

„The black came over the sun...”: Lame Bull’s spiritual oeuvre

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After several decades of a serious art historical survey of the North American Plains Indian culture we are still able to identify only a handful of named artists from that area. This paper will introduce a very talented and highly-creative Cheyenne artist Lame Bull, and will make an effort to reconstruct his oeuvre, or at least that part which is documented to some degree. In this respect I shall employ the term „oeuvre” in a broader sense than it is used in art historical texts. Although I will identify designs of painted tipis, shields and even a bandolier originated by Lame Bull, he was not necessarily the actual artist in all these cases. In tribal terms, however, he was considered to be *the* owner of these designs, even if he only outlined the actual painting of a tipi, shield or rawhide container. We might consider his „spiritual oeuvre” in the sense of concept art. By reconstructing Lame Bull’s spiritual oeuvre we shall learn more about the mechanism of Native American art, about its uses and function. In this work of reconstruction I will lean heavily on the unpublished Cheyenne field notes of two ethnologists for the Bureau of American Ethnology, James Mooney and Truman Michelson. These notes are now housed in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C..¹ Other sources are artworks that are in public and private collections in the U.S. and Europe.

Lame Bull in the published literature

There is surprisingly little information about Lame Bull. The first mention of him is made in James Mooney’s monograph, *The Cheyenne Indians*. While discussing the medicine societies, he writes: „...According to the testimony of one who took part in this dance (i.e.: the Fire Dance) under the instruction of its most noted leader, Lame Bull, the fire caused an unpleasant sensation... Lame Bull died in 1901, leaving no recognized successor, although one or two persons claim to hold the secret” (1907: 415). (See the Appendix, for a full description of Lame Bull’s role in the Fire Dance.)

The next mention of a Lame Bull is in Stephen Barrett’s *Hoistah*, a romanticized biography of a Cheyenne woman: „...The ancient order of the Sacred Arrow-Medicine led by Lame Bull came early the next morning...” (1913: 96). If we accept John H. Moore’s supposition that Hoistah’s account describes a Cheyenne Sun Dance performed about 1830, this Lame Bull has to be a different person than the one in question. He might be the father or uncle of the Fire Dancer mentioned by Mooney, and it is very instructive that he is associated with the „ancient order of the Sacred Arrow-Medicine.”²

The Mennonite priest Rev. Rodolphe Petter mentions Lame Bull in his *English-Cheyenne Dictionary* as one of his informants on the original Cheyenne term for God (Petter 1915: 516). This suggests that Petter recognized him as an authority on native Cheyenne religion and sacred matters.

Lame Bull is mentioned twice in the *Life of George Bent*, during the turbulent years of 1866-67 (Hyde 1968: 265, 270). However, checking the Bent-Hyde correspondence reveals that Hyde misinterpreted Bent’s story, and the two references are to the same war-

expedition which Lame Bull led, and George Bent accompanied (Bent 1906-1917: 17 Dec., 1913).³

After this review of the historical sources we have a clearer picture of Lame Bull. He was not only the leader of the Fire Dance, but a medicine man, as well as an active war leader. Mooney also informs us that he died about 1901.

A few additional references appear in the recent literature.⁴ Peter J. Powell mentions him again in his *People of the Sacred Mountain*, but only repeats the information given by George Bent (Powell 1981: 477, 501-502).

In 1988, Nancy L. Fagin described the painted tipi model of Lame Bull, collected by James Mooney, and presently on display at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (Fig. 3). In the identification of Lame Bull, she simply quoted the known references from George Bent's biography (Fagin 1988: 269-270), and further said:

The photocopies of Mooney's field notes available to this author are practically illegible and it is difficult to imagine that the pencil originals are much better. In these notes Mooney did not apparently attempt to examine the meaning of the Cheyenne designs (Fagin 1988: 276).

Mooney's handwriting and abbreviations often *are* difficult to read. It is really unfortunate, that Fagin failed to decipher the rich information collected by Mooney, and misinterpreted the importance of these notes. Further, she missed the chance to explain the history of each tipi design, including Lame Bull's painted tipis. However, we shall become acquainted with them presently.

Finally, the most surprising occurrence of Lame Bull's name is in the recent catalogue of the private collection of John W. Painter. This beautiful volume illustrates a remarkable Cheyenne flat case on p. 101, which „...is reported to have belonged to Lame Bull, Southern Cheyenne” (Painter n.d. [1991]: 102). The flat case was handed down among the descendants of Lame Bull until it ended up in the private collection (Painter 1995). It has a stylized turtle image in the center, much like a compass. Besides, blue dragonflies occupy the four corners of the front of the case, while the perimeter design is a classic Cheyenne-style composition (Fig. 1) (Painter n.d.[1991]: 101).

Lame Bull, the dreamer of tipis

There is another document which proves the activity and prominent role of Lame Bull in Cheyenne history. However, it is a visual document, a large-format Cheyenne drawing, preserved in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York (cat. no. 11/1706). This drawing depicts a Cheyenne Sun Dance camp in a remarkably detailed way. It has been published several times (Fawcett and Callander 1982: 24, Pl. 11; Moore 1987: 48, Pl. 2; Heth /gen. ed./ 1992: 136-137, Pl. 151; Berlo /ed./ 1996: 132-133), and generally is attributed erroneously to Little Chief, a Southern Cheyenne artist, who was incarcerated at Fort Marion, Florida between 1874-1878. This attribution is definitely wrong. The panoramic view of the Cheyenne camp was certainly prepared by Chief Killer, another Fort Marion prisoner. The Little Chief attribution stems from a superficial comparison of this drawing with the „Rosetta stone” of the Fort Marion art, that is the small drawing-book among the Richard H. Pratt papers in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.⁵ A careful examina-

tion of the Cheyenne drawings in this drawing-book reveals that Chief Killer seems to be a more likely artist and the internal evidences (shield and tipi designs) support this.⁶ Since the drawing exhibits strong influence of European artistic traditions alien to Plains Indian pictographic art, we might conjecture that it was prepared during the latest part of Chief Killer's incarceration, or shortly after that. We might further surmise that the drawing illustrates a Cheyenne Sun Dance camp prior 1874, the year of the beginning of the Fort Marion prisoners' exile. Until the present time, the most thorough analysis of this drawing has been that prepared by Moore (1987: 47-48), although he concentrated on the ethno-sociological aspects of the artwork, rather than on the historical facets.

The illustrated camp circle shows about twenty painted tipis, and eight of them have the name of the owners written beside them. In the upper left corner, - which represents the southeastern end of the camp circle - we read the name 'Lame Buffalo' which marks an outstanding painted tipi with multicolored stripes at the bottom and at the smoke flaps, while its black central part is sprinkled with white dots and further embellished with a multicolored crescent (Fig. 2). This design is strikingly different from the one collected by James Mooney in 1906, and described by Fagin (Fig. 3):

This three-part tipi has connecting blue columns from the top to the bottom section. The top is black with a single blue star on the top back. The center section is yellow with two facing brown bull buffaloes. Between them is a red disk with a green ring and tail decorations. The bottom section is black and just above it is a white line with a single row of buffalo tracks (Fagin 1988: 270).

Now, if we turn to the James Mooney notes we find a quite detailed description of the design, right beside the drawing of his tipi painting. Since these notes were never published before, and because they are extremely important in understanding the origin of Cheyenne visionary designs, and the rules regulating their use, I will quote them in their entirety. Mooney used special abbreviations and unique phonetic forms in his notes, so I have corrected and completed these peculiarities according to standard English, to make them readable. However, I retain Mooney's orthography of Cheyenne names and terms, since it differs from the orthographies used by George B. Grinnell and Rodolphe Petter, both contemporaries of Mooney, and each of whom developed idiosyncratic methods of transcribing Cheyenne language terms. At the same time, throughout the main text - wherever possible - I will use the modern orthography of the Cheyenne language (Glenmore and Leman 1986, Leman /ed./ 1987).

