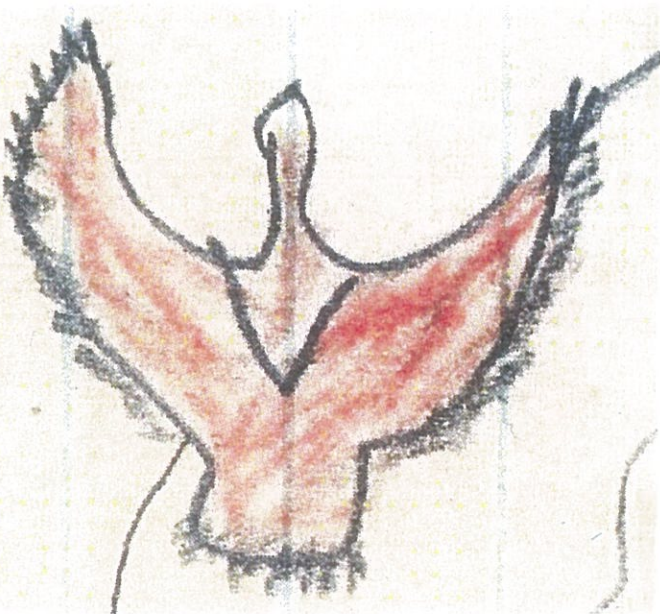
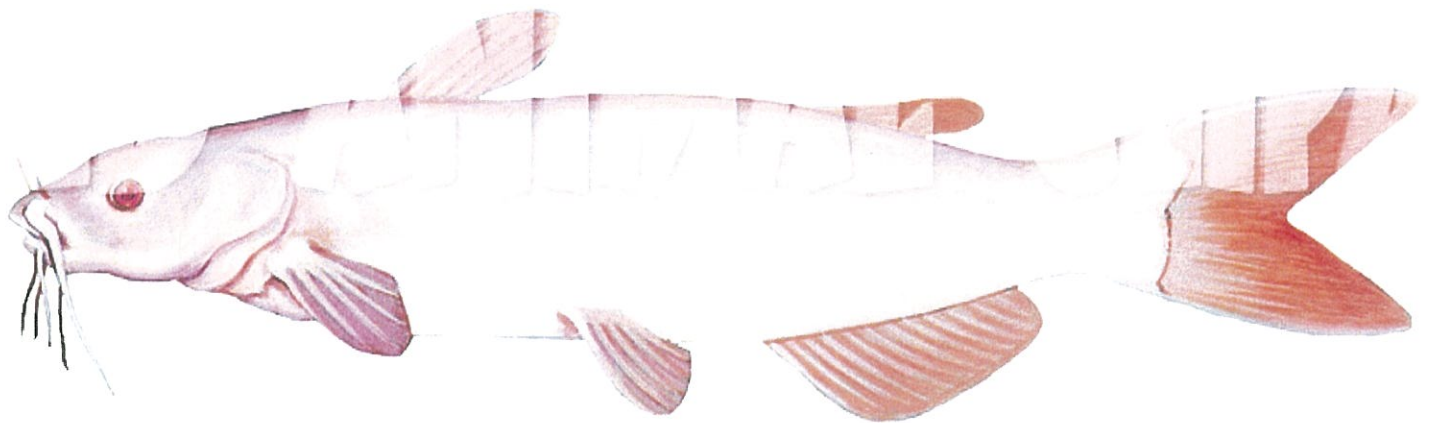




**Figure 30.** Acquiring evasive Power from butterflies and dragonflies during a vision quest.

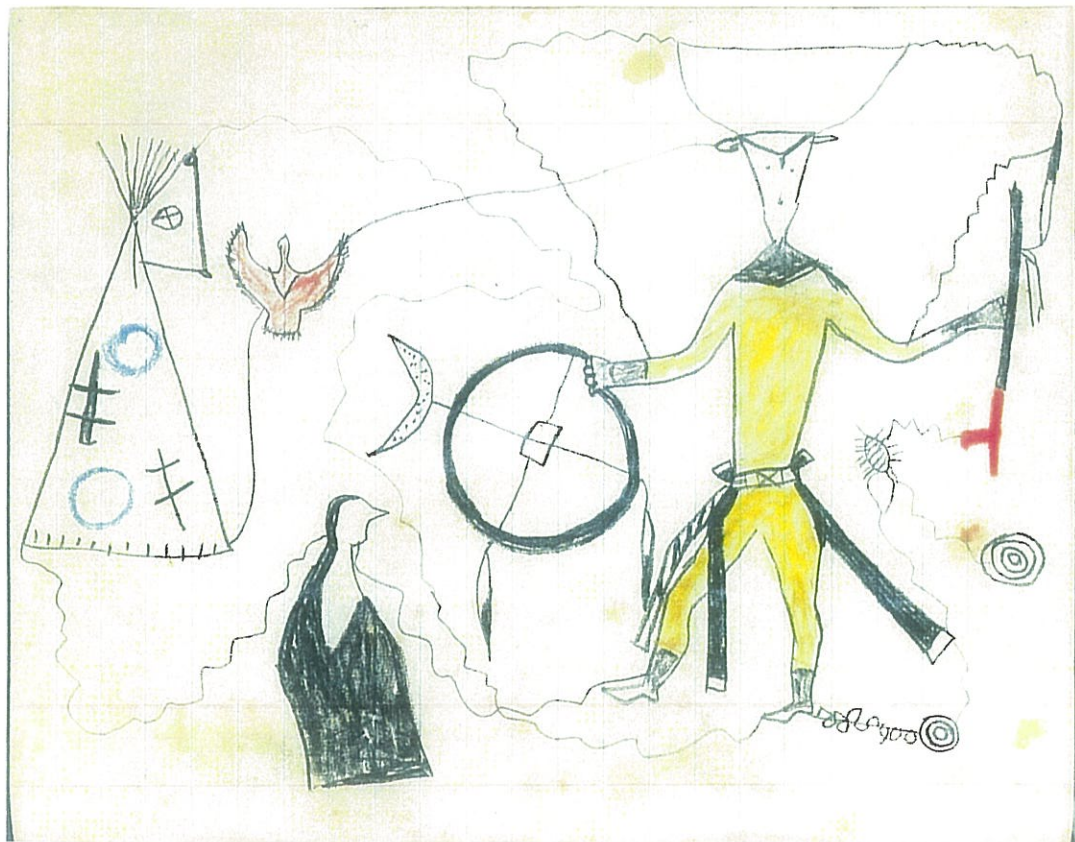
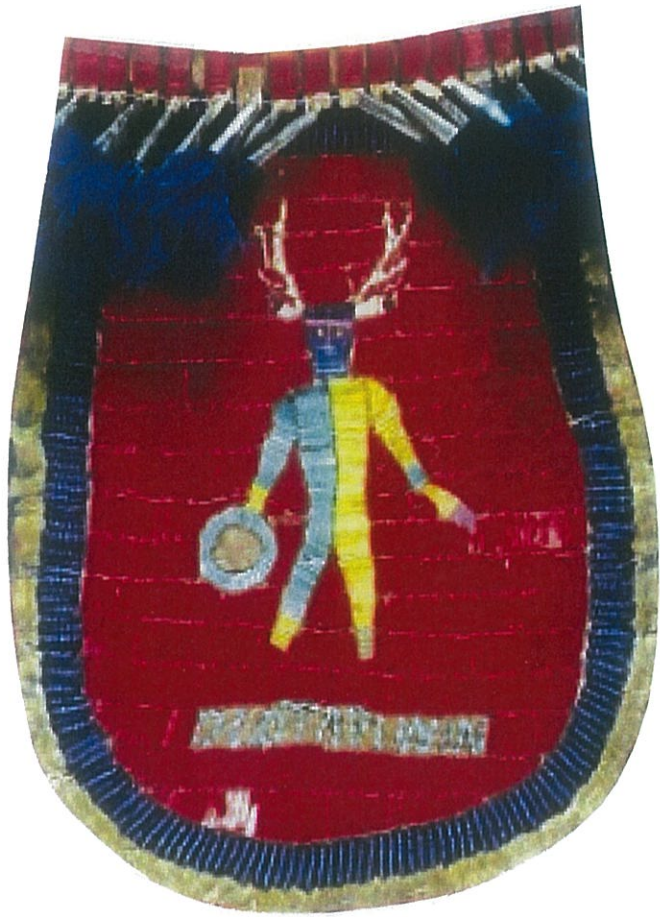
(A) Painting by Standing Bear (Figure 19) of his friend Black Elk praying atop a butte. South Dakota species of dragonflies: (B) Twelve-spotted Skimmer (*Libellula pulchella*); (C) Flame Skimmer (*Libellula saturata*); (D) Blue Dasher (*Pachydiplax longipennis*); (E) Halloween Pennant (*Celithemis eponina*). In Plate 24, Black Road depicted dragonfly motifs painted on his torso, and on the side of the horse. This motif is specifically attributed to Black Road: “Two dragonfly symbols [one on each side] were drawn...back of the rider” (Blish, 1934: 186).





**Figure 31.** (Top) the albino channel catfish (*Ictalurus punctatus*) from Plate 24, together with a painting of the actual fish. The unusual color gave it significance to Black Road. (Bottom, right) ventral view of a Northern Flicker (red phase---*Colaptes auratus*) with wings and tail feathers spread for landing. (Bottom, left) Black Road's depiction of the same type of bird, in identical position, from his Elk Dreamer ceremony (Plate 14). Note the black "V" on the breast.





**Figure 32. Elk Dreamers.** (Bottom) Black Road's depiction of his ceremony, from **Plate 14**. As described by Black Elk: "Their limbs were painted black from the knee and elbow down, and yellow from there up" (Neihardt, 1932: 208-212). Note the lines of mystical influence drawing the woman at lower left toward the Dreamer. (Top, left) Quilled & Beaded design of a Lakota Elk Dreamer, 1890s. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. (Top, right) Drawing of an Elk Dreamer by Walter Bone Shirt, Brule Lakota, 1890s. Mansfield Library Special Collections, University of Montana, Missoula.



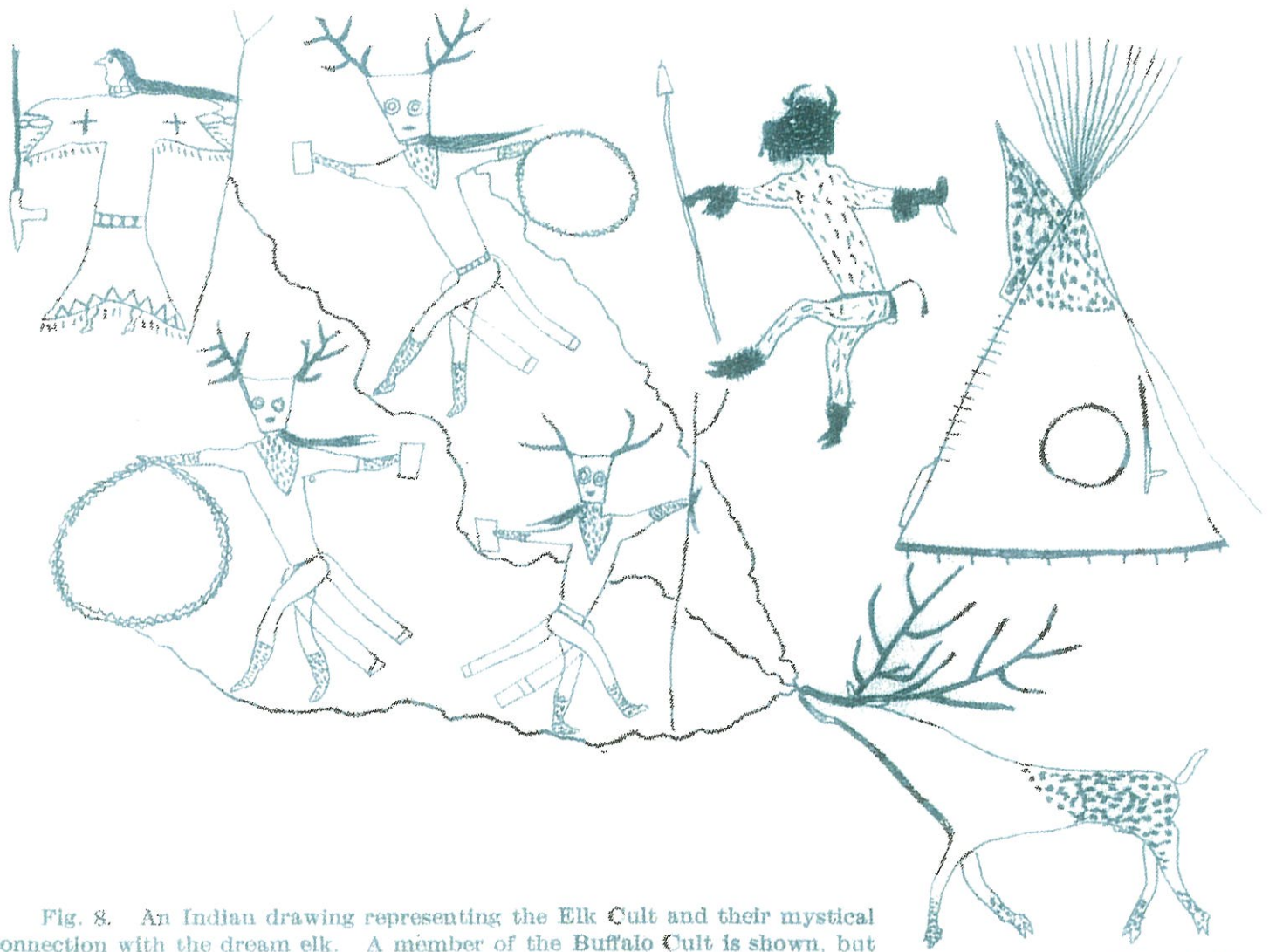
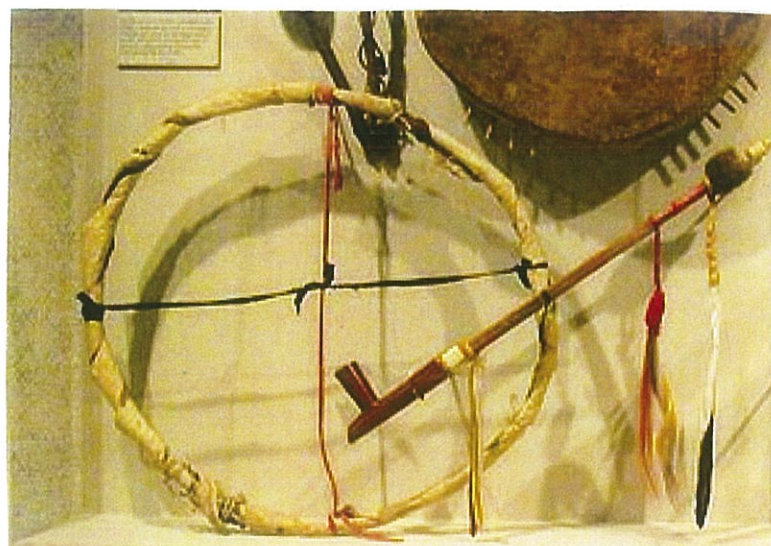
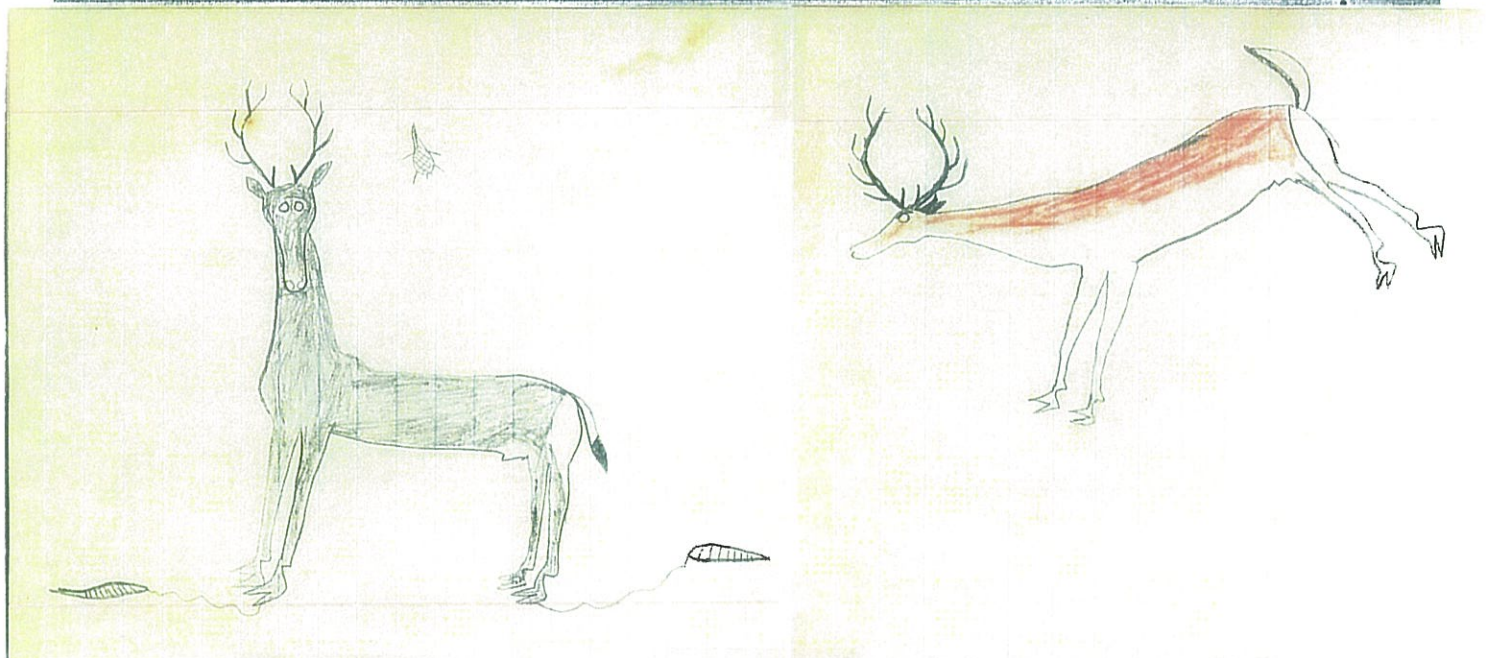


Fig. 8. An Indian drawing representing the Elk Cult and their mystical connection with the dream elk. A member of the Buffalo Cult is shown, but not in rapport with the elk. The man with the forked stick is also not directly influenced and is probably a member of the Black-tail deer Cult. In this sketch the mirror is held in one hand and the hoop in the other. Drawing collected by R. Cronau.



**Figure 33.** Elk Dreamer Ceremony (*Hehaka kagapi*---Buechel, 1970: 171 & 271), in a Lakota drawing collected during the 1880s (from Wissler, 1912: Fig.8). Note that the wavy lines of mystical influence are equated with the powerful bugling of the elk stag; and compare with **Plate 14.**(Bottom) The actual hoop and Sacred Pipe carried by Black Elk during his own Elk Dreamer ceremony (Neihardt, 1932: 208-212). Nebraska Historical Society. The wooden hoop is wrapped with otterskin. Originally, this included the dark-colored hair, now lost to insect damage. Compare with **Plate 14**





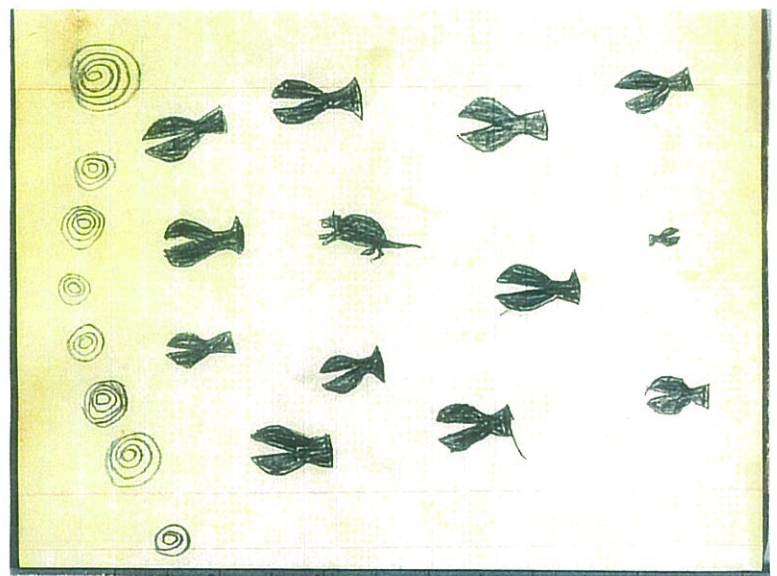
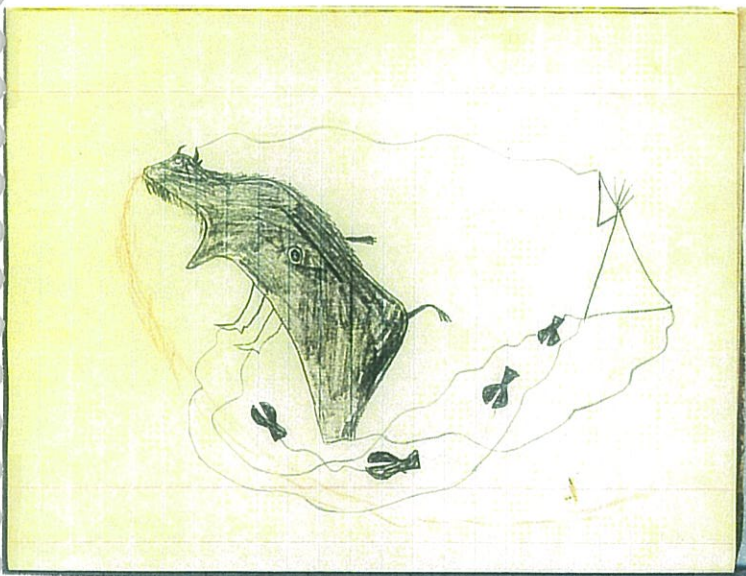
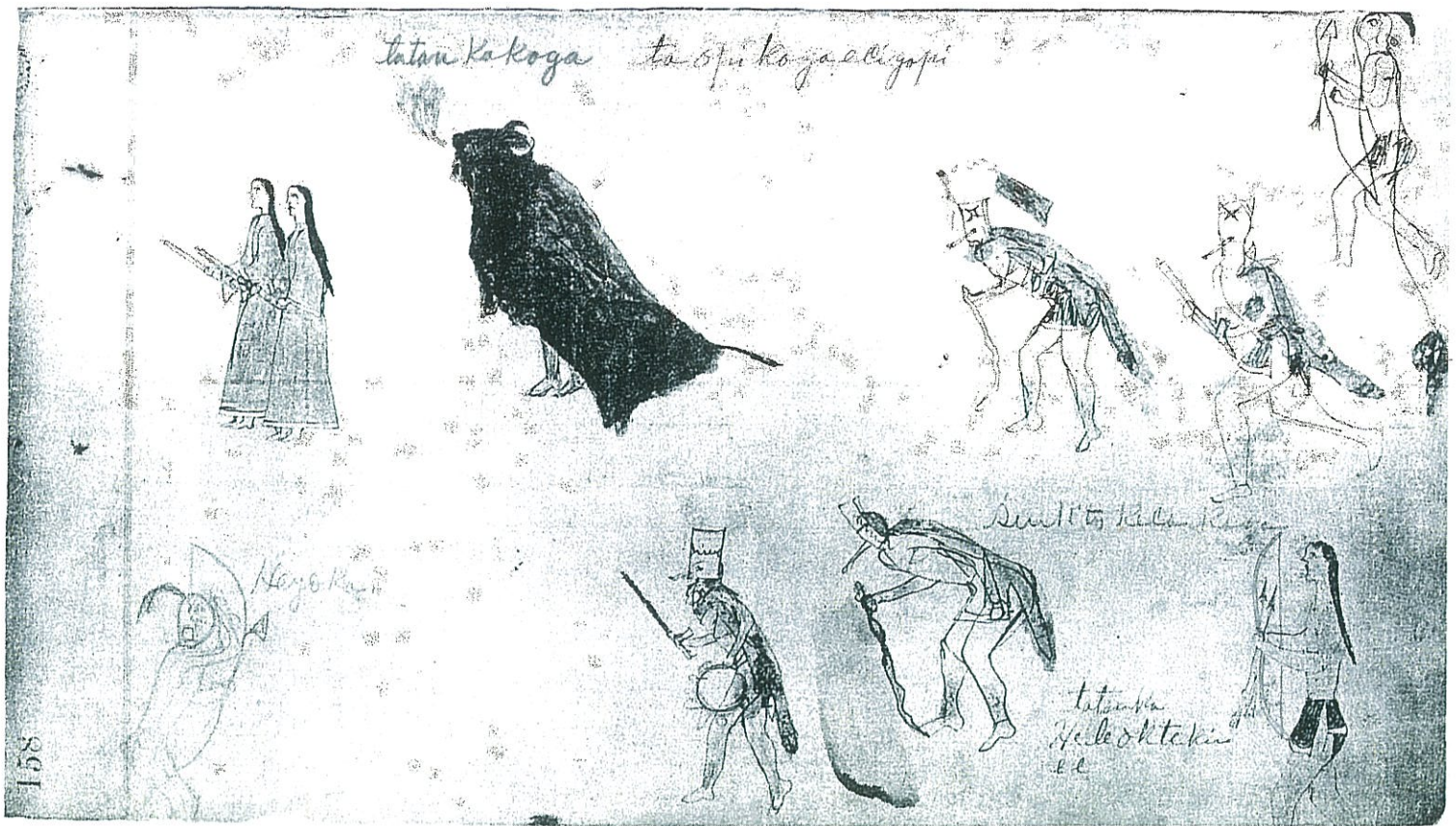
**Figure 34.** “The fork-horned animals were considered particularly potent carriers of magic, prominently the long-tailed [white-tail] deer. Doubtless, however there was special, secret significance attaching to them for Black Road, which he never explained to anyone” (Blish, 1934: 187). (Top) white-tail buck, right, and a mule deer buck, left, as depicted by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 199). The voice and breath of each, which Lakota people believed carried seductive power, is represented. The associated spiders are also considered emblems of seductiveness. (Bottom, right) Black Road's white-tail buck, from **Plate 45**. (Bottom, left) a mule deer buck, from Black Road's **Plate 59**. The insect appears to be intended as a deer tick, rather than a spider. Note the “whirlwind” cocoons associated with the deer's hooves---the power to move quickly, with overwhelming power---the source of the protection which Black Road shows himself transferring to a war horse in **Plate 24**.





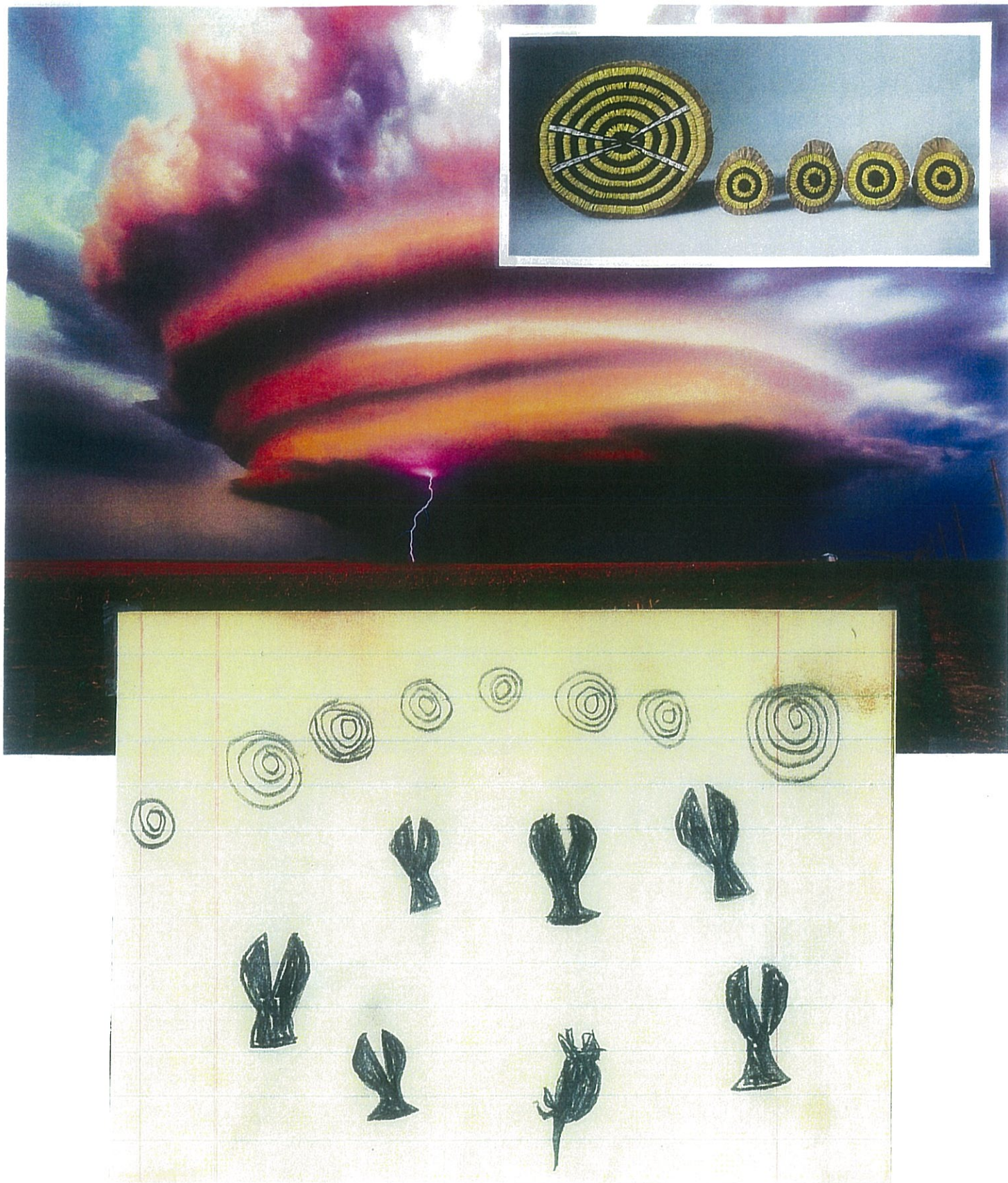
**Figure 35.** An Oglala Lakota Buffalo Dreamer, “Spotted Eagle, Buffalo Medicine Man,” by Colorado Photo Company, ca. 1910. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. Z-61. “In his role as medicine man [Black Road] always carried a hoop” (Blish, 1934: 180).





**Figure 36.** (Top) *Tatanka Kaga*, the Buffalo Dreamers' ceremony, as drawn by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 277-78). "There was a group of men and occasionally a few women known as the buffalo dreamers. When they had their dance, a shaman would appear in the head and skin of a buffalo. As he ran about the camp a nude young man [shown at lower right] stalked him...At the proper time the hunter discharged an arrow into a spot marked on the buffalo hide. The shaman would then stagger, vomit blood and spit up an arrow point...Later, another shaman would use medicine (*pejuta*), pull the arrow out and at once the wound was healed" (Wissler, 1912: 91). (Bottom, left) the same type of ceremony, from Black Road's **Plate 57**. "...the members bellow like buffalo and some stamp a foot leaving buffalo tracks upon the ground" (Wissler, 1912: 91-92). (Bottom, right) Black Road's **Plate 29**, which depicts the earthen altar design of buffalo tracks inside the tipi shown in **Plate 57**. The ceremony called forth buffalo for good hunting. One small track of a calf is shown "going back," to grow more animals for later hunts.





**Figure 37.** (Top) a cyclonic thunder storm with lightning, as frequently seen on the Northern Plains in summer. Note the circular, concentric cloud. (Top right) Arapaho beaded tipi decorations, late-19<sup>th</sup> century, said “to represent the whirlwind” (Kroeber, 1902: 60). The four white lines represent descending lightning. (Bottom) the earthen altar pattern for Black Road's Buffalo Dreamer ceremony, from **Plate 29** (compare **Figure 35**). The eight patterns of concentric circles have the same “whirlwind” symbolism, connoting “dust devils,” small whirlwinds often seen by Lakota hunters in the dust cloud raised by a stampeding herd. For the stuffed moleskin, see **Figure 39**.





**Figure 38.** In Lakota cosmology, buffalo were believed to originate in caves under the earth. Pocket gophers and moles were seen as “releasers of the buffalo” (so that Lakota might hunt them), because both species create tunnels under the ground. The same word, *wahinheya* (lice in hair--- Buechel, 1970: 174, 175 & 517) might refer to either animal. In the Sun Dance ceremony, performed for the purpose of calling forth buffalo, the skin of either a gopher or mole was tied to one horn of a sacrificial buffalo skin tied to the Center Pole, as shown in this drawing by Amos Bad Heart Bull (1967: 86).





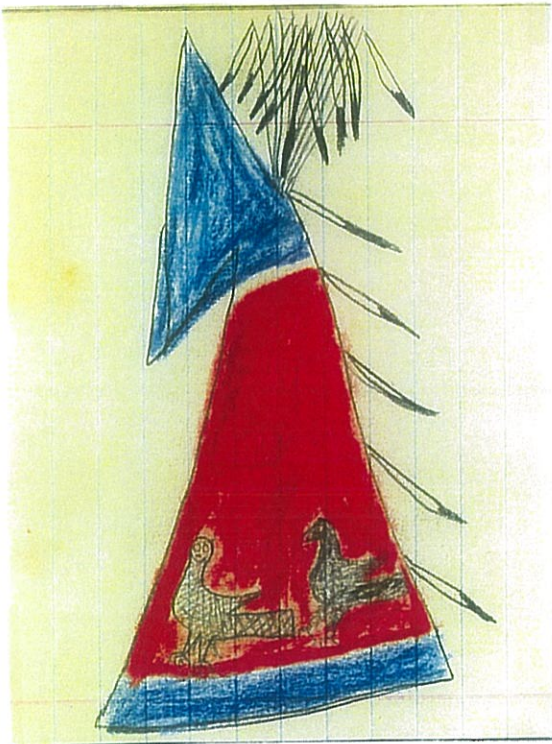
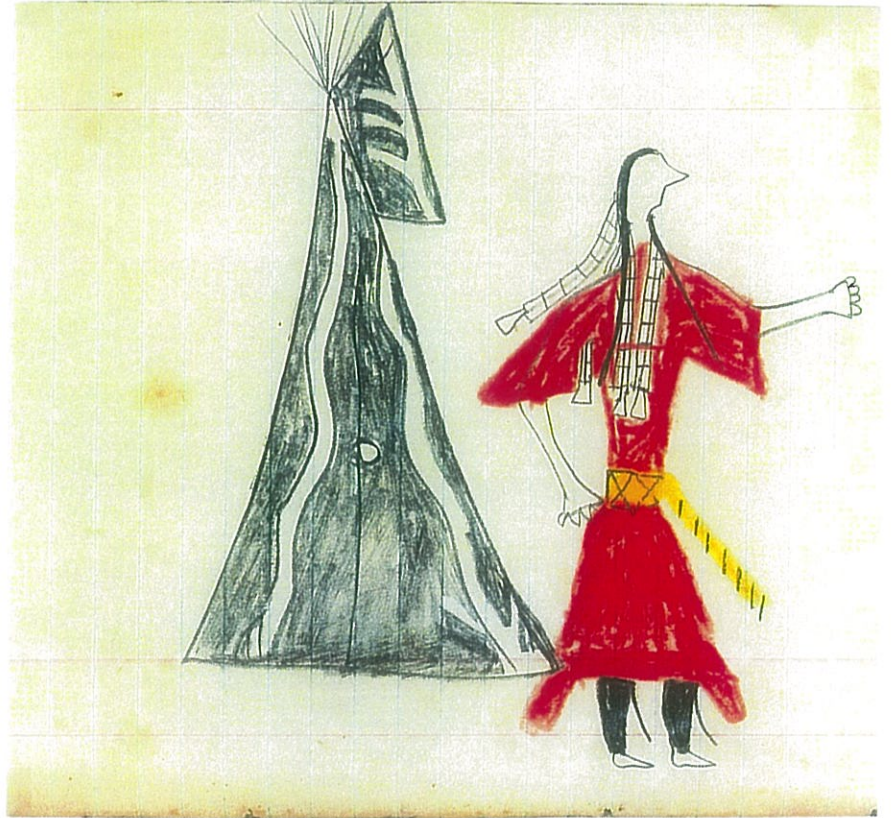
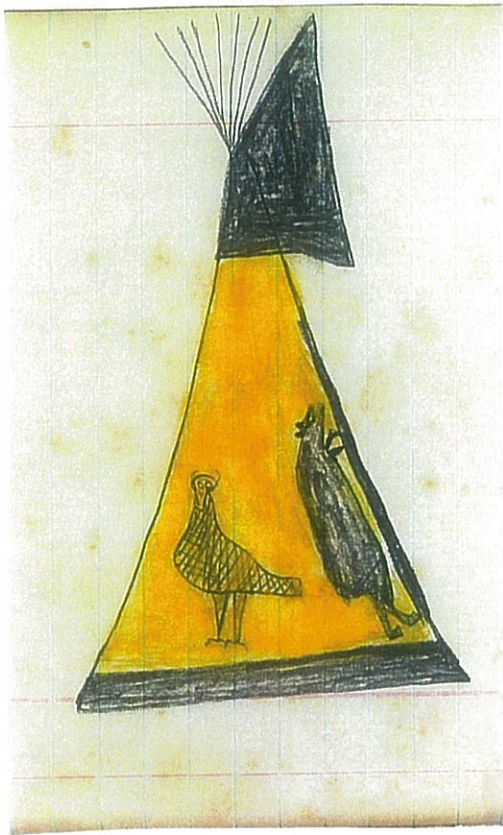
**Figure 39.** (Top) *Wahinheya*, Lakota symbol of the Deep Earth, a mole (*Scalopus aquaticus*). (Bottom) Black Road's depiction of this animal, from his Buffalo Dreamer's altar, **Plate 29**. Note the extended incisors.





**Figure 40.** (Top) A new-born mole (*Scalopus aquaticus*). Blind and hairless, they never leave their underground nest. In order for Black Road to have seen one, and to have depicted the wrinkled skin with such accuracy (Bottom, from **Plate 76**), he must have dug out an entire tunnel system.





**Figure 41.** Black Road is documented as a painter of tipis with visionary designs (Neihardt, 1932: 162). The four which he included in his ledger must have had special significance for him. (Top, left) from **Plate 86**, possibly the tipi of his brother Stinking Bear (**Figures 12-14**), who was a “Bear Medicine Man” (One Feather, 2014). (Top, right) this is either Black Road’s own home, painted with the same lightning designs he depicted himself creating in **Plate 24**, or a separate tipi cover reserved for meetings of his Sacred Bow Warrior Society. The woman is certainly his wife, depicted again in **Plate 19**. (Bottom, left) from **Plate 55**, Owl Eagle was an Oglala age-mate of Black Road (1895 Pine Ridge Census). (Bottom, right) a fourth painted tipi, from **Plate 85**. The drawing suggests that Black Road’s decorating services led to further options.





**Figure 42.** Traditional Lakota women's dress, 1870s. (Left) Miniconjou woman by Thompson & Scott, Cheyenne River Agency, D.T., ca. 1870. Denver Public Library, Neg. No. X-31585. Note the cloth dress; the commercial leather belt; and earrings made of dentalium shells strung together in sections, with pendant bobs of iridescent abalone shell. (Center) Black Road's wife Brule Woman (*Sicangu Win*), from **Plate 5**. (Right) Hunkpapa woman by Stanley J. Morrow, Fort Keogh, M.T., 1879. Heritage Auctions, Dallas. Note the brass tacks decorating her belt, and compare the diagonal arrangement on the pendant strap with the belt of Black Road's wife.





**Figure 43.** The wives of men in each of the several, Lakota warrior societies formed separate social organizations of their own, such as women who had “gone to war,” by accompanying an expedition as a cook. (Top) a woman's society meeting on Pine Ridge Reservation, S.D., ca. 1900. Heritage Auctions, Dallas. (Bottom) a woman's society dance, from **Plate 19**. Black Road depicted his wife at the right, dressed identically as in **Plate 5**, with a fringed, gingham shawl wrapped around her waist. She carries her husband's *Tokala* Society quilt (compare **Plate 27** & **Figure 20**). It is possible the other woman, who might be a sister-in-law or second wife (unrecorded) of Black Road, is holding the same sword he shows himself carrying in other drawings. Two male guests, invited to provide musical accompaniment for the dancing, are shown singing and beating hand drums. A wolf skin, emblem of a war party scout, has been raised on a pole as the focus of the occasion, which probably included dozens of other women. A human scalp is suspended from the muzzle of the canid skin, with the nose painted red, indicating a successful kill.





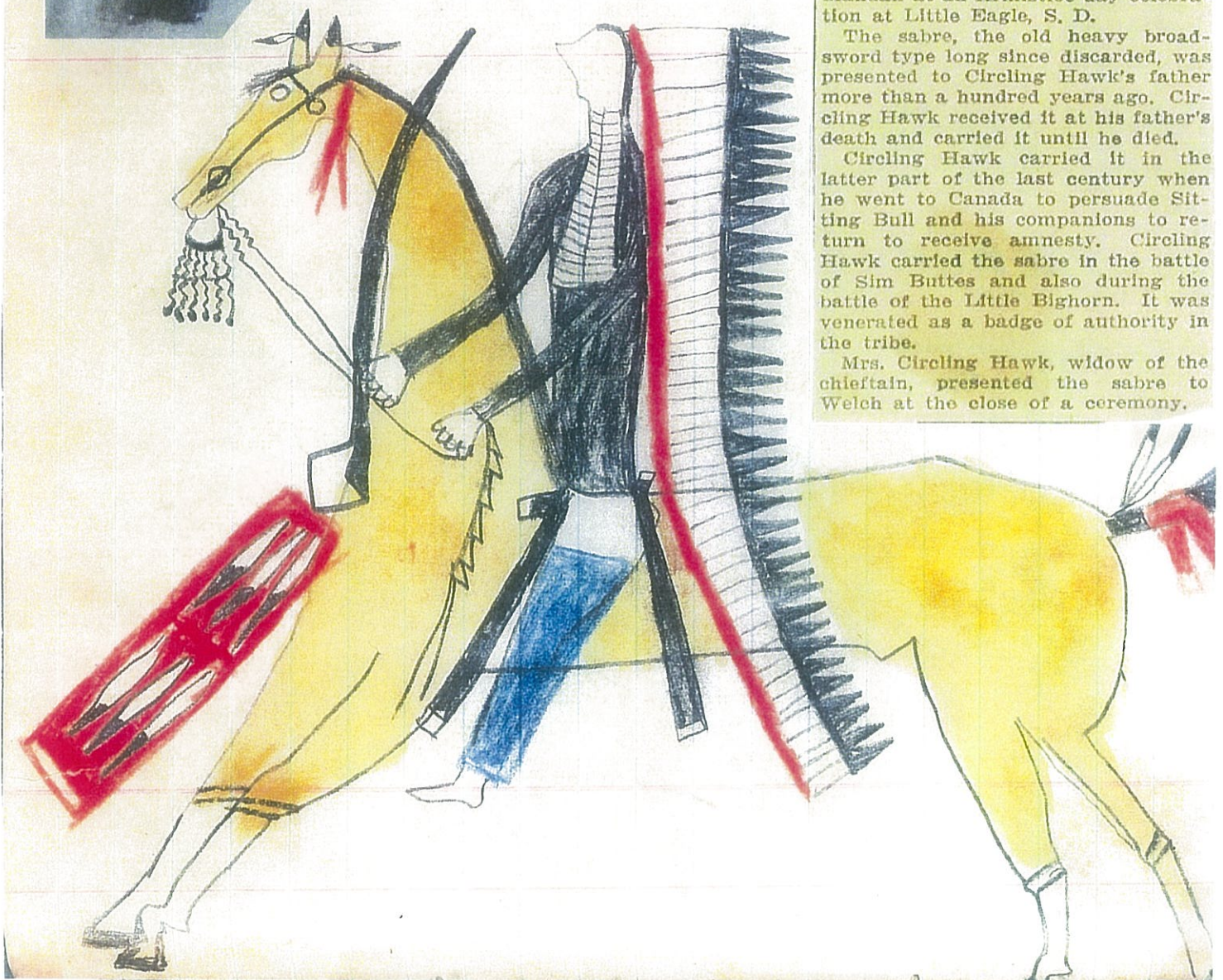
NOV 15 1933  
**ANCIENT SABRE  
 GOES TO WELCH**  
*Targo — Forum*

Mandan, N. D.—An ancient cavalry sabre, a mark of rank and authority in the Sioux nation for more than 100 years and formerly the property of Circling Hawk, Sioux chieftain, was presented to Col. A. B. Welch of Mandan at an Armistice day celebration at Little Eagle, S. D.