Lame Bull tipi

No. 26.

Green circle around Indian red sun = White man's green.

Formerly used grasses for green dye.

Light blue morning star (Moon crescent by mistake.)

Poles plain.

Body should be yellow instead of red. Lame Bull also another of White Shield's tipi.

Back - two buffalo bulls - Sun in five buffalo tails.

Perpendicular lines rooted down to black border.

Buffalo tracks from each side approach central sun.

Lame Bull = *Hótóá-viá*, died 1902. He saw it at „Gift Mountain” and on the same occasion as White Shield’s tipi (q.v.)

He now modifies his original story of White Shield’s tipi and says *it* was seen each morning, and this (No. 26.) each evening, and that both were body color yellow.

Lame Bull made it for himself, about three years before the 1874 outbreak (Adobe Walls battle). Never renewed, because he dreamed *several* at the same time which were to be made in turn for him and his family, and therefore not renew this.

Eviqsnipahis
28. +

Shield - see: No.

Harvey also saw another of his - [what is] more recent - in canvas, set up at Darlington, near Robert Burns’ site in 1878. Body plain, with upright stripes as in these two, and top and bottom with many round black spots = stars. His widow at Kingfisher would know (Mooney notes, NAA 2538, Box 1: Lame Bull).

Before analyzing the ethnographical and historical data in these short paragraphs, we should explore those further references which are suggested by Mooney himself. The most important of these is the description of White Shield’s tipi. White Shield was a noted Southern Cheyenne chief, and his son Harvey White Shield, who graduated from Carlisle Institute, was Mooney’s foremost Cheyenne interpreter and informant, beside George Bent. Harvey was also the primary informant on the Fire Dance already referred to in Mooney’s Cheyenne monograph. We learned from the previous Mooney notes that Lame Bull dreamed several tipi designs while fasting at Bear Butte, the Cheyenne sacred mountain - what Mooney’s unidentified informant called „Gift Mountain,” a free translation of the original Cheyenne term *Nóvávóse*. We find shorter notes beside the drawing of the White Shield tipi. Here, Henry Roman Nose, Lone Wolf the cousin of Lame Bull, and Harvey White Shield the nephew of Lame Bull gave the following information to Mooney:

White Shield tipi

Made 1906.

Harvey White Shield’s father

Panthers should be behind black stripe, on yellow ground.

Poles plain.

Light blue [referring to the crescent.]

Same clay that [arrow pointing to crescent on front]

see crescent and star at top.

Four narrow black lines down.

Take out red [referring to colored lines at the bottom of tipi], next [in order] blue, black, plain - same width.

Add panther tracks at bottom of yellow, facing each way, also four eagle feathers on the back of each panther. And buffalo hoofs dewclaws inside at door - Roman Nose Thunder - February 10.

Lone Wolf doesn’t know meaning of panther figures, unless because the panther is good hunter, and owner of tipi would be so. It was not explained to him, but White Shield would know if living.

White Shield camped with *Hevhaitaniu* (little west of south as Harvey remembers.)

Shield: Roman Nose and Stone each saw him having a shield on different trips, but can't describe it. Stone says it came from Gentle Horse, a noted priest, died recently, = William Little Chief's father-in-law.

[In the hands of the „beasts“:]

„Outer hand“ – *Hitánihau* = alien man, i.e., foreign enemy.

black = victory

red = blood

figures both = men

red spot [on chest] = heart

red eye line = Does not Know Meaning.

White Shield's shield

Army officer of Fort Reno about 1874 or 75 bought his shield and war shirt trimmed with scalps. He had also a Himatanohis lance and a war bonnet. George Bent made the deal - Harvey White Shield (Mooney notes, NAA 2538, Box 1: White Shield).

We find an even more detailed description of Lame Bull's original vision in Mooney's miscellaneous Cheyenne files, which also deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

Harvey Tipi – February 6, 1906.

SEE: White Shield,

No. 37.

No special name unless „Yellow tipi.“

Originally painted by Lonewolf and [his] wife.

Dreamed by Lame Bull = *Hotoá-viái*, a medicine man. In the Black Hills = *Mogtái* (black) *ohonáif* (rock), beyond the Beaver river = *Hómá iyúhi* is the mountain called *Nóawós* = „Sacrifice (giving) hill or mound.“ There is a natural hole about two and a half feet diameter - hands could not clasp it - perpendicular in the grassy eastern edge of the hill. Constant great wind [comes] from it [with] a soft noise of wind. Drop pebbles into it, and after some time hear them fall into water, but could not see water when look into it. Lame Bull [was] thought [by] spirits there. Went and fasted there at the hole for four nights.

(1) Began in the morning - [he was] there all night, and on [the] next, first morning, while sitting, facing east, as sun about to rise, he saw *this* tipi rise up, instead of the sun. That continued [to] rise until into the air, then vanished (soon i.e. about 8 or 9 AM.). [He] spent the rest of the day at the same place „resting.“ Just before sunset [he] turned and watched the setting sun, and it turned into the same tipi again, but this time saw *panther* on each side [of the] door, which he had not seen in [the] morning. Tipi in west facing east. That night while sleeping he woke up from time to time, and looked toward the mouth of the hole, and he saw sparks of fire come out, like lightning flashes.

(2) Next morning in place [he is] facing east before sunrise. As sun rose this time could not see tipi - sun came up in natural way, but on each side [of the] rising sun was a „beast“ in human form with horns. As sun rose higher after first vi-

sion (i.e. about 11 AM) these disappeared. [During the] Sunset that evening the sun changed into a crescent moon in black sky, and the Pleiades appeared above it, and the Morning Star below. „The black came over the sun, and that changed it to a moon.” Vision continued until set as sun set. That night he saw flashes of light at hole as before.

Pleiades = *Manóotoqchio* = „Group of Stars” (*hotoqch* = star).

Morning Star = *Wóhi*, i.e. *Wóggóhi* = Rabbit (generic), but usually used to indicate a large rabbit, as a jackrabbit.

(3) Next morning as watched for sunrise he saw a tipi come up, and feathers, and [unreadable], and stars, etc.. At second sunset, [he] saw *whole tipi*, and moon, stars, and black. That evening at sunset - like flood of sunset: yellow light all over = yellow ground of the tipi. Saw tipi thus. Night [he] saw sparks and slept.

Next morning [he] saw no vision. Sun came up in the natural way, and he went home. [The] Camp [was] near there.

Lame Bull, Lone Wolf, and White Shield were all cousins, and about the same age. Lame Bull was a young, and unmarried man [at that time]. He died during the winter of 1902. He was a Northern Cheyenne.

Tipi first painted and gave to Harvey’s father (Lame Bull’s cousin) in the winter of 1882-83 (fall of 1882) while Harvey away at Carlisle. He never saw it, but they sent him a photograph (lost in river at Salt Creek).

Painted by Lame Bull, Lone Wolf, White Shield, and Lone Wolf’s wife, called *Iqsitáhi* („Broken Leg Tendon”), plus two other young men: five in all [sic].

Lone Wolf’s wife is still alive.

White Shield = *Wóqpohivuts*, then he was called Bull’s Beard = *Hotoá-Meháts*.

Supervised by other wife of White Shield. - Canvas. Issued by Agent Miles. Cut out by his wife, sewed, etc., by the women of the camp. „Paint” was free gift. Feast mostly paid by the whites for all camping inside the tipi. Never renewed. White Shield died [during the] same winter, and this tipi was wrapped about his corpse in grave. 1883 January.

Probably next to last in tribe, not some. Another Cheyenne, Burnt All Over had a painted tipi, perhaps later. Also one painted at Cantonment about 1889, just before the last treaty = Medicine Crazy - died. (his widow still alive, here) = last.

Tabus - Lone Wolf knows only one: must not hit it on outside with stick, or stone, and always warned not play near it. White Shield and his wives, and Lame Bull all dead, and he does not know (Mooney notes, NAA 2213).

Now we may conclude the biographical data, and other ethnographical information on Lame Bull. All new data, unless otherwise noted, is from the unpublished Cheyenne field notes of James Mooney.

Lame Bull died during the winter of 1901-1902, nearly sixty years old. This places the time of his birth about 1841. Their fathers were brothers, and very probably they were *So’taeo’o* by descent, since Mooney informs us that Lone Wolf’s father was a *So’tae’e*, and we also know from Mooney’s notes, that White Shield was the second cousin of the famous Black Kettle and his younger brother, Gentle Horse, both *So’taeo’o* by birth. This

means, that White Shield's father was the cousin of Black Kettle and Gentle Horse. In the case of Lame Bull and White Shield, however, their So'tae'e descent was not really recognized at the time of Mooney's field work. In the Mooney notes both were identified according to their camping place in the tribal circle. Lame Bull is mentioned as a Northern Cheyenne, who camped and lived among the *Heveskese-nehpaho'hese*, (Grinnell's *Ivists'tsinih'pah*) the Closed (or Burned) Aorta band of the Southern Cheyennes. His tipi stood in the southeastern segment of the camp circle, and this is corroborated by a sketch in the Mooney files, as well as, the panoramic drawing of Chief Killer. White Shield is identified as a member of the *Heevahetane* band, and a chief of the Bowstring warrior society. Keeping in mind the description of his tipi design, it can be declared with much certainty, that the red tipi with the two horned human figures depicted on the panoramic drawing definitely illustrates his lodge, and its placement in the Heevahetaneo'o segment of the camp. Considering the position in the tribal circle of tipis painted by Lame Bull, Chief Killer proves to be a quite reliable source.

Lame Bull was a very prominent medicine man who, as a young man, received several tipi designs during a vision quest on *Nóvávóse* the „Gift Giving Hill”, or Bear Butte, in present-day South Dakota. „He dreamed several at the same time which were to be made in turn for him and his family”:

The Yellow Tipi of White Shield

Among the most remarkable of Cheyenne tipi designs is the one with the panther and the horned human figures, which Lame Bull prepared for his cousin White Shield (Fig. 4). Harvey White Shield said that this design was first painted in the winter of 1882-1883, then buried with his father in the same winter. However, the testimony of the panoramic drawing contradicts this, and we can be sure that the same design, or some variant of it, was already in use prior to 1874. Harvey was born in 1867, which means that he was a seven year-old boy when the Fort Marion prisoners were taken to Florida, and one of these young men remembered this tipi design quite clearly. In light of this fact, it may seem strange that Harvey, the only living inhabitant of the lodge in 1906, could not remember the previous use of this design on his father's tipi. However, if we take into consideration that the panoramic drawing depicts the „heraldic status quo” of the Cheyenne tribe some years prior to 1874, when the artist and his co-inmates were in their early-twenties, and while Harvey was only a small boy of three to five years old, it seems less strange that he could not remember this design. The small scale drawing depicts the front and back of the lodge in a talented way, indicating the circle (from the back) and the crescent designs (from the front) on the sides of the tipi. The two „beasts” which flanked the circle on the back are depicted here as guardians of the tipi door, while the door itself is covered with a large buffalo head. The most remarkable differences between the Mooney sketch and the Fort Marion drawing are the absence of the panther figures⁸, and the background color. While the description of Lame Bull's vision clearly said „That evening at sunset - like flood of sunset: yellow light all over = yellow ground of the tipi,” we might suppose that Lame Bull prepared or dictated a red variant of this tipi design too. On the other hand, the Fort Marion drawing illustrates another painted tipi right beside White Shield's tent. This one has a black top and smoke flaps, while its body is painted yellow. We can only speculate here: White Shield had two (or three?) wives, and maybe he had separate lodges for them, painted with variations of the same designs. We are informed in

the Mooney notes, that Red Cloud and Bear Cap both prepared their own tipi designs in red and yellow variants.⁹

The Black Tipi of Lame Bull

Although James Mooney did not collect any descriptions of this tipi, the original text describing Lame Bull's vision corroborates the testimony of the Fort Marion drawing. During the second day, at „sunset that evening the sun changed into a crescent moon in black sky, and the Pleiades appeared above it, and the Morning Star below. The black came over the sun, and that changed it to a moon.” The actual depiction of the tipi on the panoramic drawing (Fig. 2) finely illustrates this phenomenon, with the black background sprinkled with white dots representing stars, and with the crescent in the center. The strange, crescent-shaped form above the top of the tipi poles represents a *némoheo'o*, or a 'family badge hanging from top of tepee pole' (Glenmore and Leman 1986: 29). This is a sacred object hung to „deflect” evil or sickness from the family who lives in that tipi. In Rodolphe Petter's mammoth dictionary we find the following under the entry for 'badge': „*nimhoyo*, badge or heraldic emblem, usually consisting of a bunch of hair or a feather suspended on the tip of one of the lodge poles” (Petter 1915: 82). This is an important identifying marker of Lame Bull's tipi, since there is another visual evidence for the existence of his Black Tipi, also with a *némoheo'o* above it. This drawing was prepared by a different Cheyenne artist, who was also incarcerated at Fort Marion. The drawing book containing this village scene was collected by General William M. Hazen, and now is preserved in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (cat. no. 154,064-C). Originally, according to the information of the donator Mrs. Hazen, this set of drawings was attributed to the Sioux; however, during the 1960's the drawings were re-attributed as Cheyenne for the suggestion of Karen D. Petersen.¹⁰ It was published previously by Barbeau (1960: 202; Pl. 106), and in full color by Maurer (1992: 257; Pl. 255). The village scene is situated in a landscape, placing the camp on both sides of a river. The second tipi from the right in the upper row displays the symbols already referred to in Lame Bull's vision, and quite similar to the other black tipi in the large, panoramic drawing (Fig. 6). There are some minor changes, however. The most remarkable differences are the presence of the yellow circle (outlined in blue and vermilion) at the back, and the row of smaller white spots at the top of the black field. A blue, four-pointed star is also depicted at the top of the tipi, just between the smoke flaps. Unfortunately, because of the landscape composition, this artist could not depict the painting at the bottom of this tipi. However, the *némoheo'o* above the poles corroborates that this is the tipi of Lame Bull, already familiar to us from the large panoramic drawing. The *némoheo'o* has no colored decoration on the Hazen composition, but the alternating hairlocks and eagle tailfeathers are the same on both drawings. The „family badge” on the Hazen drawing is completed with a black predatory bird, that holds a scalp in its beak. We know from the Mooney notes that Burnt All Over, and Red Cloud both had a stuffed bird above their tipi as a family badge (see Maurer 1992: Fig. 143).

In conclusion, we can say that Lame Bull's Black Tipi is documented only from the two Cheyenne drawings, while the description of his vision supports this visual evidence. Very probably, Lame Bull's Black Tipi, or the variants of it, were prepared well before 1874, the last free year of the Fort Marion prisoners, since the two drawings can only reflect Cheyenne historical and ethnographical situations prior to that date. On the other

hand, Harvey White Shield reported to Mooney that Lame Bull's Yellow Tipi was prepared about 1871, three years before the battle of Adobe Walls.

The Yellow Tipi of Lame Bull

Fig. 3 shows a distinct composition with black top and bottom, while the central field of the tipi cover is solid yellow. Four bluish-green stripes connect the two black zones. This feature relates the tipi design to the Yellow Tipi of White Shield, where four narrow, black lines connect the lowermost and uppermost zones on the cover. A four-pointed star of the same bluish-green color is painted between the smoke flaps. This motif connects the design with the black tipi design on the Hazen drawing. There is a row of buffalo hoofprints just above the lower black zone, and a red circle outlined in green in the middle of the back. Two black buffalo figures face this central circle. A close inspection of the above tipi designs indicates that they share a common repertoire, each having a three-layered composition, and a wide range of variations of the circle, crescent and four-pointed star motifs. The Yellow Tipi of White Shield and the Yellow Tipi of Lame Bull share the four narrow, connecting stripes between the lower and upper zones, as well as a third tipi reported by Harvey White Shield.