The sabre, the old heavy broadsword type long since discarded, was presented to Circling Hawk's father more than a hundred years ago. Circling Hawk received it at his father's death and carried it until he died.

Circling Hawk carried it in the latter part of the last century when he went to Canada to persuade Sitting Bull and his companions to return to receive amnesty. Circling Hawk carried the sabre in the battle of Sim Buttes and also during the battle of the Little Bighorn. It was venerated as a badge of authority in the tribe.

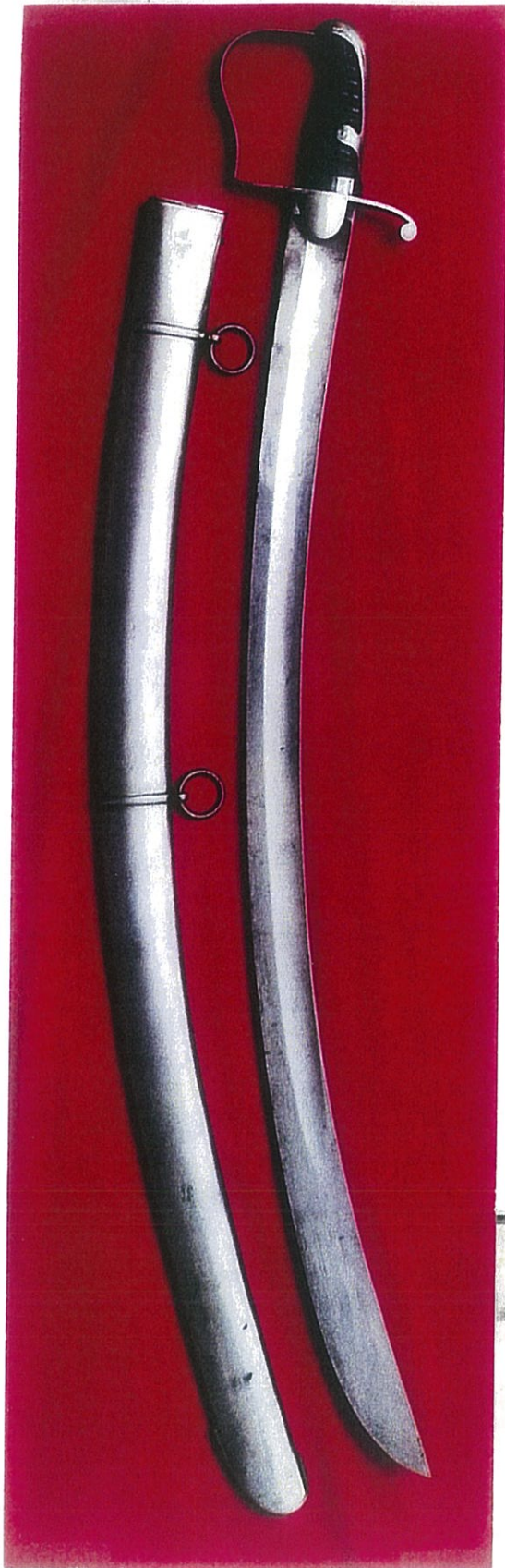
Mrs. Circling Hawk, widow of the chieftain, presented the sabre to Welch at the close of a ceremony.



**Figure 44.** The same cavalry saber, variously decorated, appears in drawings throughout the ledger.

Such war-surplus weapons were sold in the Indian trade throughout much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and provided the Lakota name for all Americans: *Mila Hanskapi* (Long Knives---Buechel, 1970: 336). (Bottom) Black Road's self-portrait, from **Plate 16**. Black Road was in southern Canada, in the emigre camp of Sitting Bull, 1878-1880. (Top) a very similar saber belonging to Circling Hawk, another Lakota emigre who was also with Sitting Bull. Note the eagle feather and silk ribbon decorations on the hilt (<http://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2011/10/indian-histories-from-cadotte-to-drags-wolf-30-individuals/#circling-hawk>).





**Figure 45.** (Right) Black Tomahawk, Sans Arc Lakota chief, by Byron H. Gurnsey, Sioux City, Iowa, 1870. British Museum. He is holding a 1796-Model British cavalry saber with 32-inch steel blade (shown at left). These were “Napoleonic war surplus, sold in New York, 1840s for \$3.30, with sheath, and traded on the Upper Platte River to the Lakota” (Chaney, 1984: 12).





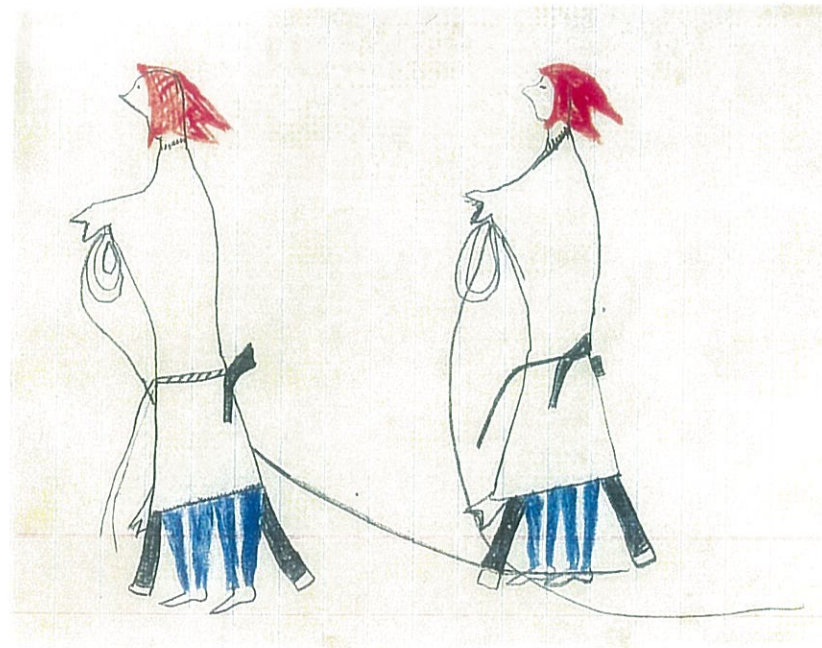
**Figure 46.** (Bottom) Black Road's rifle, the detail here from **Plate 9**, is an 1865-Model Spencer carbine, recognizable from the distinctive bulge below the hammer. The first of nearly 100,000 were purchased by the federal government in 1863, so the ledger must be later in time. After the Civil War, surplus Spencers were issued to Sioux Indians who scouted for the Army, like the Oglala, Paints His Ears White (Top, left), photographed by W.H. Cross in 1877. Other war-surplus Spencer carbines were widely available in the Indian trade from the late-1860s, onward.





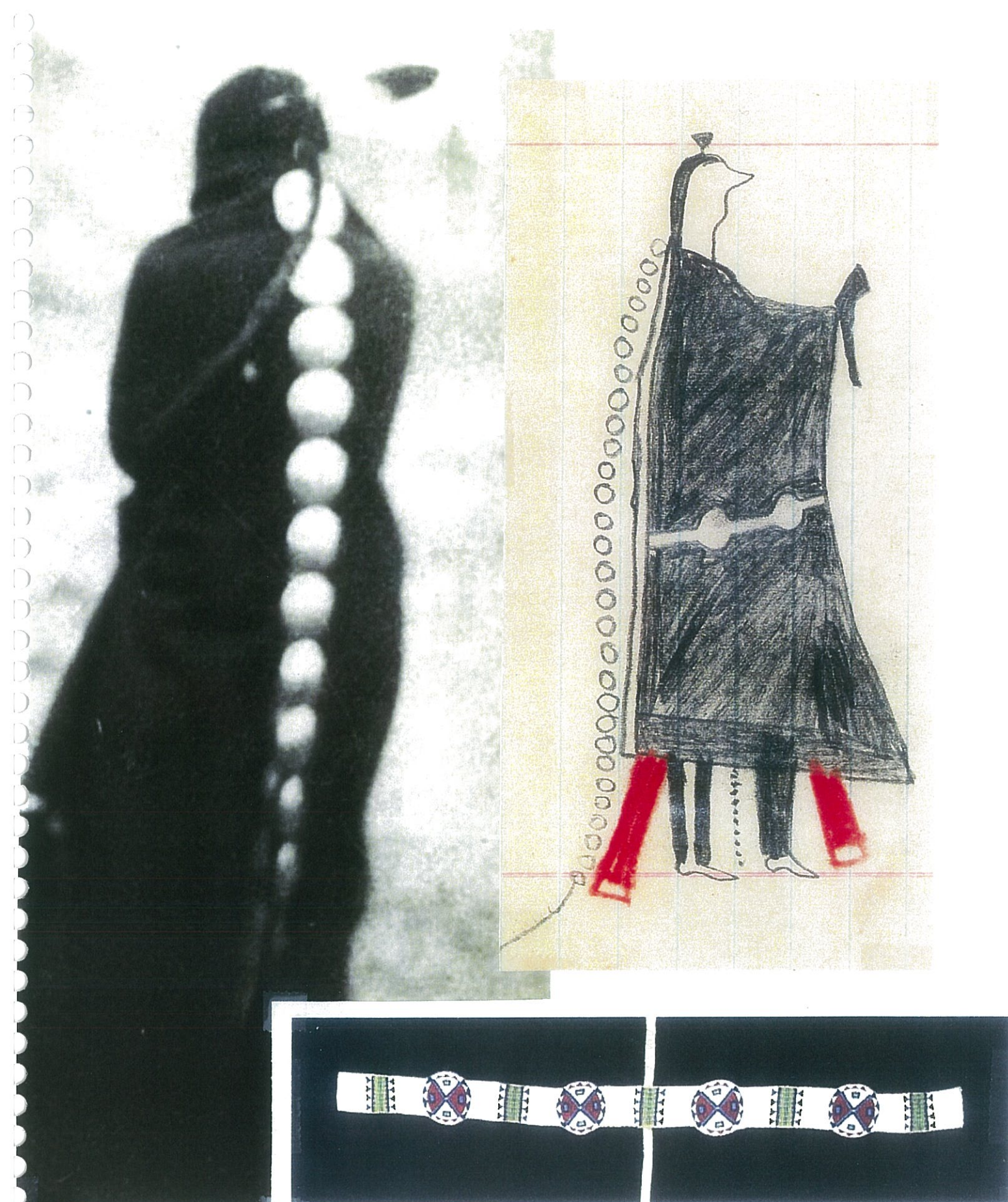
**Figure 47.** The idea of a cartridge belt had not occurred until the very end of the Civil War, and did not become Army-issue until the 1880s. 50-caliber, copper-jacket ammunition for the Spencer carbine (Center) was originally carried in leather belt-boxes. Many frontiersmen, however, were jury-rigging their own cartridge belts during the 1870s. These drawings (Plate 17, top, right; & Plate 54, bottom, left) show that Black Road had adopted the idea and was wearing a cartridge belt over his white-blanket capote during winter hunts. The two photographs by Walter McClintock, 1909, from Beinecke Library, Yale University, show a Blackfeet man named Jake Big Moon wearing very similar capotes. Note the cartridge belt at bottom, right.





**Figure 48.** Although Black Road's depictions of pistols are too generic to be certain of the model, here (from **Plate 51**) he showed himself and a companion carrying holsters for the Model-1860 Colt Army percussion revolver (left). Both men are wearing head scarves to protect their ears from sub-zero weather. This was a common practice, as illustrated by the photo of Crawler, an Hunkpapa chief photographed by George W. Scott at Fort Yates, D.T., 1887. State Historical Society of North Dakota.





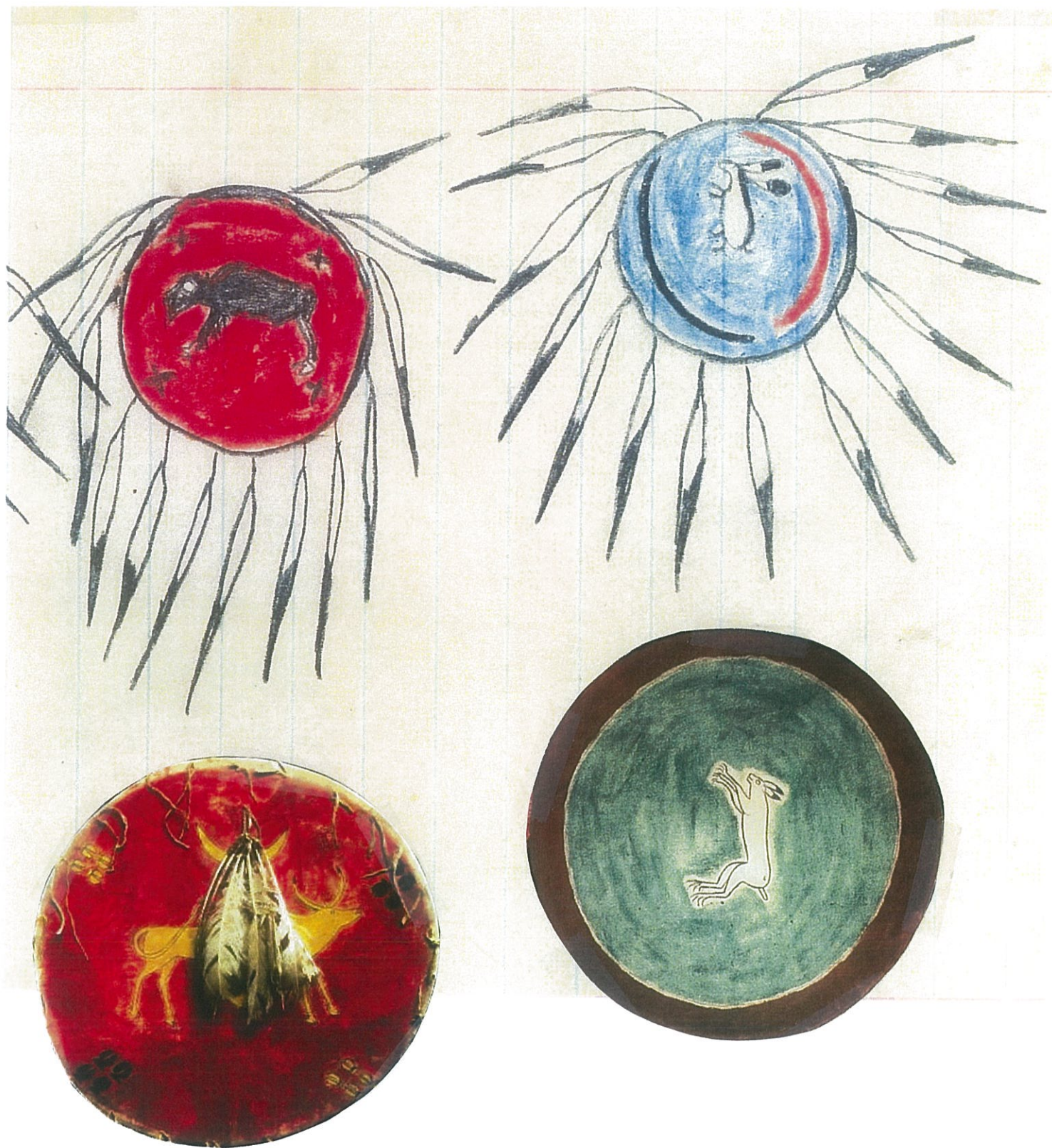
**Figure 49.** In the self-portrait from **Plate 48**, Black Road showed himself wearing a string of nickel-silver discs called “hair-plates,” an expensive fashion statement similar to the ones seen in an 1868 photo made by Alexander M. Gardner at Fort Laramie, W.T. (left). His double-wide courting blanket, made to enwrap a partner, is decorated with a horizontal strip of seed beadwork, like the one at bottom, from the Cody Old West Auction, Denver, 2008.





**Figure 50.** In Plate 36 (right), Black Road depicted himself dressed for Grass Dancing and carrying a pipe-tomahawk with heart-shaped cutout in the blade, like the ca. 1870 weapon at center, from Heritage Auctions, Dallas. There is also a triangular tab of blue-background beadwork hanging from the haft, like the example at left, from the Karl May Museum, Radebuel, Germany.





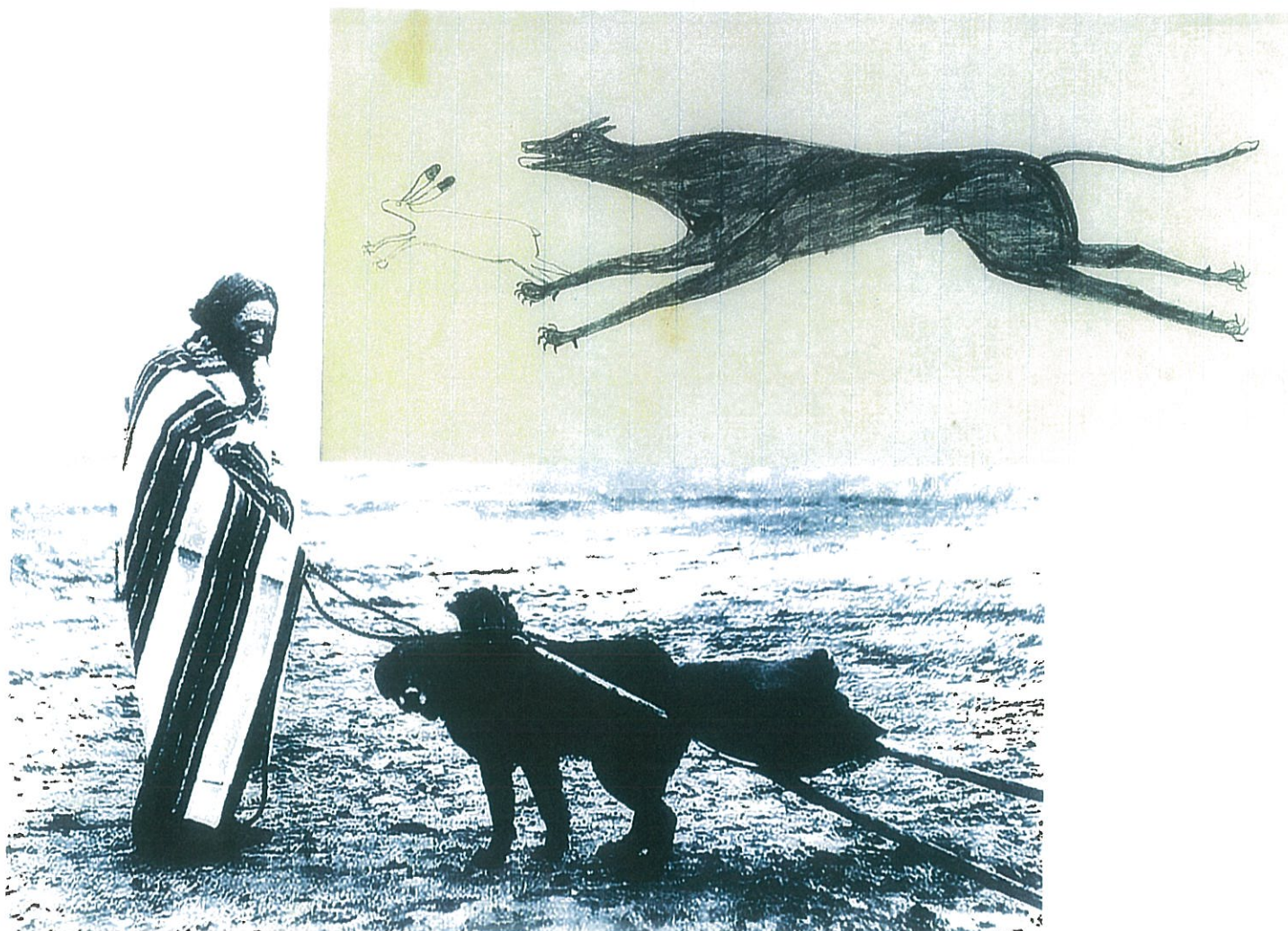
**Figure 51.** The inner cover (top, left), and painted composition of Black Road's war shield (top, right), both from **Plate 52**, as compared with actual shields that have similar design motifs. (Bottom, left), a Cheyenne shield, 1860s, with longhorn steer motif on a red ground, from Denver Art Museum. (Bottom, right) a Prairie Gros Ventre shield with jack rabbit motif, collected by Clark Wissler in 1904, from American Museum of Natural History, Cat. No, 50/4286. Dead rabbits were used as bait to entrap eagles. Here, they are employed in similar fashion to lure human enemies to their destruction.





**Figure 52.** A Grimsley Dragoon saddle, Model-1845 (left) was very clearly depicted by Black Road in **Plate 25** (right). This was a very comfortable seat, popular with many U.S. Army officers. General Ulysses S. Grant, for example, rode a Grimsley saddle through most of the Civil War. It was of little interest to Black Road, however, who preferred the owner's horse.





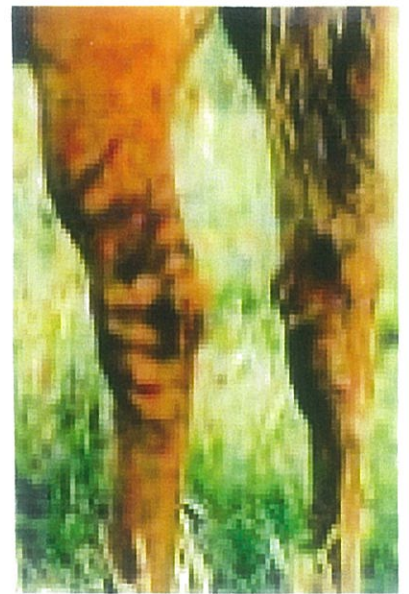
**Figure 53.** Plains Indian tribes had been using dogs to drag their tipis and possessions on stick platforms for at least hundreds of years. Coronado described them in Kansas, in 1541: "...when they go from one place to another they carry [their tents] on some dogs...of which they have many, and they load them with the tents and poles and other things...because they carry the poles dragging along on the ground" (Winship, 1896: 578). Before horses became available, dogs were bred for maximum size to haul larger loads. This breed survived through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was depicted by Black Road in **Plate 64** (center). Photographic confirmation, both images ca. 1900, come from the Hunkpapa Lakota (top---State Historical Society of North Dakota) and Brule Lakota (bottom---Nebraska Historical Society).





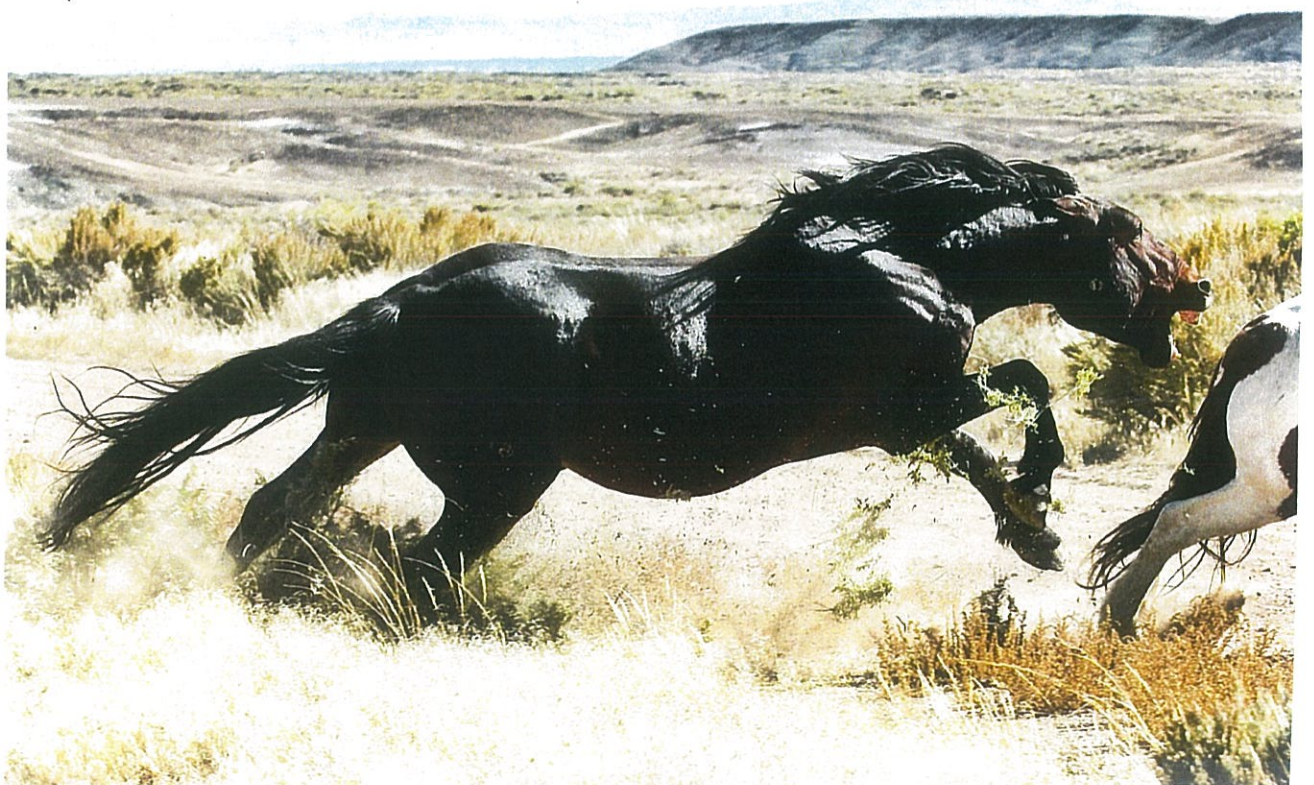
**Figure 54.** Horse types depicted by Black Road. (Top) the “bashkir curley” hair mutation is shown in **Plate 25**. This breed was first documented in the Lakota winter counts for 1803-04, when a raiding party returned from the Pawnee with several animals of this type (Mallery, 1893: 314). The Lakota name for this feature is *śungugula*, “curly horse” (Buechel, 1970: 468 & 162). They were considered especially beautiful, and thereafter were actively bred for. The noted Hunkpapa, Sitting Bull (see **Figure 2**, top), had a favorite black horse with curly hair which he depicted in many drawings. (Bottom) The dapple grey coat color is depicted in **Plates 23 & 67**.





**Figure 55.** Horse types depicted by Black Road. (Top) the widely-coveted blue roan is shown in **Plate 47**. (Bottom) the bay roan, with a yellow-orange coat color, and natural stripes at the knees, is shown in **Plate 16**. Lakota saw these “coup stripes” as good-luck indicators, and favored such horses.





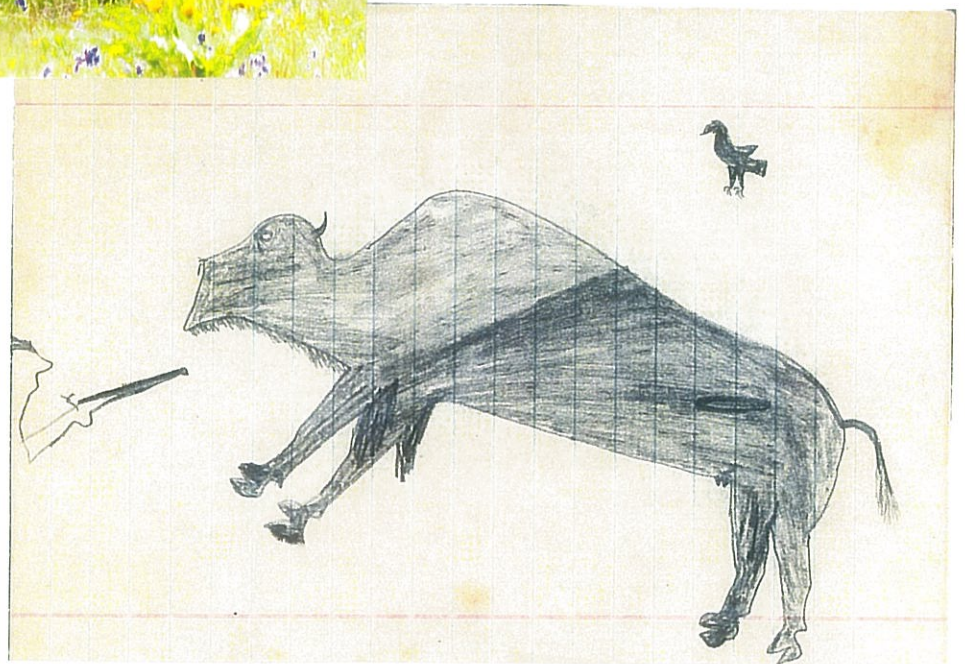
**Figure 56.** Horse types depicted by Black Road. (Top) Grulla/grullo mustangs. Black Road used a blue pencil to represent the grey coat color in Plates 17, 20, 31, 50 & 66. (Bottom) a coal-black horse was selected by Black Road to be painted with protective lines of white lightning in Plate 24. Possibly the same gelding is shown, unpainted, in Plate 50.





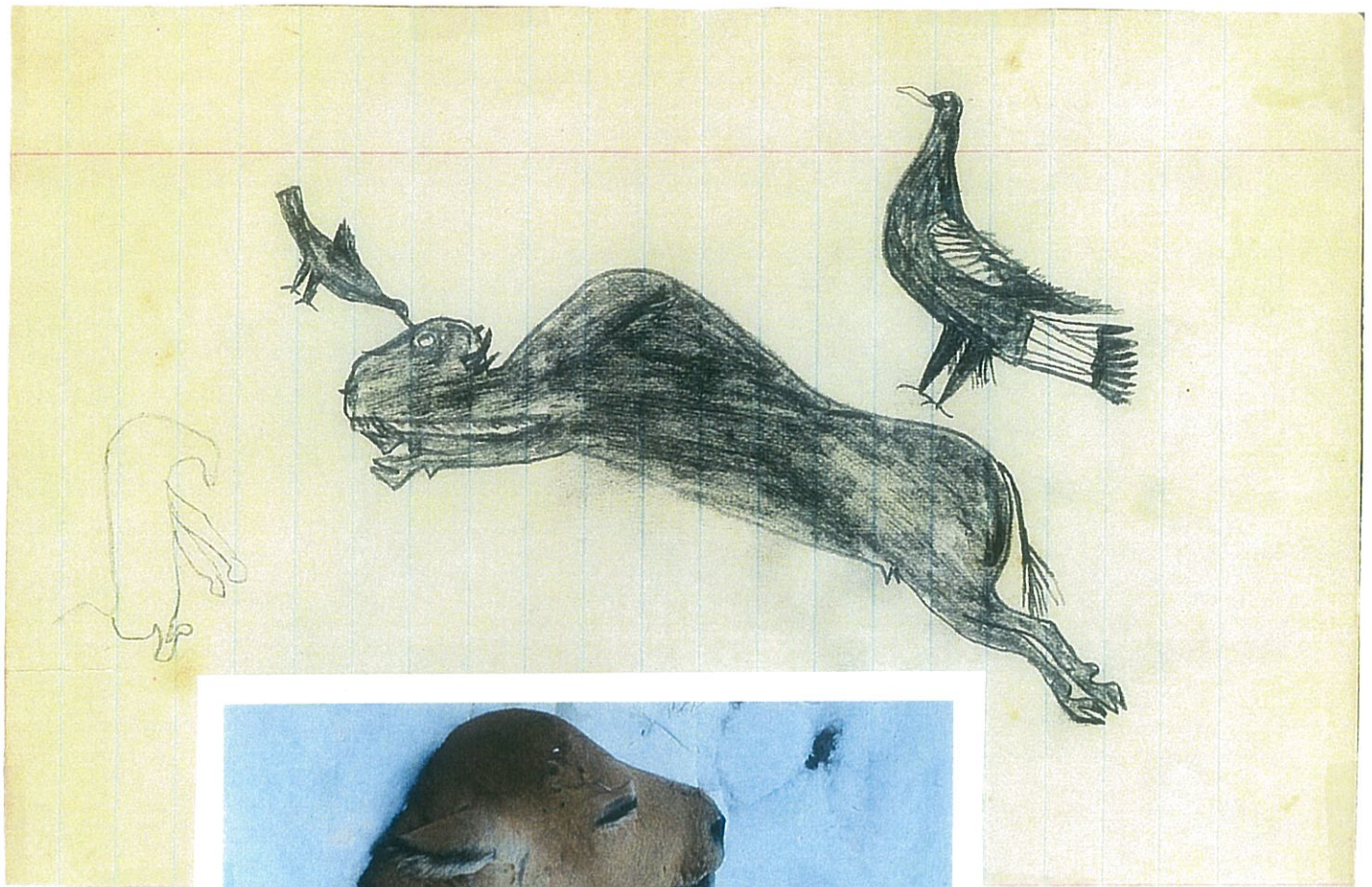
**Figure 57.** Horse types depicted by Black Road. (Top) Bay overo pintos are shown in **Plates 20 & 22.** (Bottom) tobiano pintos are shown in **Plates 31 & 80.** These photos illustrate that Black Road was not indulging in “artistic license,” but accurately depicted rare coat patterns that he found significant.





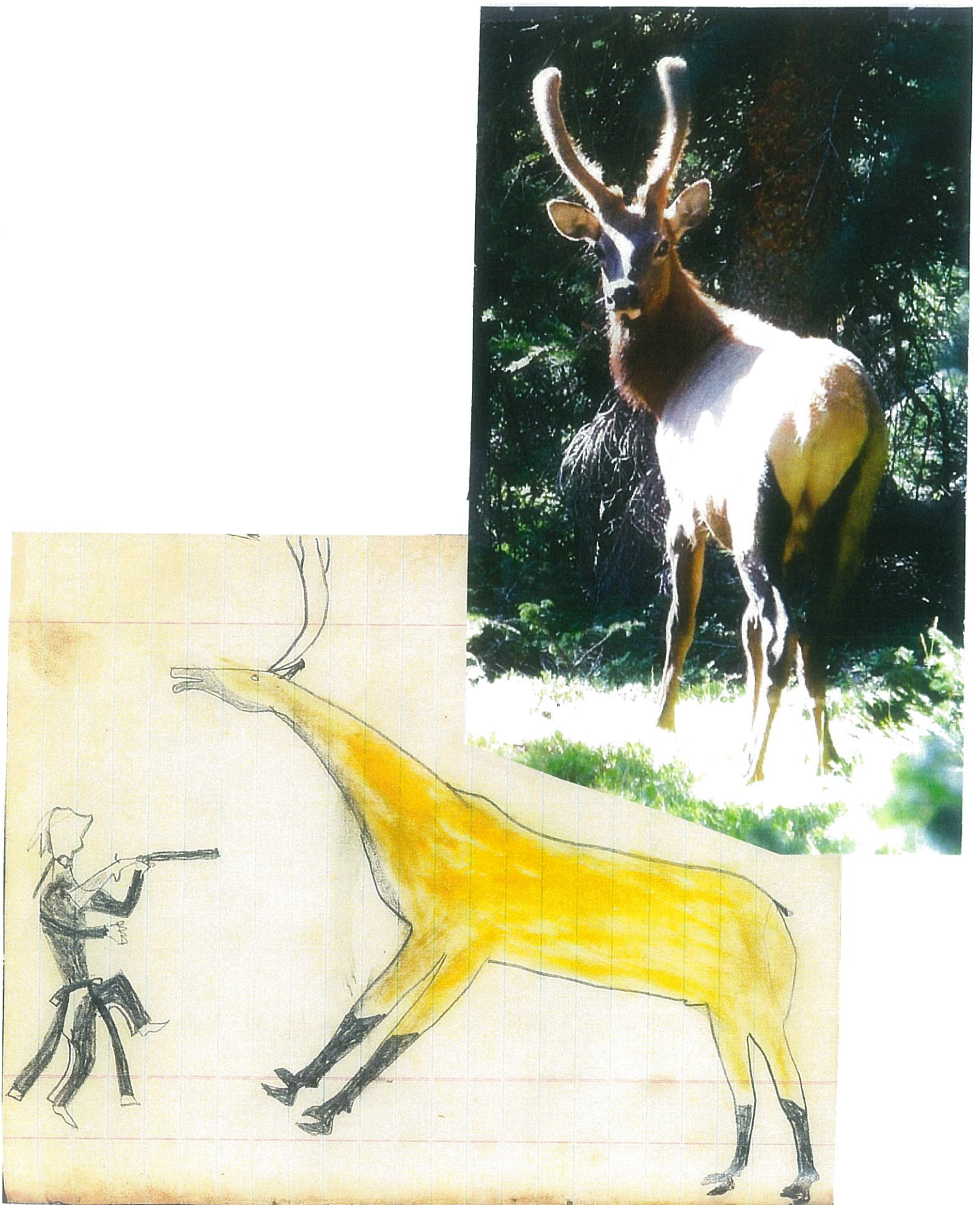
**Figure 58.** Black Road's interest in the relationship between buffalo, and the ubiquitous, brown-headed cowbirds (*Molothrus ater*), which feasted on the tick and lice parasites of the large animals, is depicted in **Plate 9**. The Lakota name for these birds is *pteyakpa*, "pecks at cows" (Buechel, 1970: 449). This records the unusual circumstance of a bird which had actually made a nest in the fur of a cow that Black Road shot (Meany, 1907).





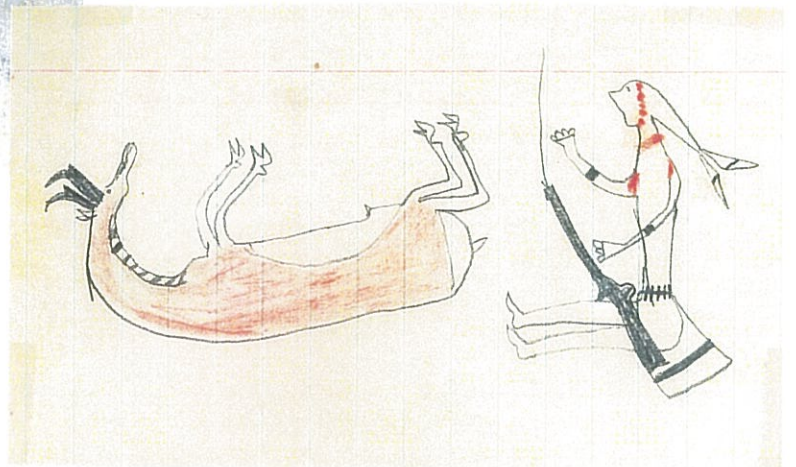
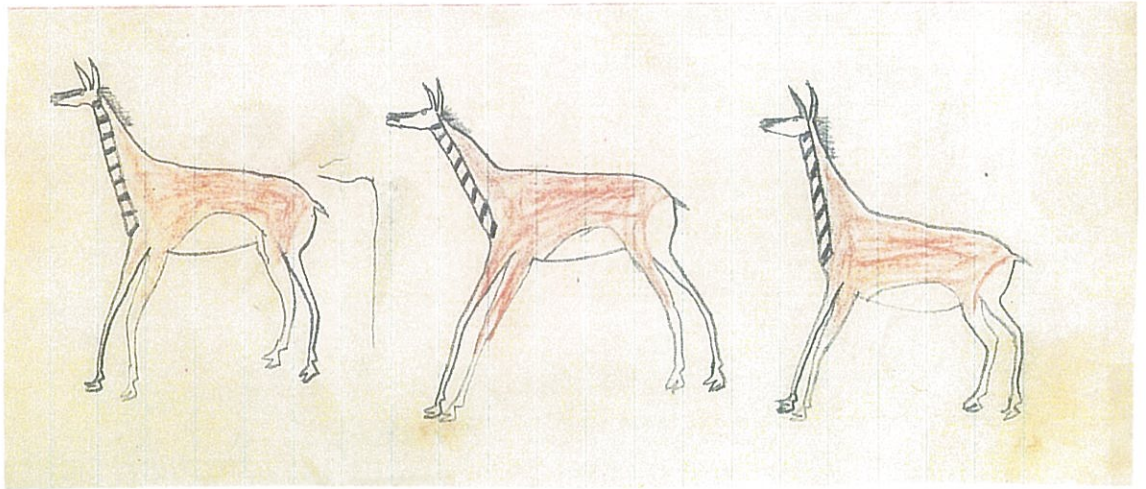
**Figure 59.** (Top) The outline shape at left in **Plate 34** represents a buffalo foetus aborted by the cow before it had died. A golden eagle and crow are scavenging the carcass.





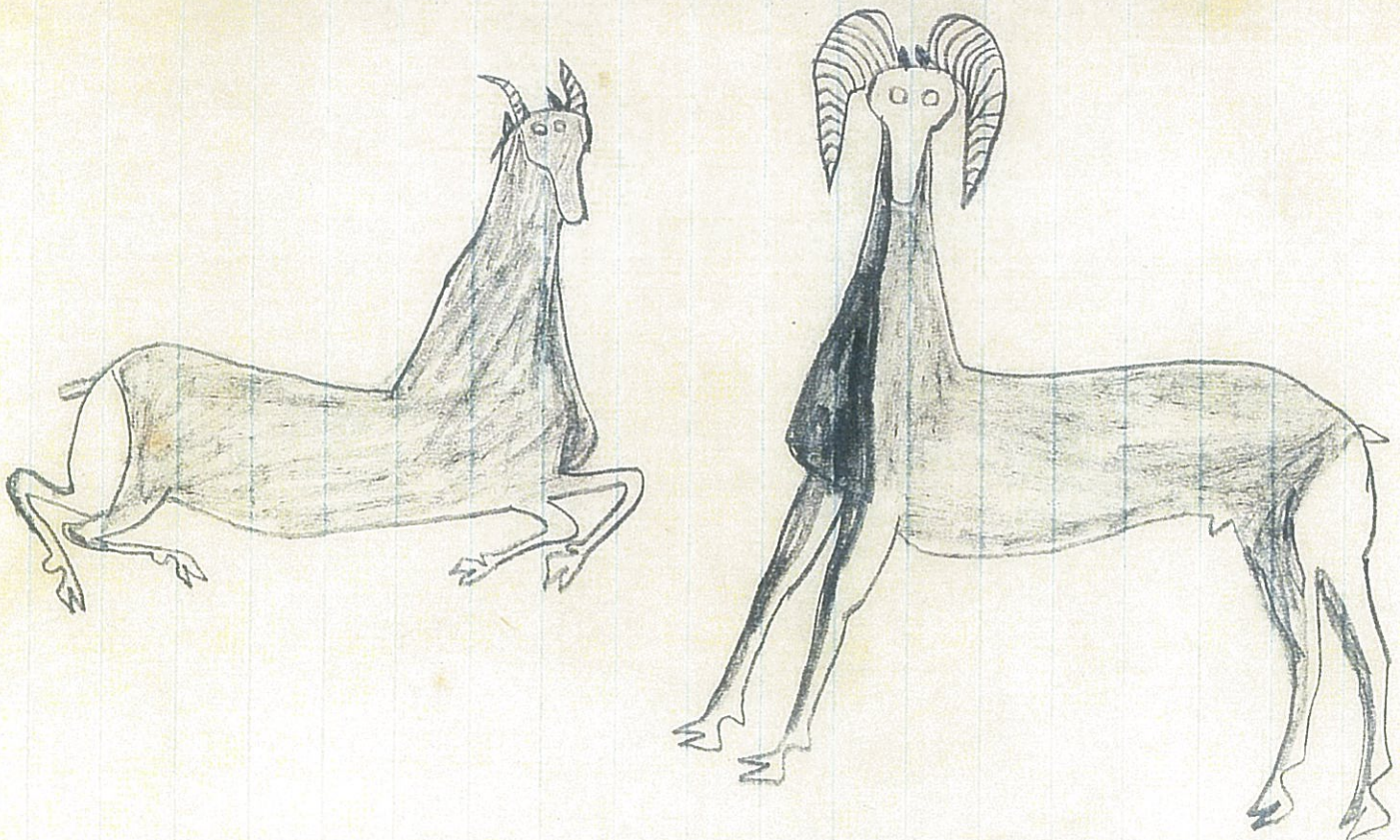
**Figure 60.** The photograph illustrates the accuracy of Black Road's choice of yellow to represent the coat color of a young, "spike" bull elk (*Cervus elaphus*), in **Plate 11**. The Lakota name for such a young, male elk is *heslatkala*, "little forked antler" (Buechel, 1970: 173).