The „Plain Tipi” of Lame Bull

Harvey informed Mooney that he saw a painted canvas tipi of Lame Bull in 1878, which had an unpainted central field, while four stripes connected the top and bottom of the tipi cover, as on his father's tipi, and on Lame Bull's Yellow Tipi. Black dots indicated stars at the lower and upper zones of this canvas lodge. My reconstruction (Fig. 5c) follows Mooney's description of these 'black spots'; however, we might suppose that these stars would have covered the upper field completely.

In summary, with a critical use of the visual documents, and with the close study of textual sources, we can identify at least four different painted tipi designs originated by the Cheyenne medicine man, Lame Bull.

Lame Bull, the dreamer of shields

We have learned that Lame Bull was a great medicine man, being the leader of the Fire Dance, the dreamer of dramatic Cheyenne tipi paintings, and the successful leader of war parties. Then the question comes naturally: did he ever dream or make a protective war shield? The answer however, is far from evident. Strangely, this question seems never to have been asked by James Mooney. Lone Wolf, the cousin of Lame Bull, would have been able to answer it, certainly. Cousins, nephews, brothers and sons were the natural candidates for the ownership of shields prepared by a medicine man. It is hard to believe that a strong spiritual man like Lame Bull never dreamed of, nor made a shield.

Fortunately, we have a starting point to unravel this mystery. In 1992, I had the chance to study an intricately-painted shield in a European private collection (Fig. 7). The painted design is somewhat irregular for a Cheyenne shield. However, its basic-meaningful unit might be classified according to my Cheyenne shield typology as „dark arc on the upper circumference” (Nagy 1995). Short red lines ending in black dots hang

down from the multicolored outline of the dark arc. The surface of the shield is painted yellow, while small pale green dots spot the entire surface. These dots each have short, green trailing lines and as I have already pointed out, they represent green hail, a special manifestation of the cosmic forces (Nagy 1994b: 44). Small arcs are painted in alternating colors of black, red, and green, all around the circumference except at the place of the dark, upper arc. Multicolored, thin lines outline these small arcs. Three bird figures, and two, differently-colored horned butterfly figures are the constellation elements (Nagy 1994a) in the shield composition. One of the birds holds a snake in its beak. The most surprising feature is on the back of the rawhide base of the shield. Here, written in dark ink on the right half of the circular rawhide is the following: „Presented by Lame Bull Medicine Chief, Cheyenne” (Fig. 8). We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this worn inscription on the rawhide base of this remarkable shield. Now we have a distinct shield composition that can be attributed to Lame Bull with some certainty.

Interestingly enough, there is another shield cover which shows striking stylistic similarities to the Lame Bull shield in the European collection. This second shield is preserved in the collection of the State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver (Fig. 9). The gift of Elizabeth Corse (Cat. no. E1850.11), dated to 1850-1880, it has been published by the State Historical Society of Colorado (1984: 7) and Nagy (1994b: 38, Fig. 1). The basic-meaningful unit of this composition is also a „dark arc on the upper circumference”, and small arcs in alternating colors of red, black, yellow and green run along the rest of the perimeter. The surface color again is yellow. A very dominant, central element in this composition is the pale-green figure of a horned snapping turtle, outlined in brownish-black. On each side of it is the figure of a horned butterfly, a black one on left, and a green one on the right. Painted just below the turtle is a multicolored horned lizard, and a bird figure. This bird has composite features, since its head resembles a pileated woodpecker, while its tail is forked like a swallow's. Both the turtle and the lizard have feather shapes attached to each of their legs. The basic compositional characteristics, the color schemes and the stylistic features correspond on these two shields. This is most apparent in the rendering of the bird and butterfly figures. While the wing forms of the butterflies differ on the shields, the forms of their heads, legs and „tails” are almost identical. The reason for the difference in their wing forms might be that on the Lame Bull shield we can recognize the young butterflies just shortly after hatching from the pupae with wings still wrinkled and undeveloped, while the Colorado Historical Society shield shows the wing forms of the adult butterflies. Cheyenne religious men paid special attention to creatures capable of metamorphosis, since according to Cheyenne beliefs they are able to change their spiritual qualities with the change of their physical forms (Moore 1974: 234). The other possible explanation for the difference in wing forms is that butterflies have two, basic shapes: some, such as monarchs and tiger swallowtails, have a straight, outer edge to their wings (as on the „Lame Bull” shield); and others, such as cabbage butterflies have rounded wings (as on the shield at Colorado Historical Society).¹¹

George B. Grinnell noted that butterflies were painted on shields, because of their lightness and irregular flight, hence the person who carries its image becomes light and active (1923 II: 111-112). Aside from this superficial explanation, however, there are serious theological reasons for the use of their image in tribal ceremonies, curing rituals, and as war charms. According to the research of John H. Moore, Cheyenne priests and religious persons consider butterflies to be a category of sacred birds. Four, differently-colored butterflies (yellow, blue, red and white) are associated with each of the cardinal

directions, and are looked upon as messengers of the spirit persons of those particular directions (Moore 1986: 182-183). Even their collective name given by Moore (*zehotonovaz*, messengers) differs from the mundane word used by Cheyennes in their everyday speech (*hevávahkema*, butterfly; Glenmore and Leman 1986: 20)¹², which indicates that the term collected by Moore belongs to the sacred language of the priests and shamans. Further, Grinnell mentions that a fifth kind of butterfly also has a prominent place in Cheyenne beliefs:

A certain species of butterfly, gray in color, with blue eyes, and with rounded and black striped wings, is called the thunder parasite (*na'no mi'his ti im*). These butterflies are oftenest seen just before or after a thunderstorm, and while the report of thunder is heard, hence the name. The belief seems to be that the Thunderbird, when angry, shakes himself, and his parasites fall from him (1923 II: 95-96).

This quotation explains why the butterfly figures appear on both sides of a terrible Underwater Monster, the snapping turtle. They indicate, metaphorically, the everlasting struggle between the Thunder Beings and the Underwater Monsters; and that any warrior, who carries such a shield is able to walk on the borderline of life and death, between the two powers.

The Lame Bull shield in Europe has a wide, red tradecloth trailer decorated with eagle feathers in five rows as an attachment, while the Colorado Historical Society shield cover has a narrow strip of red tradecloth attached along the upper perimeter of the cover, and it is decorated with fifty-eight eagle feathers.¹³ There is a third shield that has the same arrangement of feathers as the Colorado Historical Society shield, and even their painted designs show striking compositional similarities. This shield (or shield cover?) is preserved in a U.S. private collection (Fig. 10). Its present location is unknown.

The basic-meaningful unit of this third shield is the „dark arc on the upper circumference” again; however, on this piece the arc is painted with a bright, dark turquoise blue. The same strong color was used in the coloring of the central element, a horned snapping turtle, as well as on three of the four constellation elements: two multicolored lizard figures on each side of the turtle, and a dragonfly. Red, wavy lines emanate from the round eyes of the turtle, and alternating red and black triangles along its spine indicate the serrations of the snapping turtle's shell. The shape, proportion and the internal details of the turtle figure are so close to the turtle image on the Colorado Historical Society shield, that we can be sure they were painted by the same person. The identical, asymmetrical features of these turtles' heads and bodies, especially the way the tails join the bodies, even suggests the possibility of the use of the same pattern. The two lizards' different body markings identify them as the male and female of the collared lizard (*Crotaphytus collaris*), the largest predatory lizard on the Southern Plains (Smith 1950: 174-175; Stebbins 1966: 99-100). Below the dark arc on the upper perimeter, we can recognize on the left a black, fork-tailed bird with white and red markings on its body; and on the right a turquoise blue dragonfly symbol. Blue and red zigzag lines emanate from the head of the dragonfly. For Cheyennes, fork-tailed swallows are associated with Thunder, while dragonflies - which sometimes circle in spiraling swarms - are associated with whirlwinds, reminding the viewer to the struggle of Thunder and Whirlwind against the Underwater Beings - a theological *topos* of Cheyenne religious thinking.