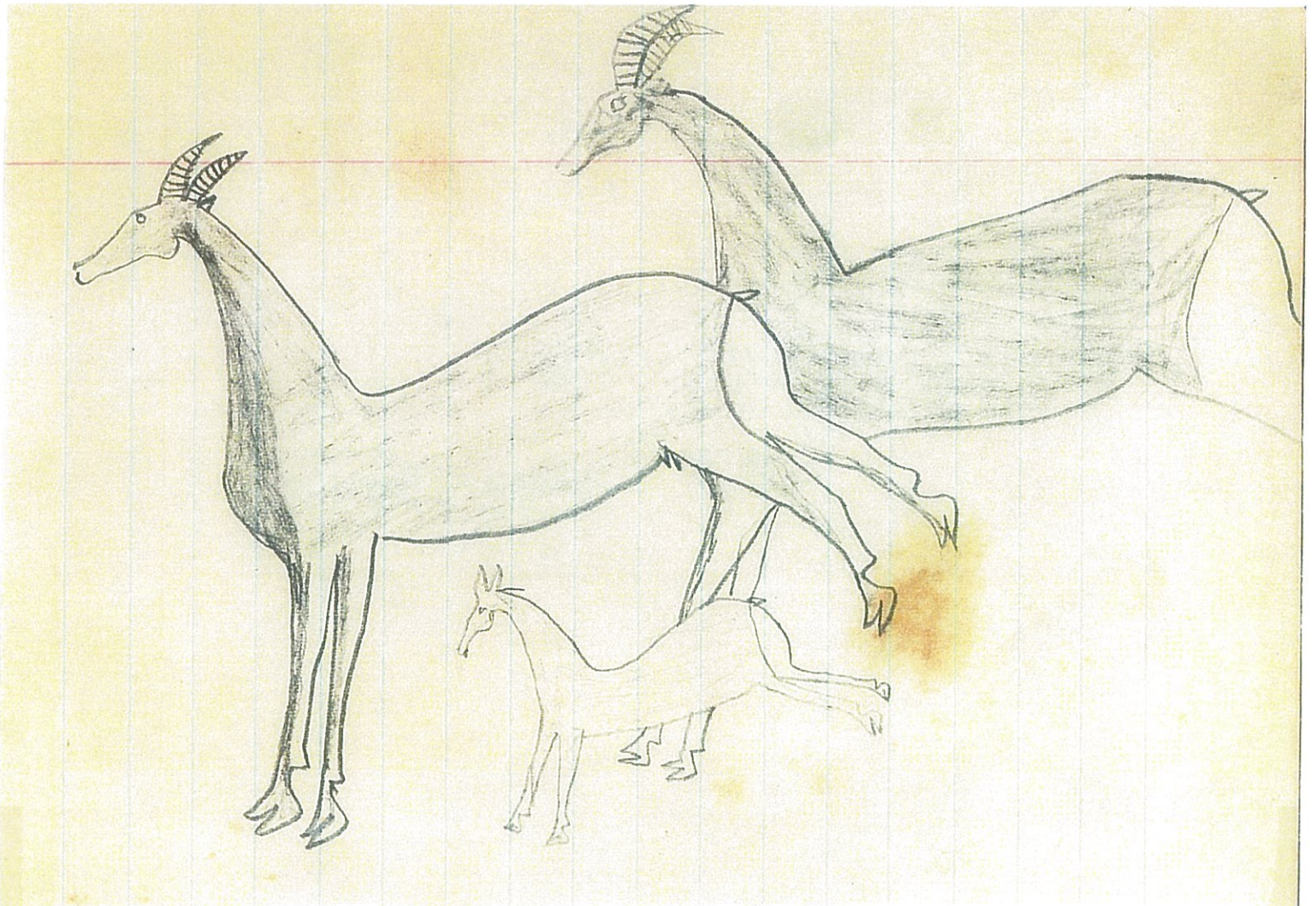
**Figure 61.** Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*). The Lakota name for the does, (Top, from **Plate 13**) and the species in general, is “little white bellies” (*nigesanla*---Buechel, 1970: 363). The pronghorn bucks (bottom, from **Plate 54**) are “big horns” (*tatoka*---Buechel, 1970: 484). Note the observant detail of the short, dark mane hairs on the back of the head.





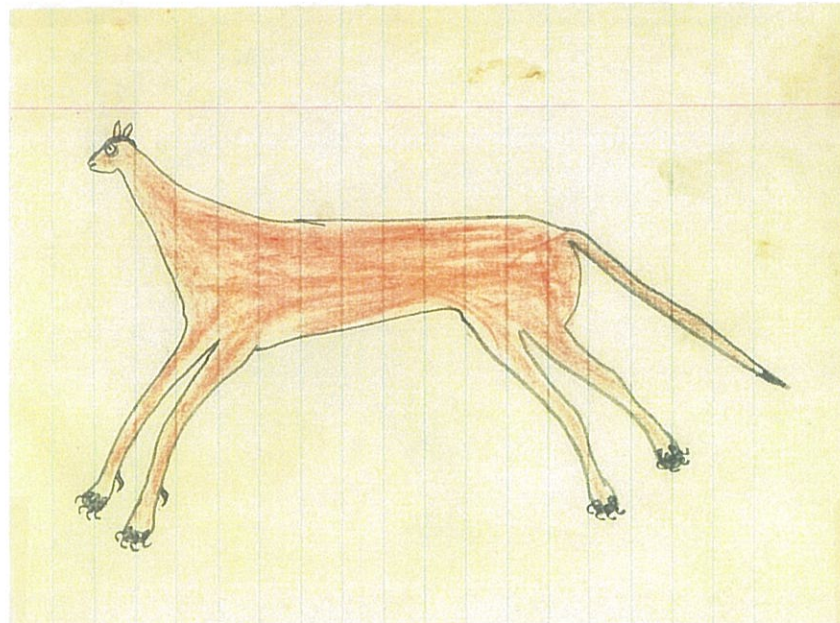
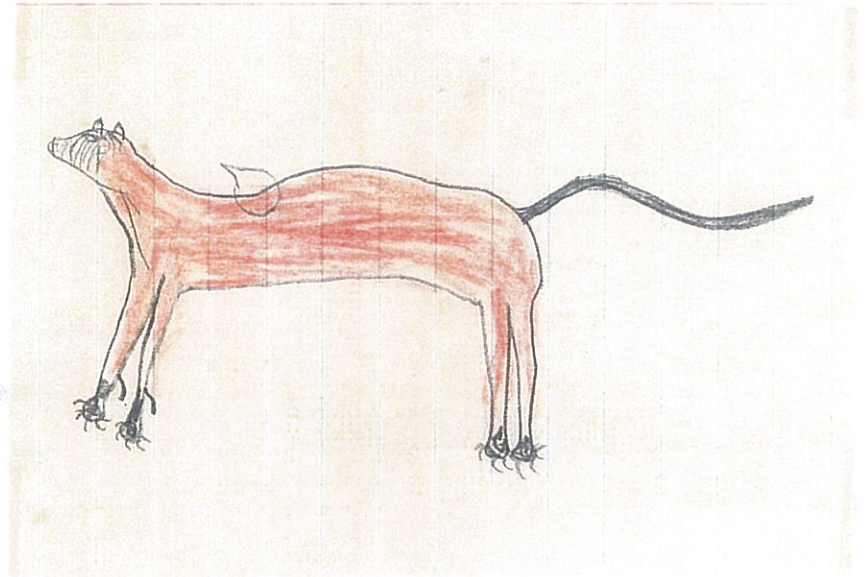
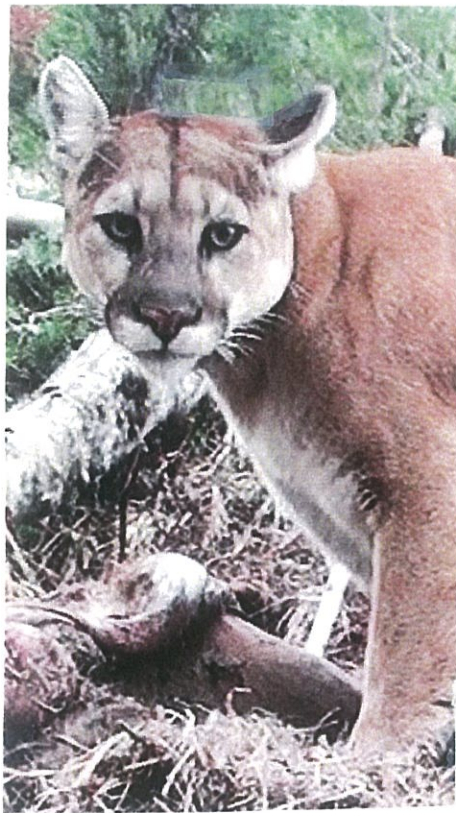
**Figure 62.** (Bottom) A ewe and ram bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), from **Plate 69**. The Lakota name for the species is “spoon horns” (*hecinskayapi*---Buechel, 1970: 170), because the wide horns of the rams were artfully fashioned into soup ladles. The photo at top verifies the coat pattern depicted by Black Road, with a band of darker fur down the neck, chest and forelegs.





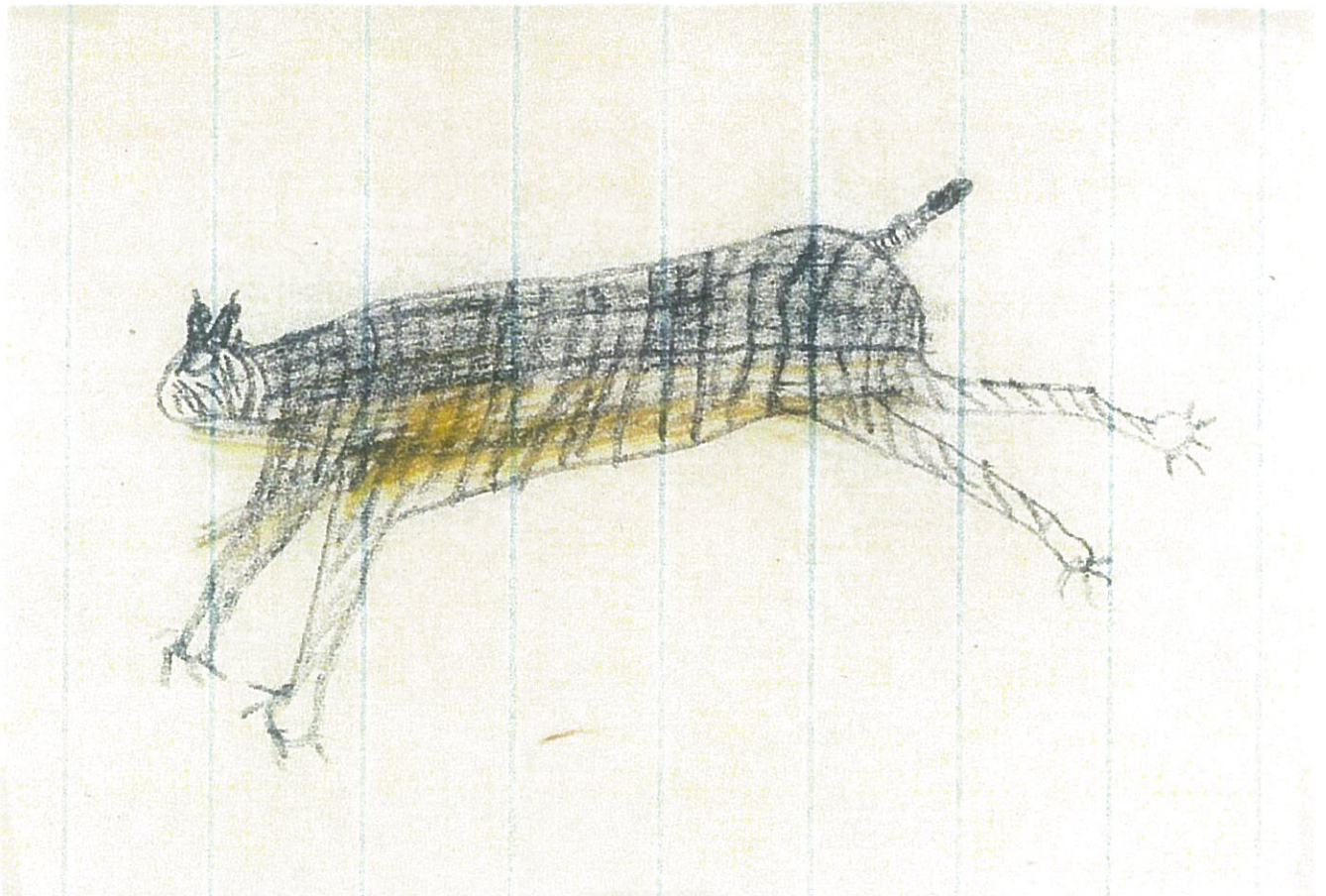
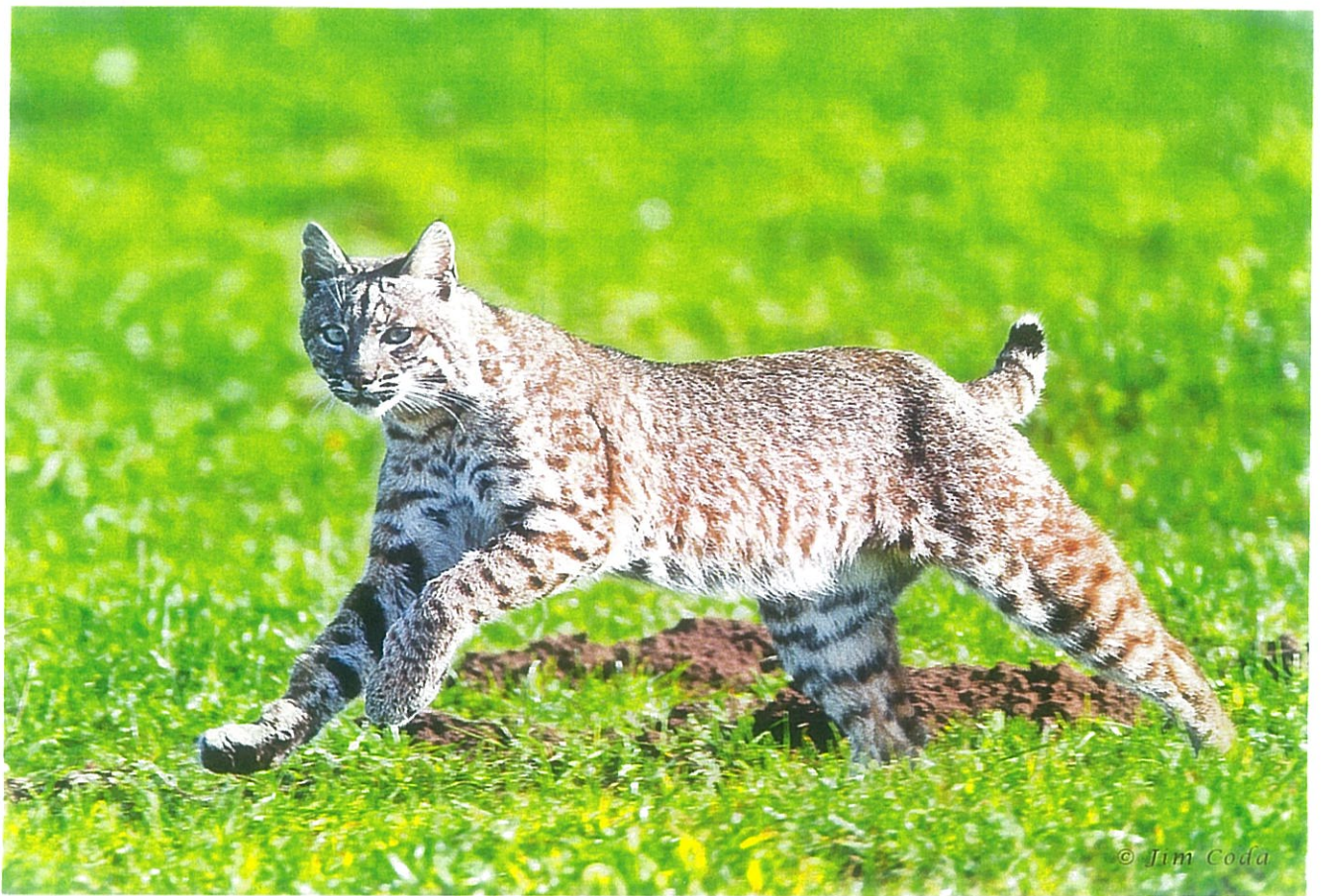
**Figure 63.** (Bottom) Bighorn ewes and a lamb, from **Plate 32**. The photo illustrates the precision with which Black Road depicted the animals leaping along a cliff face.





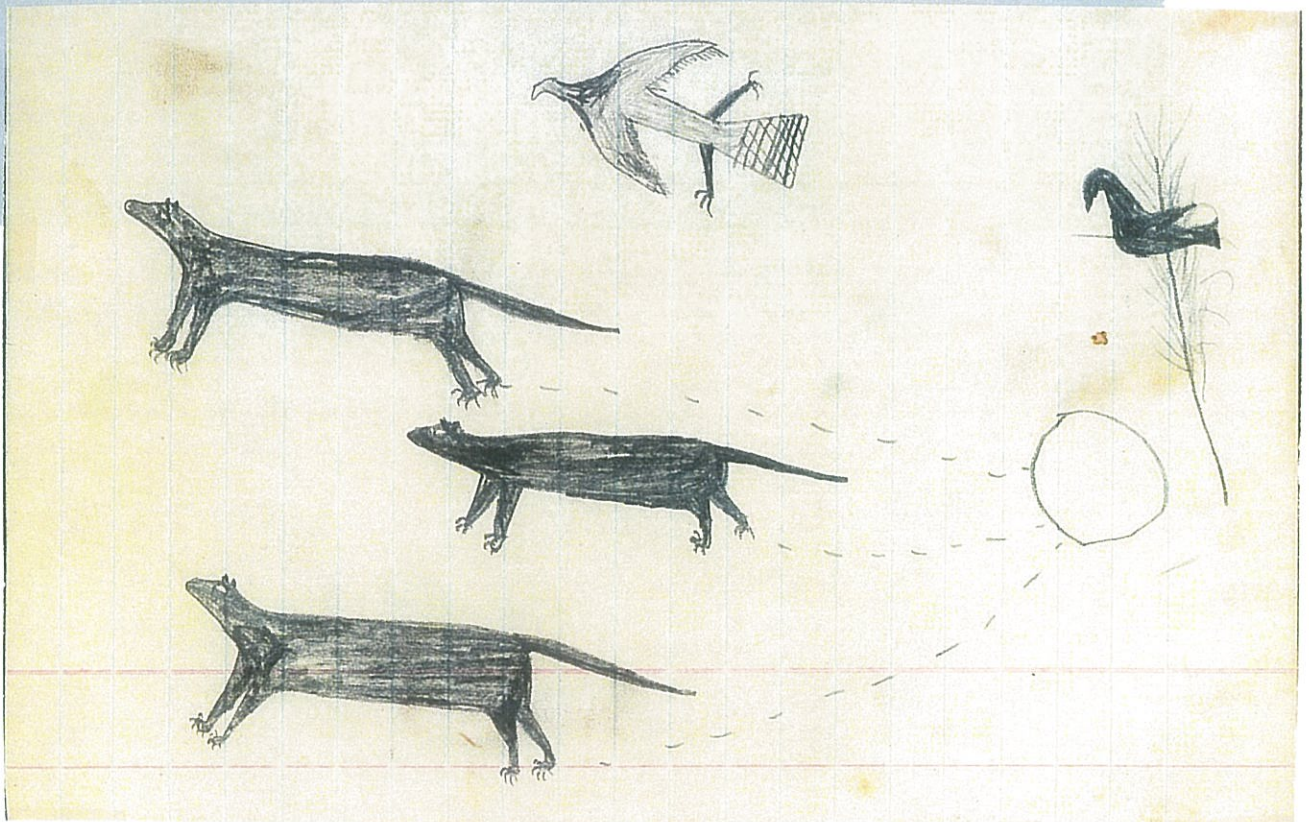
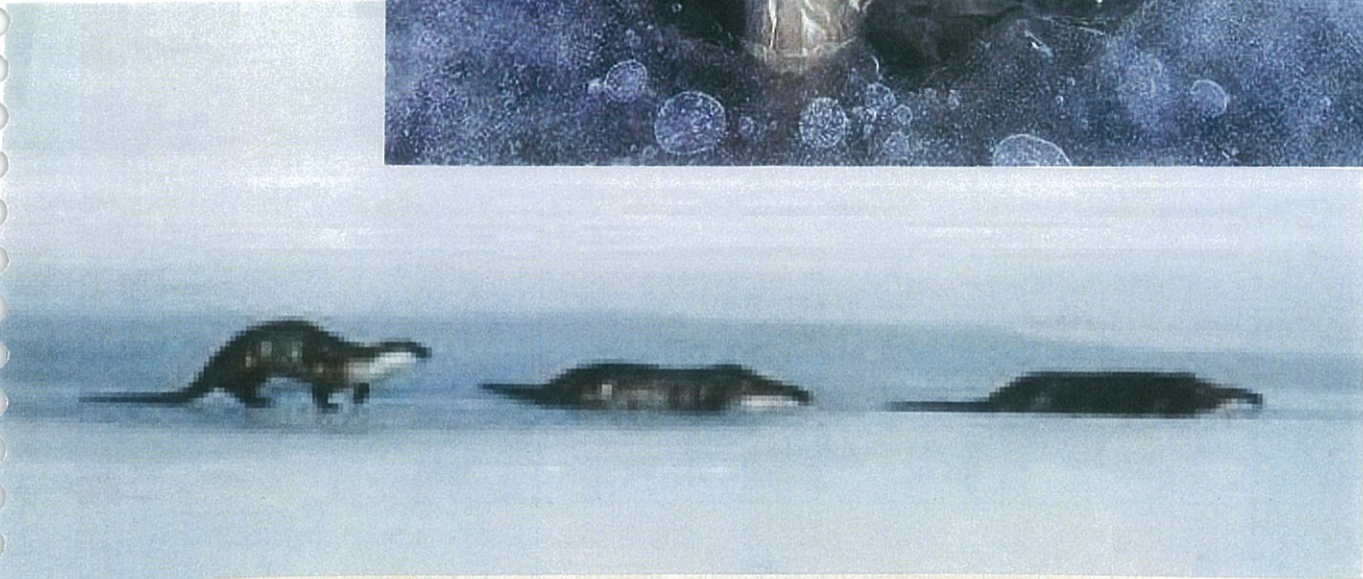
**Figure 64.** Mountain lions (*Felis concolor*), from **Plate 73** (top) and **Plate 42** (bottom). The Lakota name is “big cat” (*igmu tanka*---Buechel, 1970: 215). The photographs illustrate the black paws and medium-dark faces, which Black Road captured very accurately. Note the large “thumb” claws on the forepaws, which the cats use like scalpels to eviscerate and butcher their prey.