Among the three shield designs in question, this third one has the most harmonious composition, with the constellation elements well balanced on the sides of the central element. It is interesting how the bird and lizard figures are pushed to the lower perimeter on the Colorado Historical Society shield, and we can recognize a similar „jammed” composition in the case of the bird and dragonfly figures on this third shield. As the arrangement of the short „power lines” indicate on the great arc, first the bird and dragonfly were outlined in black, probably after the outlining of the turtle and the lizard figures. Then, while these were filled in with the turquoise color, the great arc was also placed on the upper perimeter, and the artist realized that too little space remained for the „power lines”. The result is the uneven lengths of these lines, and the jammed compositional placement of the bird and dragonfly.

As mentioned earlier, the most asymmetrical composition - a feature surprising in the case of a Cheyenne shield - is on the Lame Bull shield. Here, the three bird figures are placed seemingly at a random. We can identify with certainty the bald eagle only. The two other bird figures are puzzling in regard to their ornithological identification. The bald eagle and the fork-tailed bird are in the central section of the shield’s surface, however, none of them is placed in the true position of a central element. The butterfly figures are placed in the usual Cheyenne constellation element positions, but their compositional weight is not balanced by the green bird figure on the left.

Stylistically, all three shields show the same features in the rendering of birds, butterflies and turtles. These traits are illustrated in Fig. 11. The same chart is suitable for illustrating the iconographical correspondences of these shields, too. Each shield has bird figures, and two each depict butterflies, lizards and turtles. The Colorado Historical Society shield is the only one that incorporates all these constellation elements in its composition. The U.S. private shield lacks the butterflies, and the Lame Bull shield lacks the lizard and turtle figures.

These discrepancies might raise some doubts about our supposition that Lame Bull originated these shield designs, but these Native American artworks are not mechanical copies of an isolated moment in time - either an external or an internal image. There are two possible explanations for the difference in their compositions and motifs: first, these three shields might depict time sequence, or stages in the special vision of Lame Bull. Second, since a war-dreamer had the right to prepare at least four (or even more) variants of his shield, he modified each version according to the dream or vision of his apprentices, thus interpreting the apprentice’s experience in accord with his own, as well as with the world-view of the community. Any of these explanations, coupled with the stylistic correspondences already discussed, will underscore the common artistic origin of these shields.

At this point, it is worth remembering that the Lame Bull flat case in the John Painter collection (Fig. 1) also has a turtle image, although depicted in a more stylized way. According to its collection history it really belonged to Lame Bull, so its visual evidence supports my hypothesis that the two other shields with the snapping turtle images were also dreamed and probably made by him. There is other, very strong evidence in the same private collection that reinforces my interpretation. This is a bandolier composed of a double string of brass beads, and decorated with two, beaded, lizard figures (Fig. 12). These two lizards have different body markings, and their coloring is quite similar to the collared lizard figures on the U.S. private shield. This bandolier was also handed down in the Lame Bull family, until it reached this private collection.

In the published literature there are no references to Lame Bull's vision or visionary helpers, but we have an unpublished story about him, collected by Truman Michelson in 1931-32, and now preserved in the collection of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.. Since it has never been published or mentioned before, and because it contains much important new information about Lame Bull, I quote it in its entirety:

LAME BULL - True story.
Happened at Kingfisher, 40 years ago.

At Kingfisher, forty (sic) years ago. Lame Bull called together several men, including four medicine men to sing for him. A hole was dug in the ground, about two and half feet deep and a yard around.

Lame Bull went into this hole [and] sat down in it. He was bound with rawhide at his feet and hands, and in front of him were placed a medicine rattle on his right, and a whistle on his left. Several men carried a large heavy stone and covered the hole with it, while Lame Bull was inside. Then some willows were erected and covered with a cloth, covering the stone.

These men sat in a circle, and the four medicine men were amongst them. The medicine men sang the medicine songs four times, [and] after each time, smoking the pipe. Then the fifth time they sang. While they sang their fifth song, the stone fell just on the outside of the circle. It came down with such a force that it trembled the earth. The men did not see it come out of the covered place, because this happened at night but there was a full moon. Lame Bull called the men to come and feel his body accept(sic) [except?] the top of his head. The men found an opening on the covered willow sticks at his back, and one by one each felt his body from his back, feeling upward. They found that he had transformed into a buffalo. His skin was the hide and hair of a buffalo. He had buffalo ears and horns. He warned the men not to touch the points of his horns.

Then after each had felt him, they went back and sat down. The medicine men sang again and the spirits came unto him, and loosened him from the rawhide which bound his hands and feet. Then he appeared out of the hole and its covering. Some food had been prepared and it was brought to the men, and they ate.

Lame Bull had for his medicine bag a lizzard (sic) hide, which he always spit medicine [on] and the lizzard (sic) hide would come to life.

He also had the empty shell of a large snapping turtle, and also an otter hide. These he would spit medicine on, and they would come to life and walk around in his tipi.

He was one of the most powerful Cheyenne Indian medicine men.

Lame Bull, when a young man, had two warts on each side of his head, on his temple. He would rub these warts and his face would transform into a bullcalf face, and the warts would form into small horns (Michelson files, NAA 3220: Lame Bull, emphasis added).

The above event happened about 1890, near Kingfisher, Oklahoma, and illustrates how Lame Bull performed a special shamanistic rite, related to the so-called „shaking

tent" ritual of the Northern Algonkians, and the Sacred Arrow ceremony of the Cheyennes (Schlesier 1987: 58-62). During the last day of the Arrow ceremony, one of the Arrow priests undergoes a variant of this conjuring ceremony (Powell 1969, 1979, II: 889-890), and the fact that Lame Bull knew the secret of this ritual demonstrates, that the mention of his name by Hoistah in connection with the „ancient order of the Sacred Arrow-Medicine" could not be accidental. We might surmise that his father or uncle - also called Lame Bull - was an Arrow priest, and he probably inherited the skill, as well as the right to perform such a ceremony. It is an individual feature in this rite, that Lame Bull transformed himself into a buffalo, and according to the story he had this ability already in his younger years.

The most explicit information, for our discussion, is that Lame Bull had a lizard skin and a large snapping turtle shell as his medicines, which he could bring to life by spitting medicine on them. Snapping turtles and lizards are depicted on two shield covers that I attribute to him, because they show strong stylistic similarities to the painting of the Lame Bull shield in the European collection. Finally, because of their yellow background, these three shields are related to the „Yellow Tipi" of both Lame Bull and White Shield. We have every reason to recognize these shield designs as ones dreamed and probably prepared by Lame Bull, the noted Cheyenne medicine man, since we have gleaned evidence supporting this assumption from written sources, and objects of material culture.

Conclusion

The story collected by Truman Michelson identifies Lame Bull as one of the most-powerful Cheyenne medicine men, and not without reason. As we have learned from various sources, he was the leader of the Fire Dance, a conjurer who could transform himself into a buffalo, a dreamer of painted tipis and elaborate war shields, and a successful war leader. His spirit helpers included the buffalo and the buffalo spirits (the horned „beasts" on the tipi of White Shield), the panther, the snapping turtle, the male and female collared lizard, the otter, butterflies, the blue dragonfly and several species of birds. Definitely, he was a strong religious person, who exhibited his shamanic power and creative ability in very talented ways, introducing ceremonies, tipi paintings, unique shield designs, his own family badge and probably parfleche paintings. None of the sources state explicitly that he made or painted any of these objects. Very probably, according to the tribal rules he only gave outlines and instructions, for example, in the beading of his lizard images, or the painted flat case, all of which were certainly made by women. The same might be true of the tipi and shield paintings. In selecting a well-known artist of the community, Lame Bull only sanctified the actual artwork by his sacred motions, and the recitation of his vision. The three shields discussed above form the only group of objects that exhibit stylistic similarities, and imply the possibility of Lame Bull's actual craftsmanship in their preparation. However, in the eyes of the Cheyennes he was the originator and the owner of all these designs and objects, and he had special rights - to duplicate, renew, sell or give them away. In this way, we can identify all these objects and images as pieces belonging to the „spiritual oeuvre" of Lame Bull, and thereby bring our ideas about tribal art closer to the original Native American concept of art, and artistic creation. The „artist" in Plains Indian society was the person who originated design rather than necessarily the craftsman (or craftswoman) who painted it. To distinguish between the two types of artist we might call them the creative agent and the technical producer.

The photographic collection of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., has a photograph of a Southern Cheyenne, identified as Lame Bull (neg. no. 330)(Fig. 13). The negative was copied by DeLancey Gill in 1907, five or six years after the death of Lame Bull. The name of the original photographer, and the date is not recorded, consequently the circumstances of this photograph will remain a mystery. A strong, stocky man in his fifties looks into the camera. He has a broad face, large nose and penetrating eyes. He wears a unique headdress ornamented with upright eagle spike feathers, and clusters of other feathers and fluffs at either side. Six grizzly bear claws decorate the brow, giving a more astonishing effect to this singular headdress, which is unlike anything else known from the 19th century Cheyennes. Although this headdress might cause us to question whether the man is actually the Cheyenne, the John W. Painter collection has a vintage photograph showing the same person with a woman, probably his wife (Fig. 14). This photo was preserved by the family of Lame Bull, and is identified as their grandfather, and the owner of the flat case and bandolier shown in Figs. 1 and 12¹⁴ (Painter 1995).

Now we have an exceptional instance in the history of Plains Indian art when, after reconstructing the spiritual oeuvre of a dreamer and visionary, we can familiarize ourselves with his facial features too. We can not forget, however, that this case is the rare exception, since the majority of nineteenth-century Plains Indian art will remain anonymous.

APPENDIX

Fire Dance = *Hostáwaw'túts*

fire: *hoist*
dance: *hosóistuts*

Informant: Harvey White Shield.
Born ab. 1867.

February 26, 1906.

Warpath Bear near [the] Bents is participant.
Chief Killer - takes part.
Lone Wolf [also] takes part and probably knows the songs.

Leader = Lame Bull = *Hotóá-viá* = „Lame, or limps like a bull.”

Died about 1901, nearly 60 years old. Others claim power, but only he seems to have full power over fire. Harvey saw it eight times. The first time at Fort Supply, just before the outbreak of 1874. Took part in it himself four times, first when he was about 7 years old (1874 or 1875), during the outbreak, near the salt beds on the Cimarron, Cherokee strip. At the other three times near Darlington during a vacation, when he was about nine years old, or possibly one time a year later. (The first of these was done east of El Reno, about three miles northeast near the river, during the measles epidemic.) He saw it the last time near Kingfisher in 1890. Lame Bull led them all.

Others still keep up the dance, but it is „very notable” that the fire hurts their feet, and that they are afraid of it by their rapid and mincing[?] motion. Seen them by some white visitors from Kingfisher (Farmer of Admire of Land office, on Harvey’s invitation, probably still living at Kingfisher). Lame Bull also brought a party to the Oklahoma Cheyennes to perform it during some celebration there, about 1895 or 1896. The crowd witnessing it broke down a scaffold. Probably danced also since 1890 at Kingfisher by Lame Bull.

When Harvey first took part, Lame Bull prepared about sixteen dancers, painted them somewhat like Sun Dance performers. The men wore shawls for G-string, the rest of their body naked, and painted by him. One girl, his daughter about thirteen years old also took part in it, wearing a special short dress reaching to her knees. All were bare footed. Lame Bull painted all of them, and rubbed their feet and legs below the knee with some medicine plant, which he chewed in his mouth. Used one piece for all of the sixteen dancers. The piece [of the plant?] was about one and a half inch long, and half inch thick. Same, four times over with four pieces of medicine. Sang a song before each rubbing.

A tipi was set up for the purpose, and all go in. He had a rawhide handdrum. All circled around the fire once, and he then sends them out, headed by his son, to circle tipi once and reenter. He sings and drums inside while they dance around the tipi and reenter. All had been painted and rubbed with medicine by him before going around the fire, and leaving the tipi for the first time. On reentering, they rested and prepared the wrinklets, anklets, wreaths, hand-wheels and belts of sage and willows, about [the same way] as in the Sun Dance. They smoked and talked. The paint was yellow, with arms red below the elbow. The legs [were painted] black below the knee. Same way four times, being rubbed with medicine each time before circling around inside the tipi. [They were] Painted only once, at start.

The preparation began for the performers about one hour before entering the fire at about five o’clock, and the dance ended about an hour later. The fire [was made] of large sticks of bed-willows [sic]. The red coals were about one foot high and five feet in diameter. No blaze. At the final stage, Lame Bull led, his son next, then Harvey the third (seven years old, the only child this time except next), and Lame Bull’s daughter, about thirteen years old next, the others behind. A V-form shaped guard of cottonwood saplings leads from the tipi to the fire, and beyond that. The spectators [stood] beyond it.

On leaving the tipi for the final performance, they approached the fire from west, and circled it four times. Before completing the fourth round, other performers line up in front of the tipi. The other four, Lame Bull, his son, Harvey, and his daughter go on, and from the east side step once into the center of the fire then step out to west. Concentric circle around again to the west side, and make two steps into it, and out again to east. Then circle around to north, and make three steps in, and out again to south. Continue, make complete circle to south again, and make four steps across the fire to north. - Other performers during all this, standing in silent line in front of the tipi, while during the whole performance, about four singers and drummers keep up music and singing inside the tipi. - Then circle around outside edge of the fire for complete circle to north, and the other performers fall in behind as their pairs. As they reach the north side of the fire, led by Lame Bull, all tread around on the edge of fire with sidewise dance step for one round, then Lame Bull and the other three front ones (his son, Harvey, and his daughter) leave the circle and stand aside as spectators. The rest continue the circle round the edge of fire, treading on coals. They were mixed up by then, but keeping the general circle direction

until completely stamping out the fire. When Lame Bull tread around the edge of fire, makes sparks fly out - not so with others. He could also chew up live coals, and could break or pulverize a live coal with small stroke of stick, after apparently pounding it with all strength, hammer fashion with same stick without making any impression.

On the Kingfisher occasion Admire by permission entered the tipi after the performance, and felt [unreadable] Lame Bull's feet and legs. He declared they were in natural condition and [unreadable]. After went out and took up clen[?] for him.

Lone Wolf probably knows the songs. Harvey thinks that songs had words with meaning. Harvey thinks he used to lead the singing after Lame Bull had gone out from the tipi.

Two men at Cantonment still have it, but Harvey thinks they are not „fireproof,” because their feet show that burnt, and they can not make sparks fly from edge of the fire as Lame Bull did.

Harvey says, he was not afraid because he had confidence in Lame Bull's medicine. His feet not burned, but felt the heat on his legs up about his knees. At that night it burnt a good deal, his legs inflamed, and could not sleep until late in the night. He doesn't know if it hurt others. He was a child and, and was admitted because Lame Bull was his father's cousin. Besides, Lame Bull and Harvey's father's brother were very anxious to make him a medicine man (Mooney notes, NAA 2213).