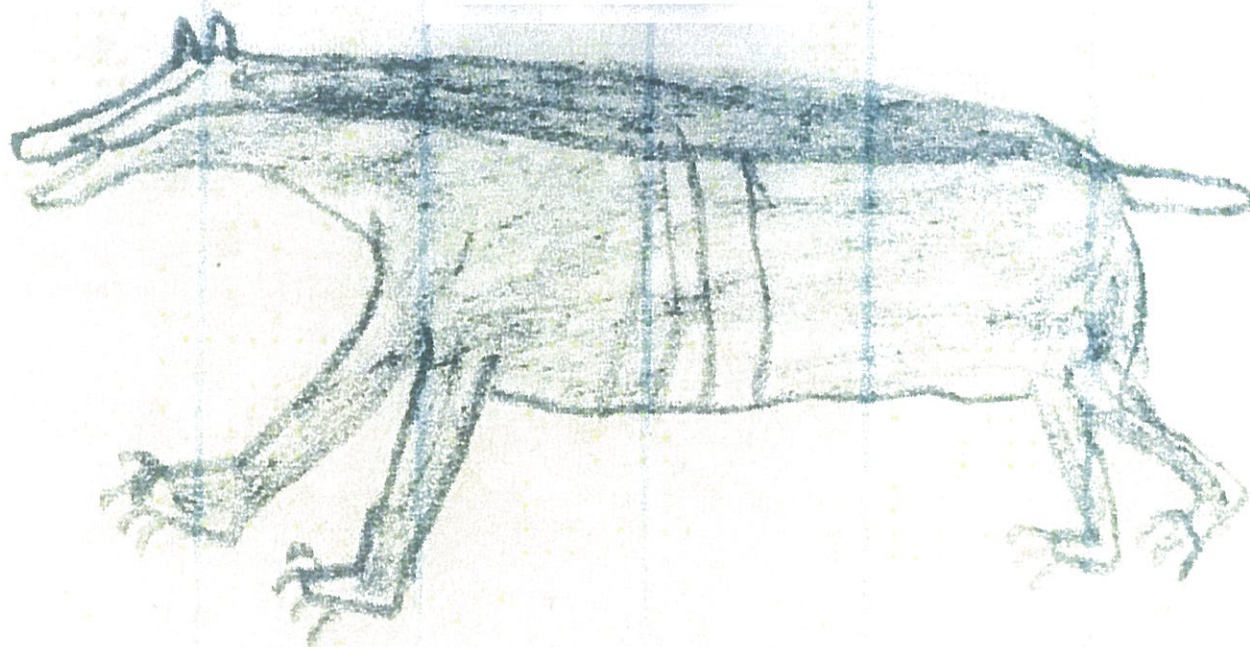
**Figure 65.** A bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), which Lakota call the “spotted cat” (*igmu gleza*---Buechel, 1970: 215), from Plate 39. The photograph shows the amazing likeness captured by Black Road, freezing the running animal in a completely naturalistic pose. Even more impressive is that the actual figure is only 2 inches long.





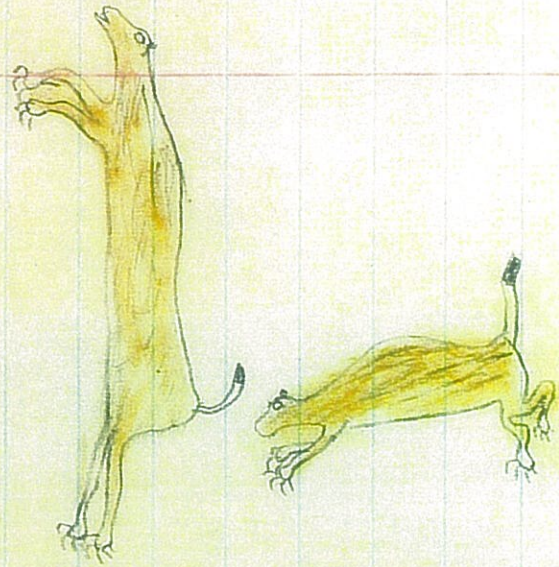
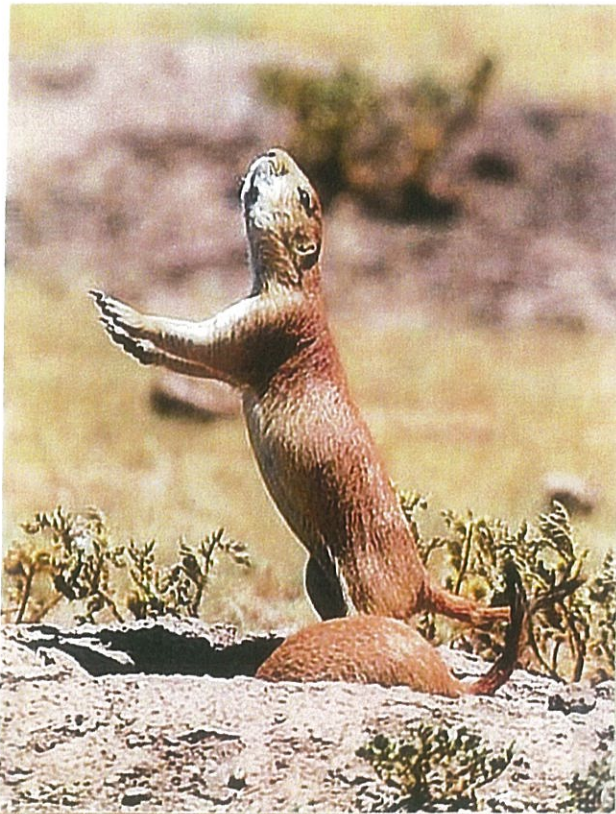
**Figure 66.** A family of river otters (*Lontra canadensis*), from **Plate 7**, which the Lakota call “uses hands” (*ptan---*Buechel, 1970: 447). The dotted lines show that the three animals have emerged from a circular hole in river ice, like the photo at top.





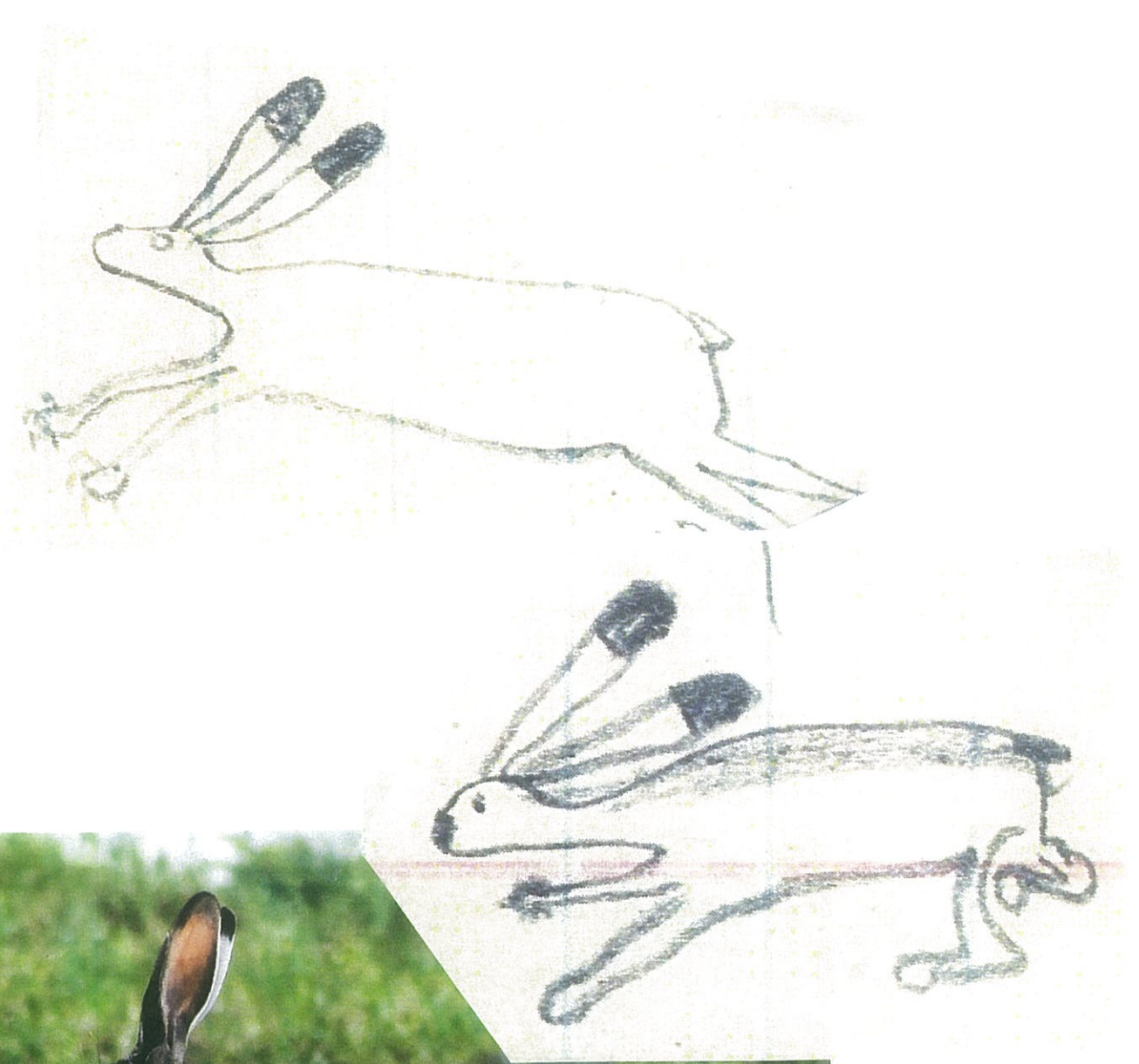
**Figure 67.** An American badger (*Taxidea taxus*), from Plate 33. The Lakota name is *hoka* (Buechel, 1970: 195). Again in very small scale, only 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, Black Road captured the salient features of the animal: the white-barred face, vertical patterning of the fur, the short legs and stubby tail, and the prehensile claws.





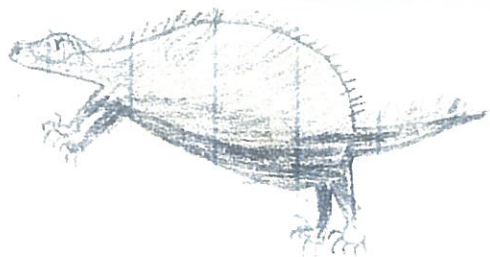
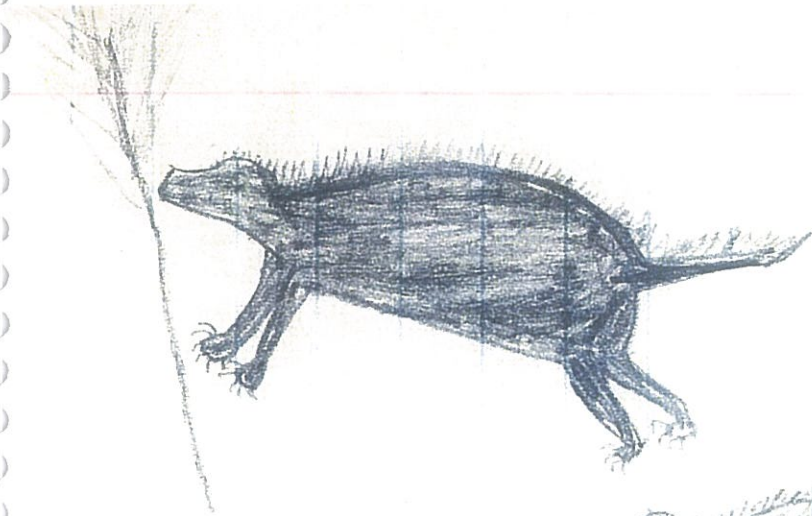
**Figure 68.** Black-tailed prairie dogs (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), from **Plate 63**. The Lakota call them “squeakers” (*pispiza*---Buechel, 1970: 444), a reference to their shrill “barking.” Black Road has rendered them in very typical poses, and incredible detail, only 2 ¼ inches high.





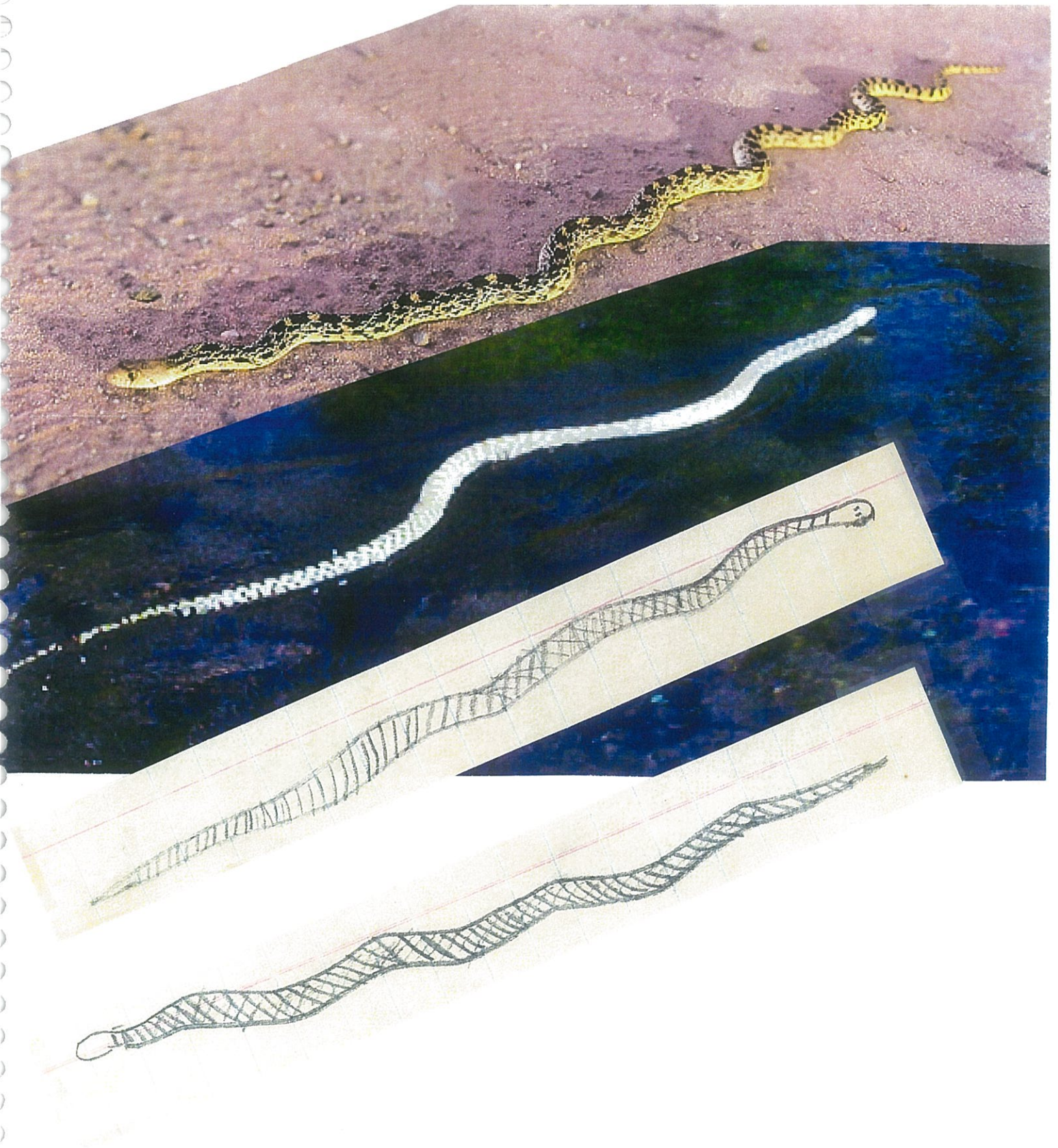
**Figure 69.** Black-tailed jack rabbits (*Lepus californicus*), from **Plate 64** (top) and **Plate 21**. Their Lakota name is *maštincala* (Buechel, 1970: 333). One of these is depicted on Black Road's war shield, in **Plate 52**; and strips of rabbit fur were worn on the wrists and ankles of the officers in Black Road's Sacred Bow Warrior Society (Wissler, 1907: 52).





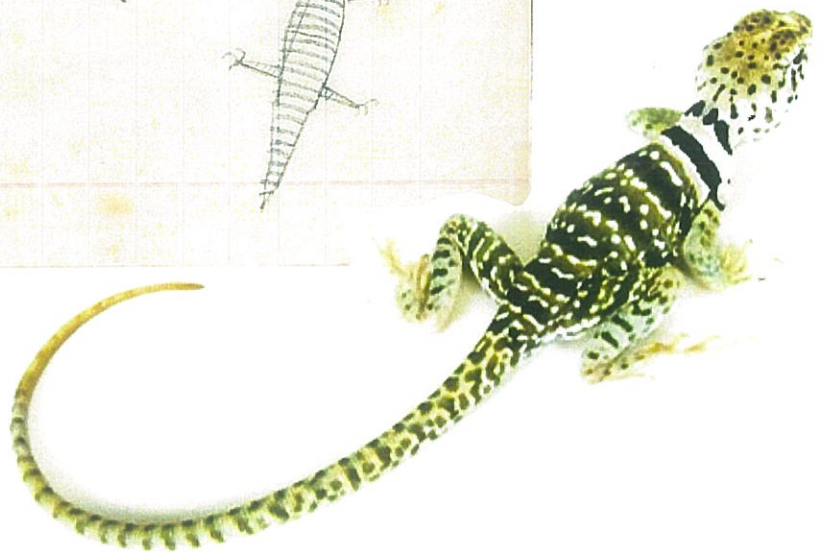
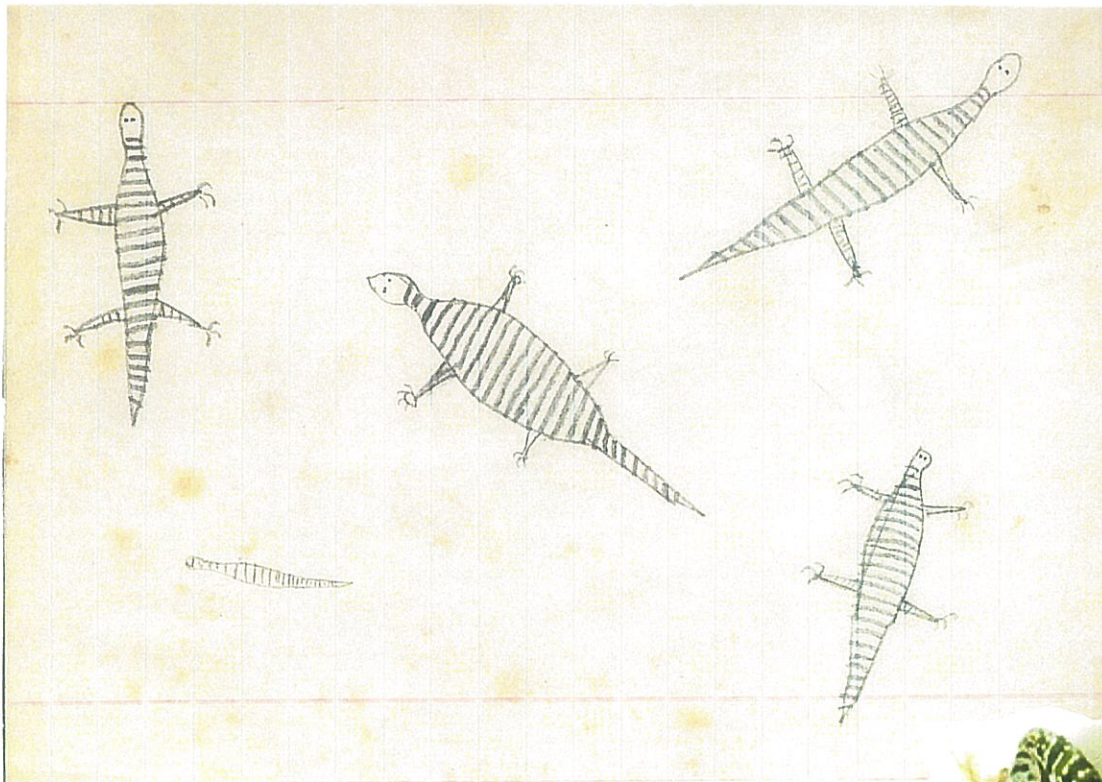
**Figure 70.** Porcupines (*Erethizon dorsatum*), from **Plate 8** (bottom) and **Plate 36**. In Lakota they are called “hairy hills” (*pahin---*Buechel, 1970: 425).