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NOTES

¹ I had access to these unpublished sources while I was a Smithsonian Predoctoral Fellow at the National Museum of Natural History for six months, in 1993-1994.

² According to the research of Peter J. Powell, Cheyenne elders can't recall any Arrow Keeper with the name Lame Bull (Powell 1969, 1979 II: 859-860). The only mentioned connection between Lame Bull and the Sacred Arrows is in Hoistah's biography, describing events circa 1800s-1840s (Moore 1987: 31-32). During this period White Thunder was the Arrow Keeper, which consequently means that the older Lame Bull might be only one of the four Arrow Priests. This status might illuminate Lame Bull's shamanistic ritual discussed later in this paper.

³ I wish to acknowledge Michael Cowdrey (Cowdrey 1995) for calling my attention to this fact.

⁴ Donald J. Berthrong mentions the Cheyenne Lame Bull in association with nine full-blood Arapahoes, and three white men married to Arapaho women in his *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal* (1976: 122). I think it very unlikely that a Cheyenne medicine man would have been associated with a group of white men married to Native American women, unless he married an Arapaho woman, and this way he was related to these white men. However, at present we have no information on Lame Bull's wife.

⁵ The „Little Chief” attribution is very doubtful and questionable, and no one ever tried to identify, *which* Little Chief would be the artist. This attribution was made by George Eager, one of the staff members of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York (Greene 1993).

⁶ The drawing is so rich in historic, ethnographic and artistic details that I will treat it in a separate paper in the near future.

⁷ The So'tae'e (pl. So'tae'o) was a separate tribe, linguistically related to the Cheyenne proper, that retained its political independence as late as the 1830's. During the turbulent years of 1850-1860, they merged with the Cheyennes and donated many cultural traits to the absorbing tribe.

⁸ It is easily noticeable that Mooney tried to collect the meaning of the designs; however, either his informants were unaware of the meanings, or they were unwilling to share certain sacred knowledge with him. The case of the panther figures might illustrate this. Lone Wolf reported to Mooney that he did not know the meaning of these figures, and told him that possibly they were depicted on the lodge cover for their hunting abilities. This might be only one side of the coin. There is a special phrase in Cheyenne, spelled in a number of ways by different authors, which means „sacred lodge,” or „medicine tent,” and indicates a painted tipi, generally, red painted. Albert Gaschet gives the phrase as *maheyüne-um* (NAA 54), J.N.B. Hewitt writes it as *mahe-om*, meaning 'sacred tent' (NAA, MS 893), George Bent uses *moheyyuu*, meaning 'red lodge' (Bent 1914), while Mooney gives it as *máhoyum*, and translates it as 'red tipi,' or 'red painted tipi.' The form given by the Northern Cheyenne Bilingual Education Project is *ma'heóneome*, translated as 'sacred tent' (Glenmore and Leman 1986: 92). The theological idea behind this term is solved by Rodolphe Petter: „One tale speaks of the great magicians who lived in mounds or stone habitations, which were beautiful inside, with lions and bears watching the entrance” (Petter 1915: 228). Consequently, any Cheyenne tipi design with bear, or panther figures on a red background commemorates these underground abodes of the spirit persons.

⁹ There is another possibility: the only other known tipi painting of a similar design with *Ma'heono* figures was dreamed by Owl Man the founder of the Wolf or Bowstring warrior society. It was owned by Old Red Moon, who was the brother of Yellow Wolf, leading chief of the *Heevahetane* group. This tipi had a yellow body, and its top was painted black. Green stars were on the smoke flaps. Four human figures faced the four directions and each had horns on his head, while instead of hands and feet they had wolf-paws. Each figure held a pipe, bowl up, in one of his hands. There was a red sun painted on the back, and a green crescent above the door (Grinnell 1923 I: 233-234). It is not known how this tipi design was inherited in the family, but Grinnell described the tipi design of Yellow Wolf, too, and this tipi also had yellow body and black top. We are informed by Mooney that Red Moon, the son of Yellow Wolf and the nephew of Old Red Moon, was the last owner of this tipi design, and he died in 1898. According to John Moore (1987: 273-275), White Shield married the daughter of Red Moon, while Mooney's primary informant Harvey White Shield contradicts this, since he explicitly told Mooney several times that his mother was the daughter of *Me'hatse*, a noted medicine man. At the same time, in the miscellaneous notes of Mooney, while giving a basic description of the tipi of Yellow Wolf he wrote „This tipi also [has a] yellow body, [with] black top.Ask White Shield's daughter at Hammon, *Máhiyunóí* = Medicine Sitting. She would know” (Mooney notes, NAA MS 2213). This clearly indicates that there was a definite relationship between the White Shield and Red Moon families. However, at the present state of research we can not go beyond this point. If the panoramic drawing illustrates the tipis of

Old Red Moon and Yellow Wolf (or his son Red Moon), - consequently meaning that the red tipi with the horned human figures is not White Shield's tipi - this would also reinforce the theory that differently-colored backgrounds were used of the same tipi design at each renewing. The other consequence of this interpretation is the observation that Lame Bull's vision, which resulted in White Shield's tipi design, follows an iconographical scheme already developed by Owl Man, a former dreamer. This would further suggest - in light of known Cheyenne religious practice - that Owl Man was one of the „spiritual fathers“ or instructors for Lame Bull during his vision quest at the Bear Butte.

¹⁰ The majority of these Hazen drawings are definitely Cheyenne, however, three of them are the works of a Kiowa artist - either Wohav, or another tribesman, whose style closely resembles his (Inv. nos. 085108.01, 085109.01 and 085111.02). The village scene (Inv. no. 085112.00) is certainly a Cheyenne work. It is indicated by the style of the drawing, as well as the way each tipi is decorated. All motifs done by the Cheyenne artist are made by colored inks (black and red) and colored pencils (green, blue, vermilion, and yellow). All the features which suggest that this might be a depiction of a composite Cheyenne-Kiowa camp, however, after a close inspection of the actual drawing, proved to be done only by graphite pencil. The shield design indicating a Ta-ime shield on the tripod at the riverbank, and the motifs of Big Bow's Tail Picture Tipi (Ewers 1978: 18) on the second tipi from bottom right, as well as the buffalo head above the wagon, and the unfinished horse figure on the first tipi at bottom left are all made secondarily with graphite pencil by the Kiowa artist.

¹¹ I wish to acknowledge Michael Cowdrey (Cowdrey 1995) calling my attention to this fact.

¹² The word given by Petter in his dictionary is: *evavaxcema*, the jerking one, brisk one, *evavaxcema*, pl. (Petter 1915: 203).

¹³ The inspection of the arrangement of feathers indicates that four eagle feathers are now missing from the original number of sixty-two.

¹⁴ I wish to acknowledge these information to John W. Painter (Painter 1996).