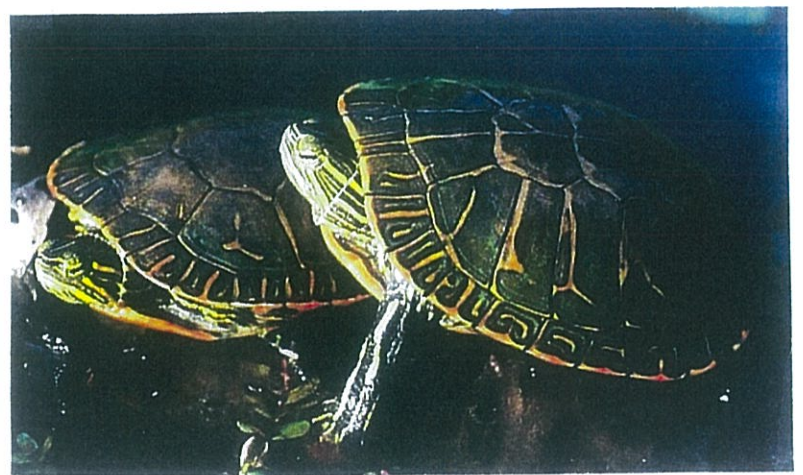
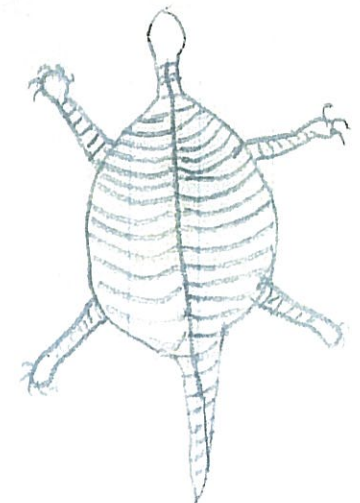
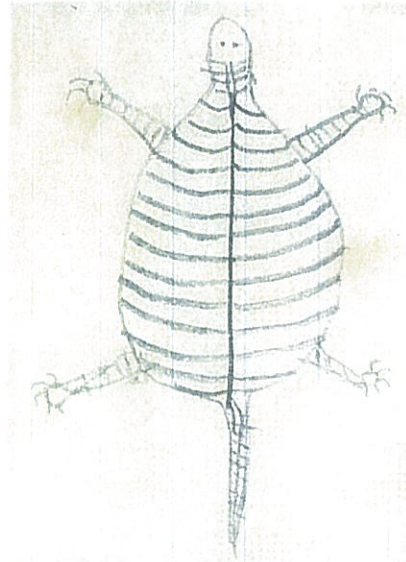
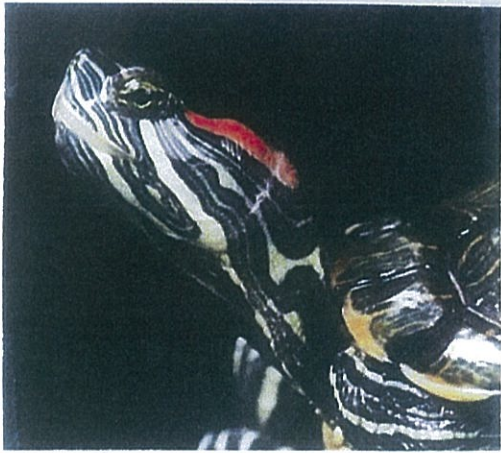
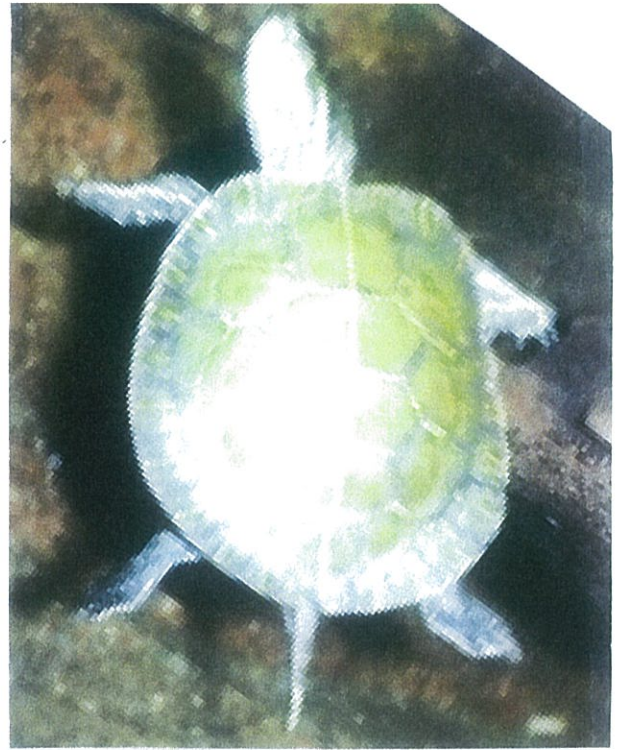
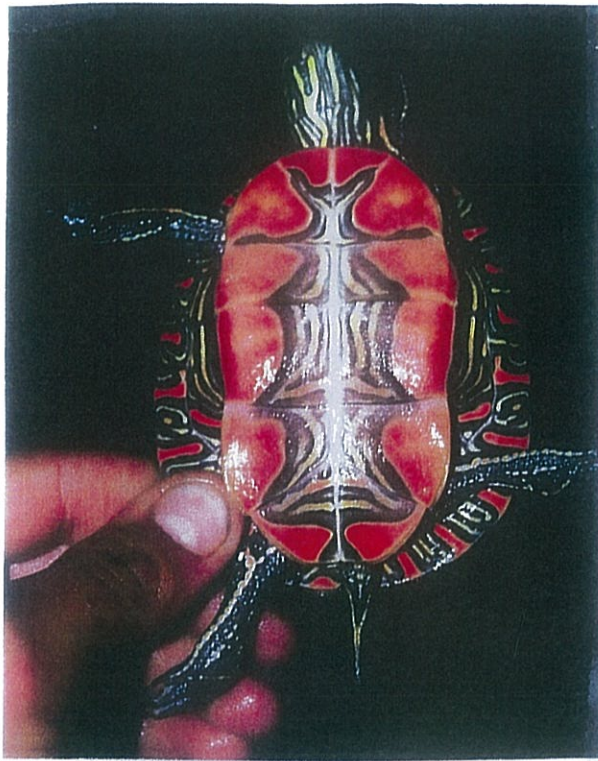
**Figure 71.** Bull snakes (*Pituophis catenifer sayi*), from **Plate 6**. Both terrestrial and aquatic, in Lakota they are called “brown speckled arrows” (*wangleleğa*---Buechel, 1970: 541). The bow-lances carried by four, leading officers of Black Road's Sacred Bow Warrior Society represented snakes; and snakes were painted on the leather robes worn by those officers (Blish, 1934: 185).





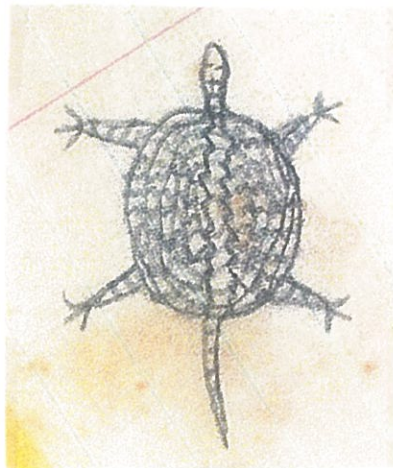
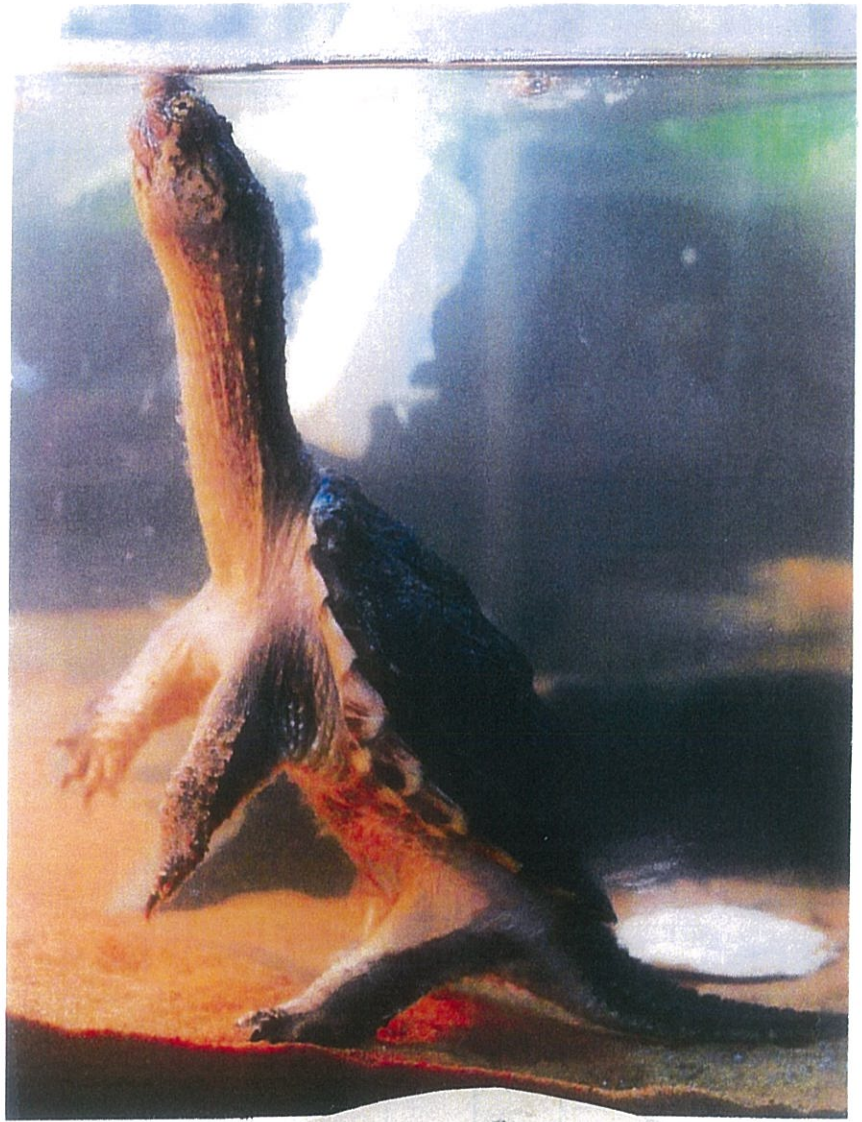
**Figure 72.** Collared lizards (*Crotaphytus collaris*), from **Plate 3**. Their Lakota name is “spotted one,” or “striped one” (*agleska*---Buechel, 1970: 57). In Dakota Territory, they displayed a wide range of color patterns. Doubtless all of these would have been of interest to Black Road.





**Figure 73.** Painted turtles (*Chrysemis picta*), which the Lakota call “red on both sides of the head” (*patkaša*---Buechel, 1970: 436), a reference to the stripe behind the eye on some individuals (center, left). Young turtles with uniformly light-colored shells (top) are what is depicted in **Plate 6** (center, right). Mature turtles, with their shells a deeper color and the individual scutes visible by outlining (bottom, right), are depicted in **Plate 87** (bottom, left).





**Figure 74.** Snapping turtles (*Chelydra serpentina*), which the Lakota call “roofed ones” (*keya---* Buechel, 1970: 297) are depicted in **Plate 87** (bottom, center & bottom, right). The extended neck, and serrated center ridge on the shell (top, left & right), are the distinctive features. The Lakota name for the small species shown at bottom, left, also from **Plate 87**, is *keh'anla* (Buechel, 1970: 297).



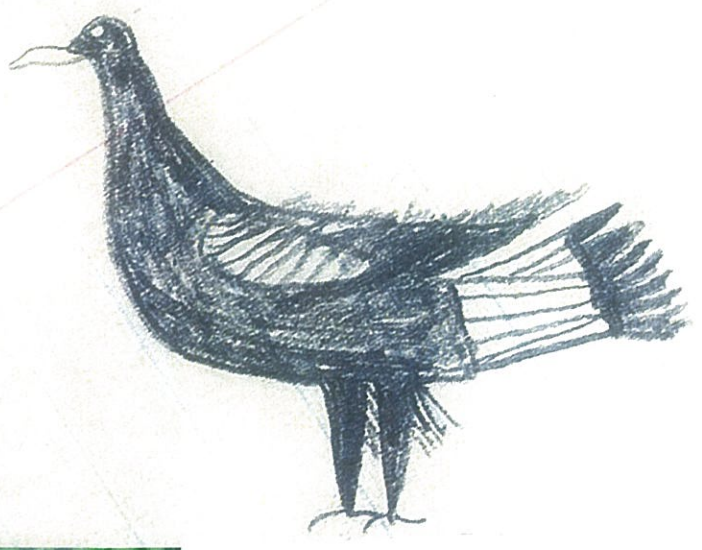
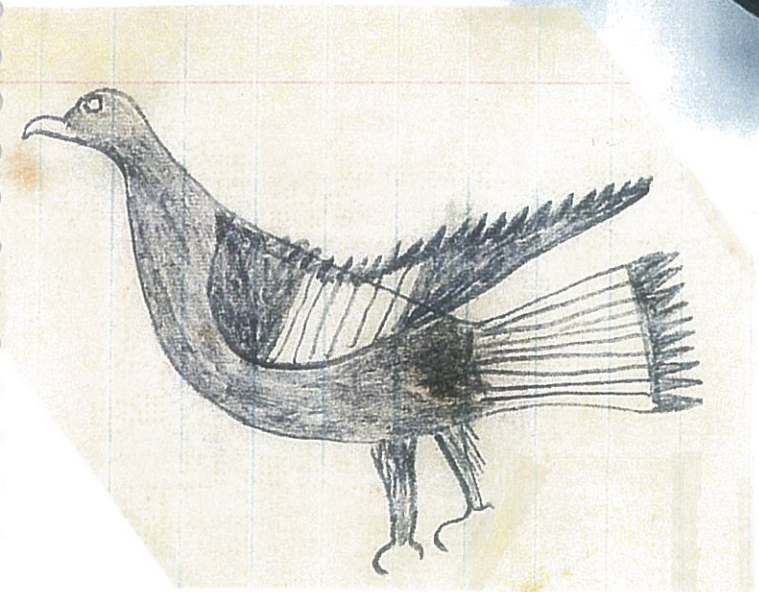
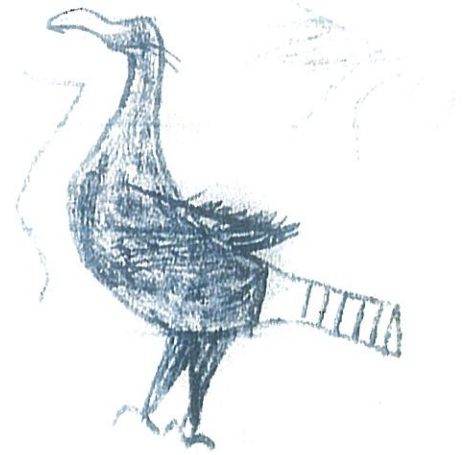
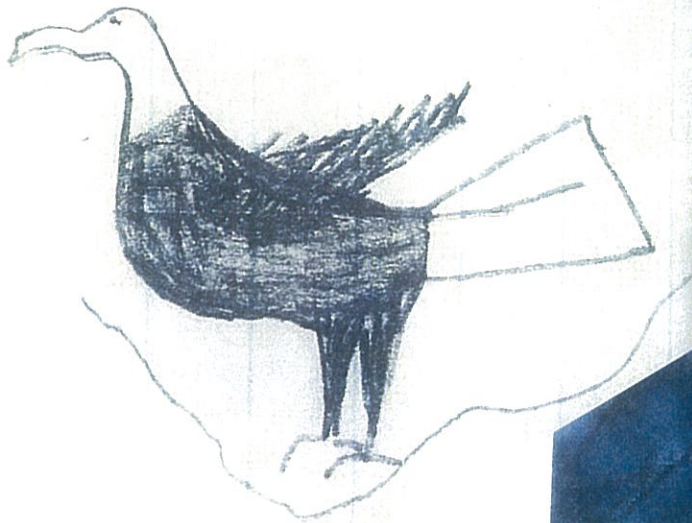


Figure 75. Golden eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos*), which the Lakota call “spotted eagles” (*wanbli gleska* ---Buechel, 1970: 540), as shown in Plate 1 (top) & Plate 34.





**Figure 76.** Bald eagles (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*), known to the Lakota as “white on both ends” (*anunkasan*---Buechel, 1970: 82), are depicted twice in **Plate 15**. The immature form, with the head and tail feathers still mottled with brown, is shown at bottom. The mature bird, with white head and tail, is shown at top. This was the “Thunderbird” mentor of Black Road, which adopted him at the age of fourteen. According to his brother Stinking Bear: “...he had fasted and had a dream in which an eagle came and told him he would be his friend and whenever he was in trouble or wanted to know anything, to build a sweat house and call on him in songs and prayers. Thus he became a prophet” (Meany, 1907).





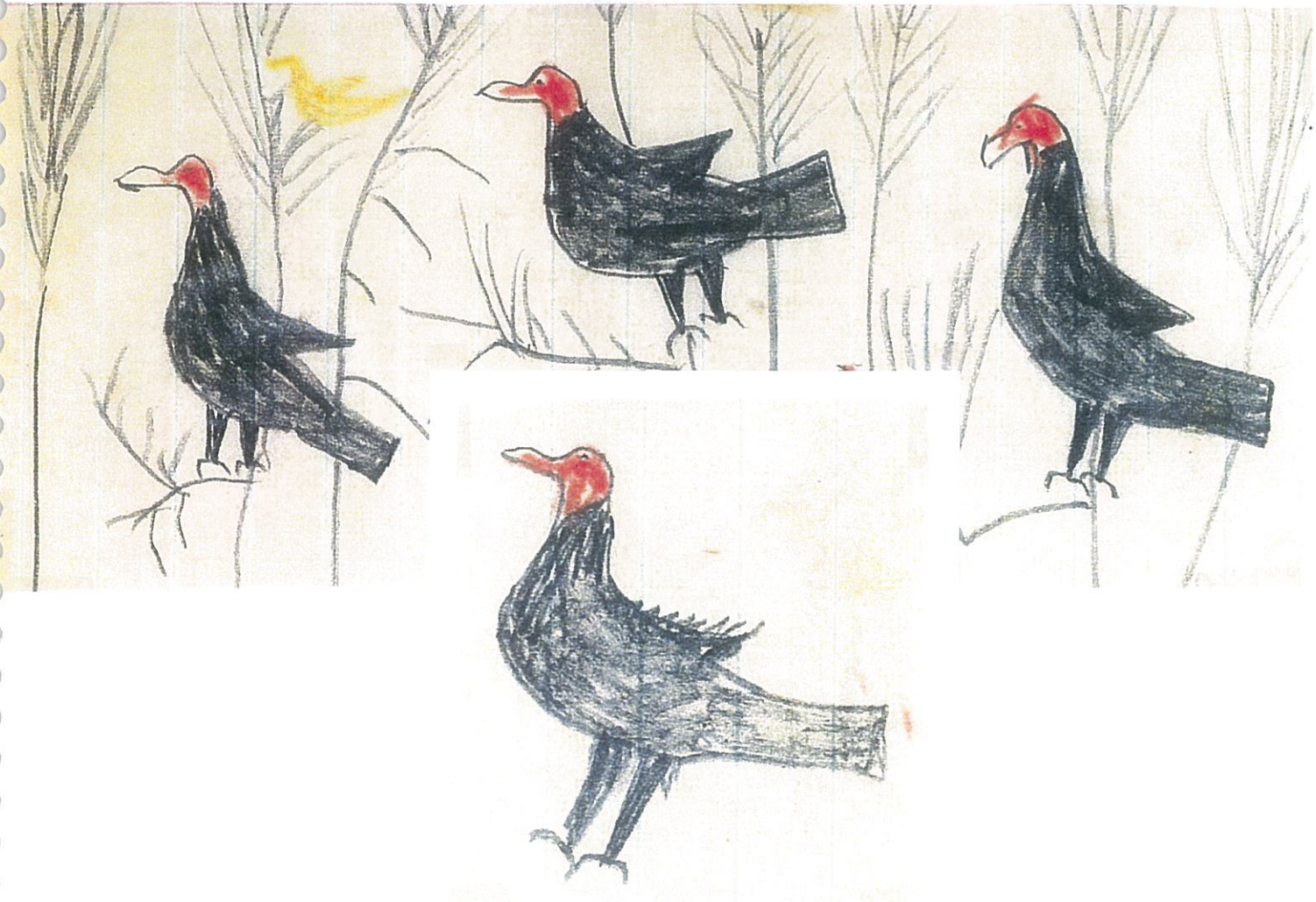
**Figure 77.** Dark-phase ferruginous hawks (*Buteo regalis*), due to their dark profile against the sky are called “big hawks” in Lakota (*cetan tanka*---Buechel, 1970: 130). The only hawk known to the Lakota which has dark-colored legs, ferruginous hawks are depicted in **Plate 7** (top), and **Plate 37** (center). The bird at bottom, from **Plate 15**, is more problematical. It is shown in a context with three raptors, so may also be intended as *cetan tanka*. However, the solid, dark coloration and large, black beak suggest that it depicts a raven (*Corvus corvax*), shown at bottom, left. In Lakota, this bird is the “big crow” (*kangi tanka*---Buechel, 1970: 283).





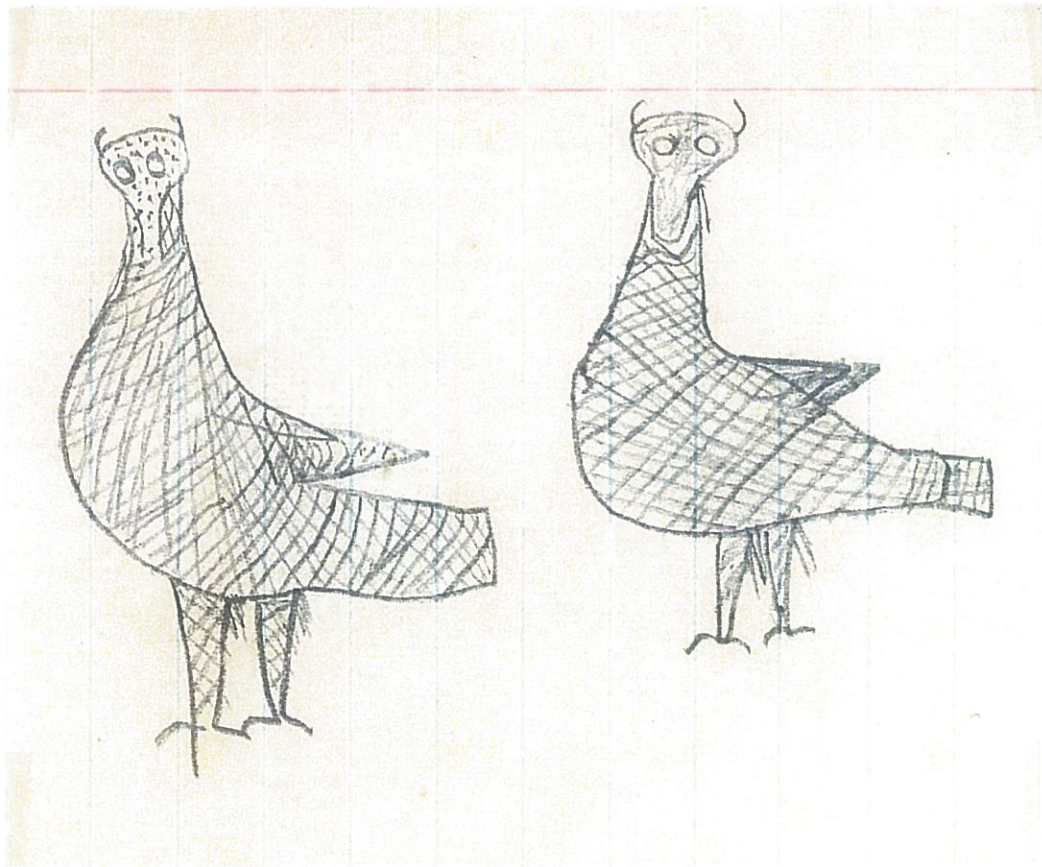
**Figure 78.** The sparrow hawk, or American kestrel (*Falco sparverius*), is depicted twice in **Plate 21**, hovering (top) and standing on the ground (bottom). In Lakota, this bird is the “little red hawk” (*cetansála*---Buechel, 1970: 130). The small size, red-brown body and tail feathers, and the dark band on the tail are the diagnostic features.





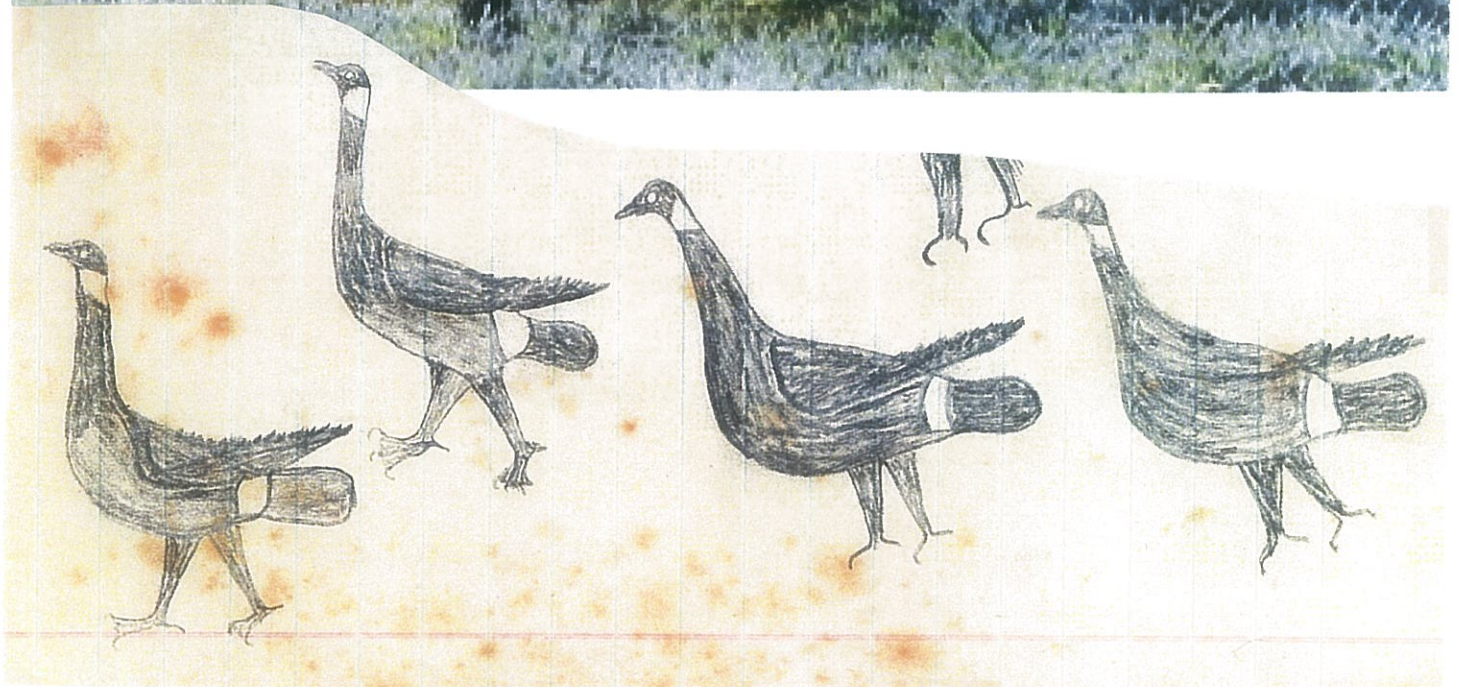
**Figure 79.** Turkey vultures (*Cathartes aura*) are depicted in **Plate 21** (center) in trees where they roost each night, and in **Plate 15** (bottom). Their Lakota name is *heca---*Buechel, 1970: 169. Rarely depicted by Lakota artists, the bird held an auracular significance for Black Road, who included it in **Plate 15** among the spiritual mentors which made of him a “war prophet” (Meany, 1907).





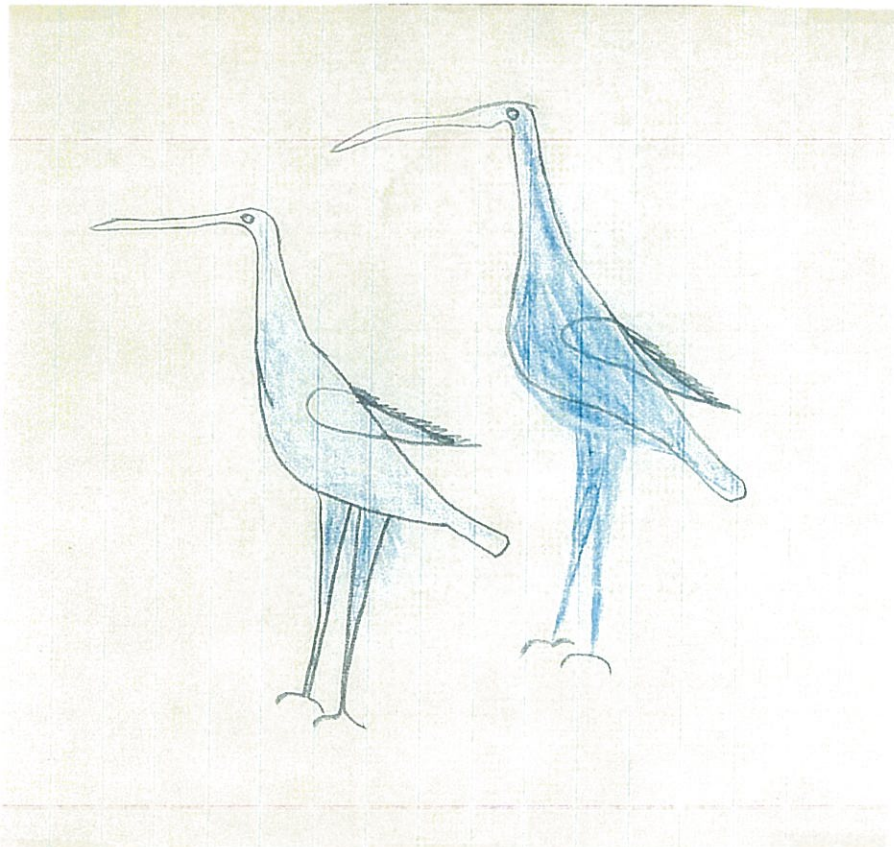
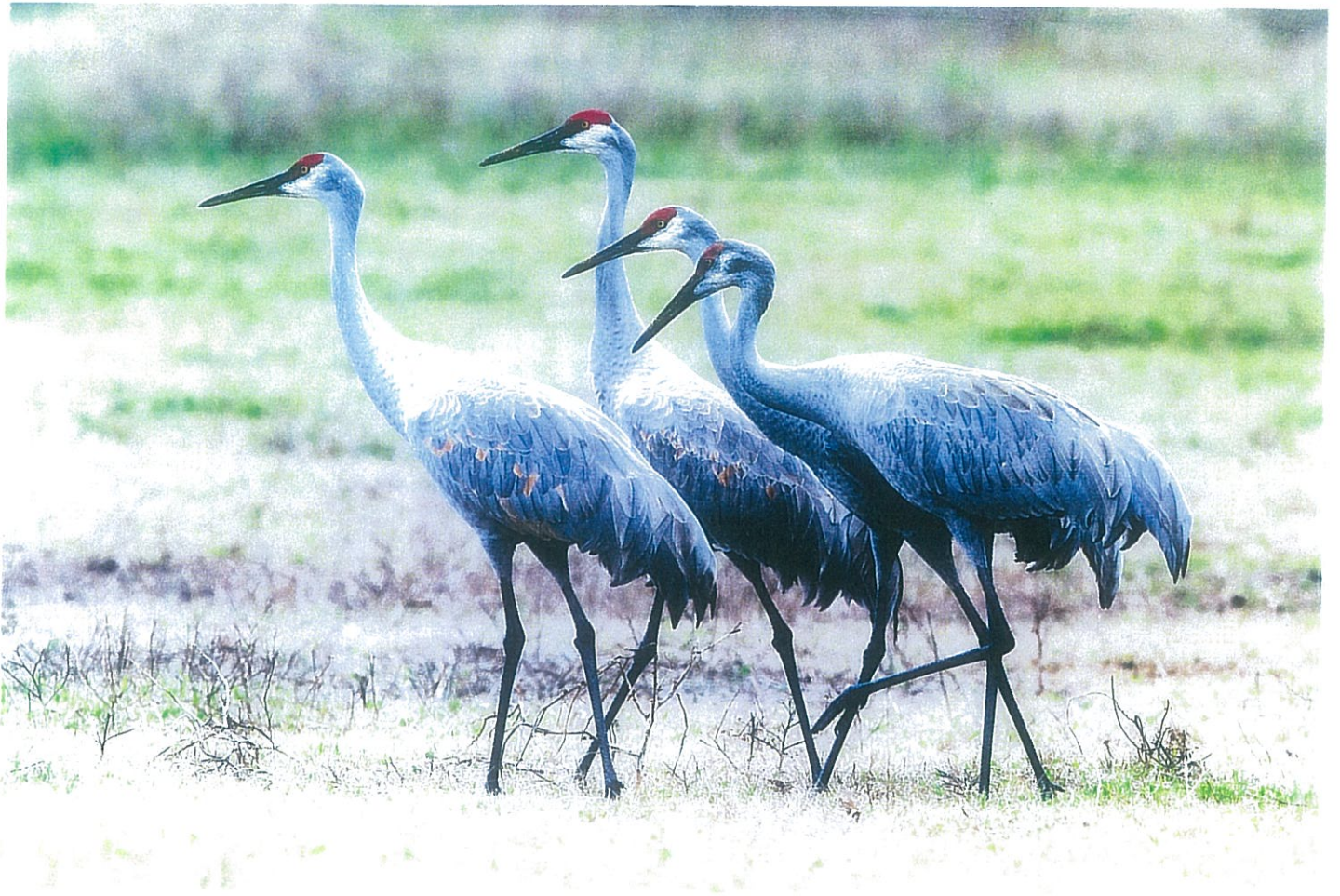
**Figure 80.** Great-horned owls (*Bubo virginianus*) are depicted in **Plate 71** (bottom) and **Plate 8**. Their Lakota name is “the big one with feathers standing up” (*hinhan tanka*---Buechel, 1970: 176).





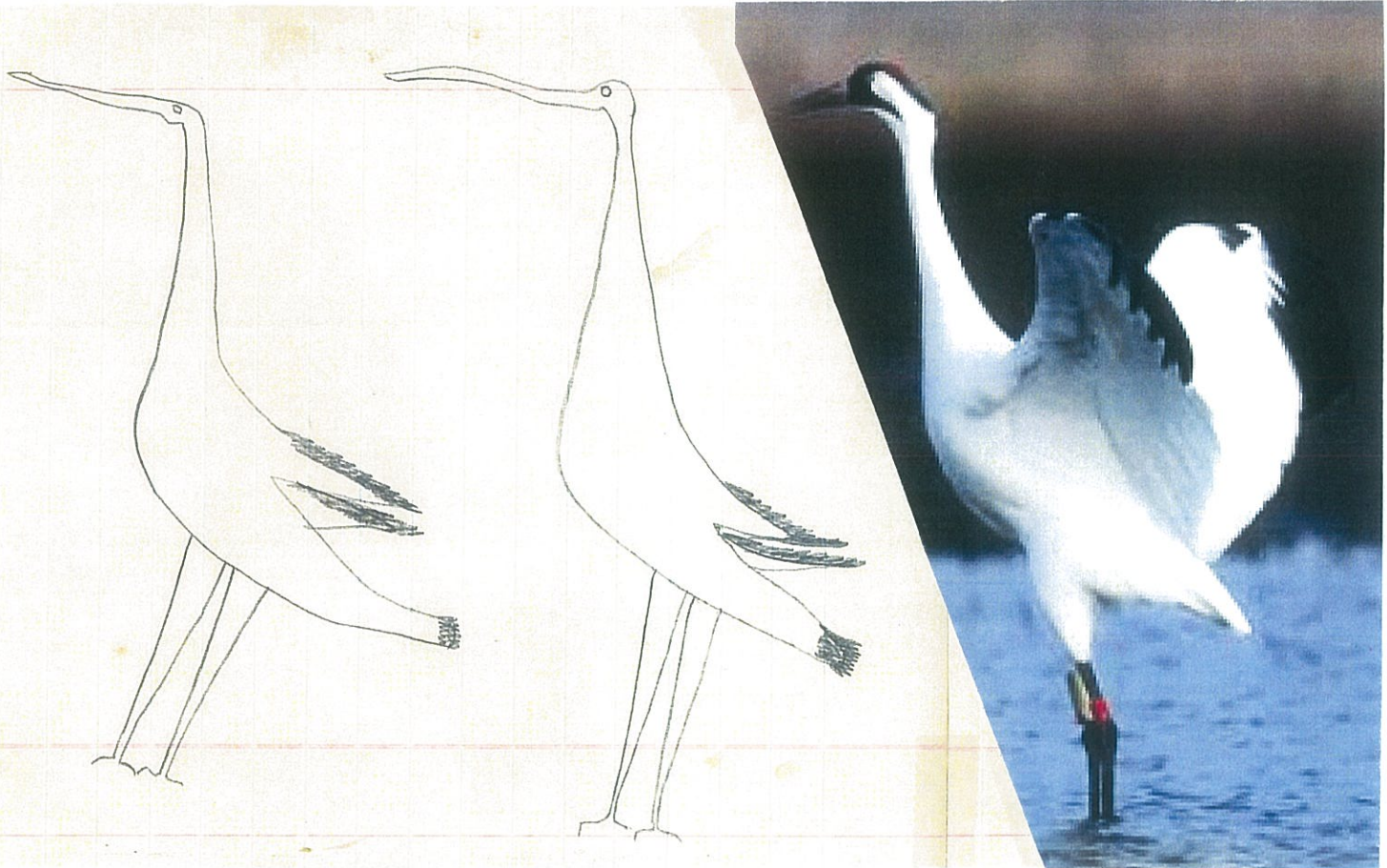
**Figure 81.** Canada geese (*Branta canadensis*) are the “black geese” (*mağa sapa*---Buechel, 1970: 327) to the Lakota. In **Plate 1** (bottom) they are shown as often seen while foraging on the ground near water sources. Note that Black Road has also depicted the white band above the dark tail feathers, even though this is only seen when the birds are in flight (top).





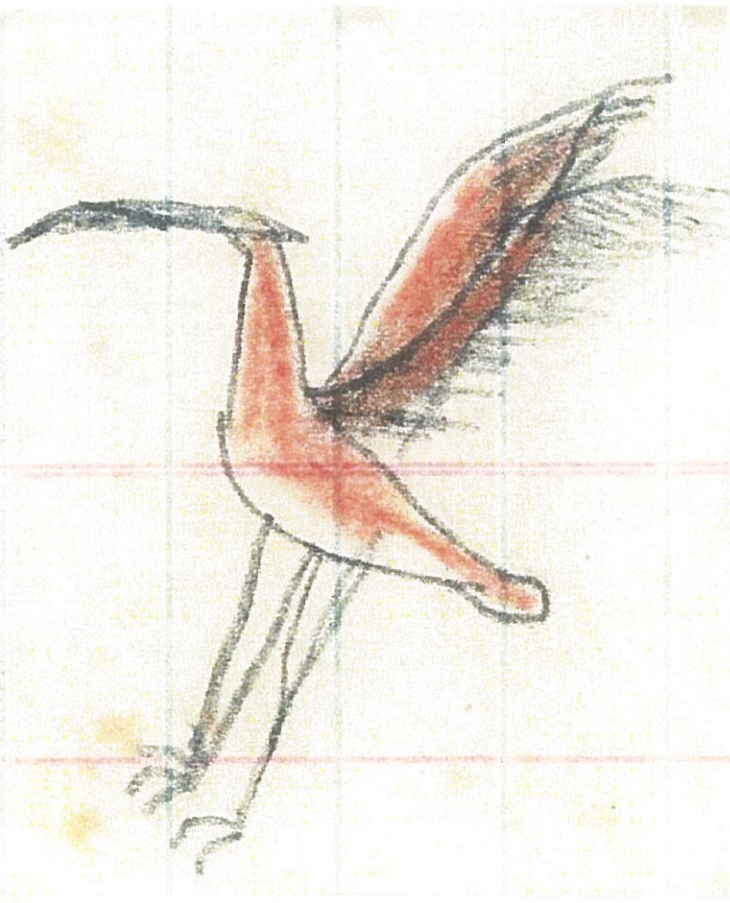
**Figure 82.** Sandhill cranes (*Grus canadensis*) are depicted in very accurate grey-blue coloration in **Plate 61**. Their Lakota name is “little grey ones that fold up” (*pehangila*---Buechel, 1970: 438), a reference to their large wings.





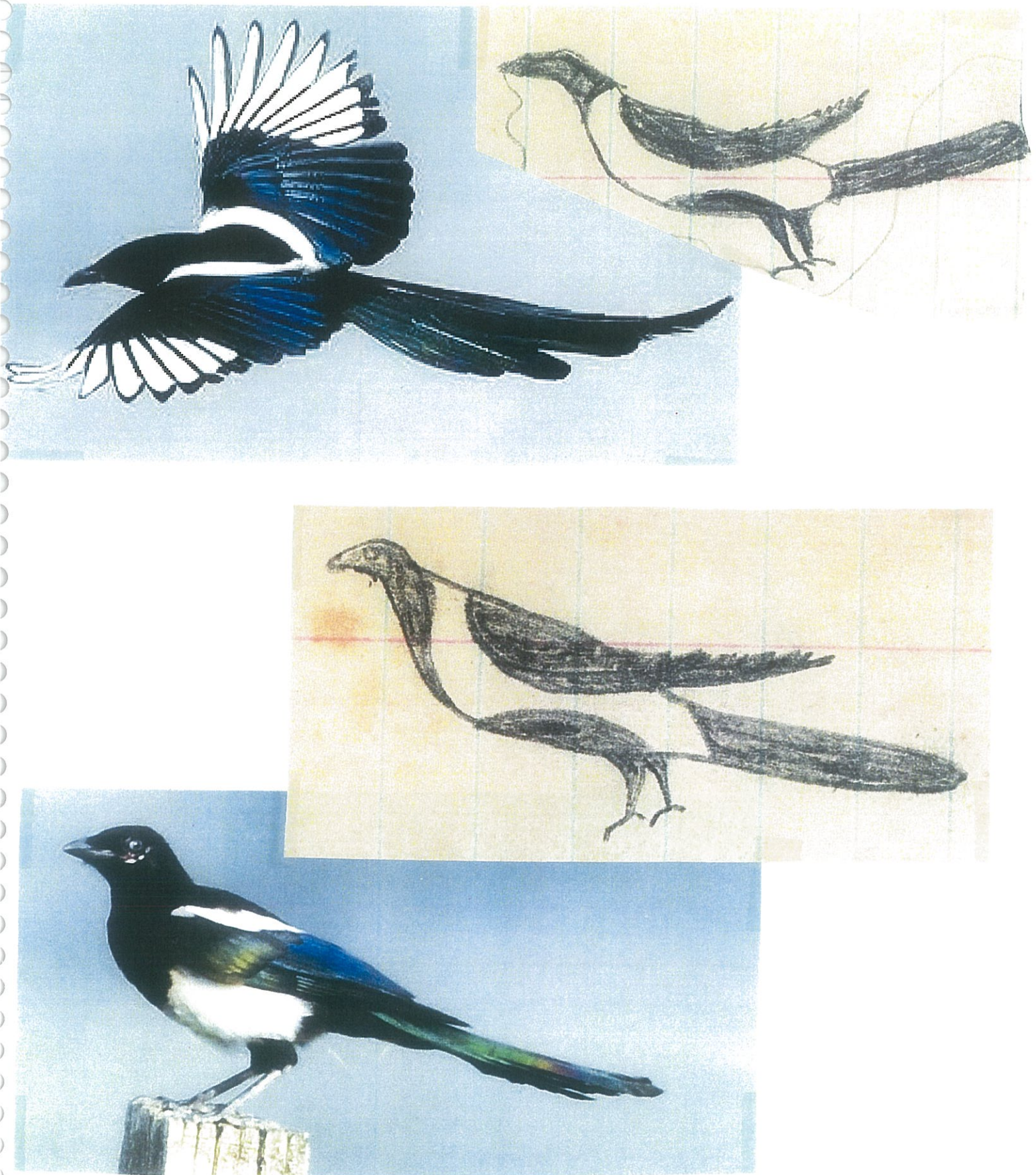
**Figure 83.** Whooping cranes (*Grus americana*), in Lakota are called “white (or cream-colored) ones that fold up” (*pehan ska*, or *pehan san---*Buechel, 1970: 669 & 439), again, in reference to their large wings, which seem almost to disappear when the birds alight. Black Road depicted them in **Plate 62**. The very-long wing bones, as also those of eagles, were favored in making whistles carried into battle. In **Plate 26**, Black Road depicted himself with such a whistle in his mouth.





**Figure 84.** Long-billed curlews (*Numenius americanus*) are depicted in **Plate 13** (bottom, left) and **Plate 70**. The photo at top demonstrates how accurately Black Road captured their appearance and characteristic movements, running along the water's edge with raised wings. Their Lakota name is "the big one, scraped off clean" (*ticanica tanka*---Buechel, 1970: 474), because the long bill is similar in appearance to a well-gnawed buffalo rib bone. The smaller wimbrel is called *ticanica*.





**Figure 85.** Black-billed magpies (*Pica hudsonia*) are shown in **Plate 1** (bottom) and **Plate 24**. Their Lakota name is “comes and defecates” (*unkcekiha*---Buechel, 1970: 507). The bane of careful Lakota house keepers, magpies often arrived in flocks to land on the tipi poles, and soil the leather lodge covers below.





**Figure 86.** Three types of small bird are depicted in **Plate 21**. The red-headed woodpecker (*Melanerpes erythrocephalus*), in Lakota is called the “red-headed pounder” *wagnuka peśa* (Buechel, 1970: 516). The mountain bluebird (*Sialia currucoides*), in Lakota is also called “bluebird” (*zintkato*---Buechel, 1970: 658). The small, yellow bird (center, two are depicted) might be either the golden warbler (*Dendroica petechia*), or the yellow warbler (*Setophaga petechia*), closely similar species, both of which in Lakota are called “little yellow bird” (*zintkala zi*---Buechel, 1970: 658).