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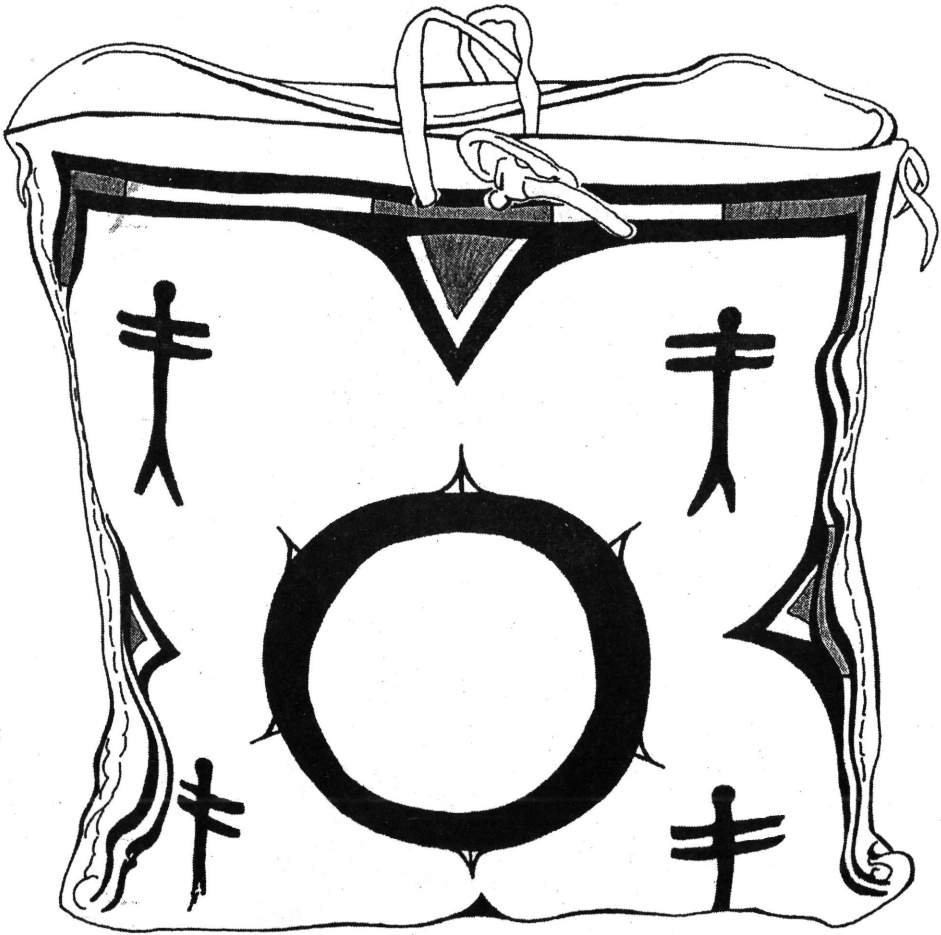
„A sötétség elfedte a napot...”: Sánta Bölény életműve

Nagy Imre

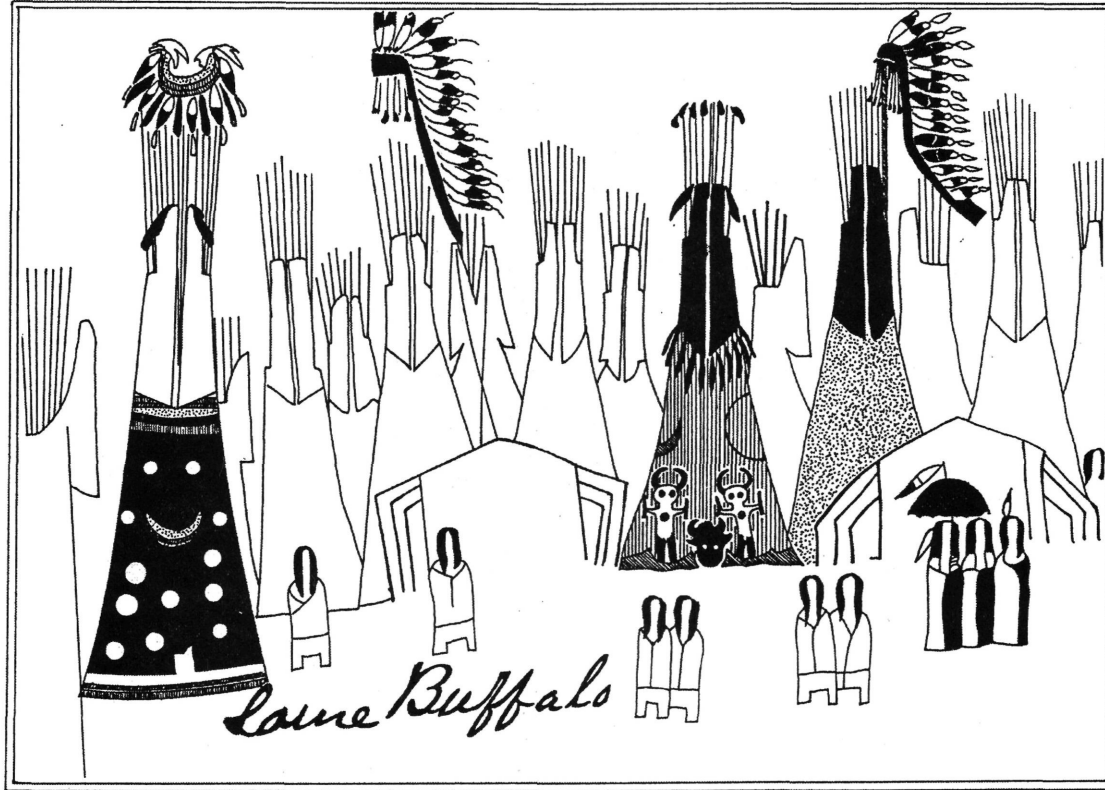
A tanulmány első alkalommal 1994-ben, a Móra Ferenc Múzeumban megrendezett tudományos ülészen került bemutatásra. A szerző, féléves amerikai kutatói ösztöndíjáról hazatérve, a washingtoni National Anthropological Archives-ban végzett kutatásainak részeredményeit hozta ekkor nyilvánosságra, s ennek kibővített változata a jelen angol nyelvű dolgozat.

A tanulmány célja, hogy a levéltári és a néprajzi adatoknak a síksági indiánok anyagi kultúrája tárgyi emlékeivel történő összevetésével megpróbálja rekonstruálni egy törzsi művész életművét. Jelen esetben a művész Sánta Bölénybika (1841? - 1901), a sájen nép egyik legjelentősebb orvos-ságos embere. Nem csak a Tüztánc vezetője volt és varázsló, aki képes bölénnyé változni, de olyan összetett kozmológiai ismereteket sűrítő pajzs és sátorfestések álmodója is, akit számtalan állatsegítő és természetfeletti lény támogatott. Sámánisztikus képességeit és kreatív adottságait tehetségesen alkalmazta, szertartások, sátor- és pajzsfestések, családi és személyes varázsszerek létrehozásában. Az „életmű” kifejezés alkalmazása törzsi művész esetében sajátos problémákat gerjeszt, hiszen nehezen sorakoztathatóak fel hagyományos művészettörténeti bizonyítékok (írott források) arra, hogy ő maga festette volna az általa álmodott sátrak, pajzsok vagy nyersbőr táskák mintáit. Ezért, az angol szövegben a szerző a „spiritual oeuvre” (spirituális életmű) kifejezést vezette be, amely alkalmasnak látszott azon ellentmondás áthidalására, amely a minták szerzősége és a tényleges kézműves tevékenység között mutatkozott. Mivel a sájen törzsből - függetlenül attól, hogy Sánta Bölénybika festette-e a kérdéses tárgyakat vagy sem - őt tartották e tárgyak tulajdonosának, ő rendelkezett e tárgyak és minták 'copyright'-jával, ezért a dolgozatban neki tulajdonított tárgyi emlékeket teljes joggal tarthatjuk életművének. A bizonyítási eljárás során a szerző a Bureau of American Ethnology két kiváló kutatójának James Mooney-nak 1904-06 között, és Truman Michelson-nak 1930-ban gyűjtött, s jelenleg a National Anthropological Archives-ban őrzött, és mind a mai napig publikálatlan jegyzeteit használta. Külön értéke a tanulmánynak, hogy korabeli fényképek révén (amelyek közül egy a National Anthropological Archives fotókollekciójából, a másik John W. Painter cincinnati-i magángyűjteményéből való), megismerhetjük a törzsi művész arcvonását is. Függeléként olvasható a dolgozat után James Mooney ezidáig publikálatlan leírása egy Sánta Bölénybika vezette Tüztánc szertartásról.

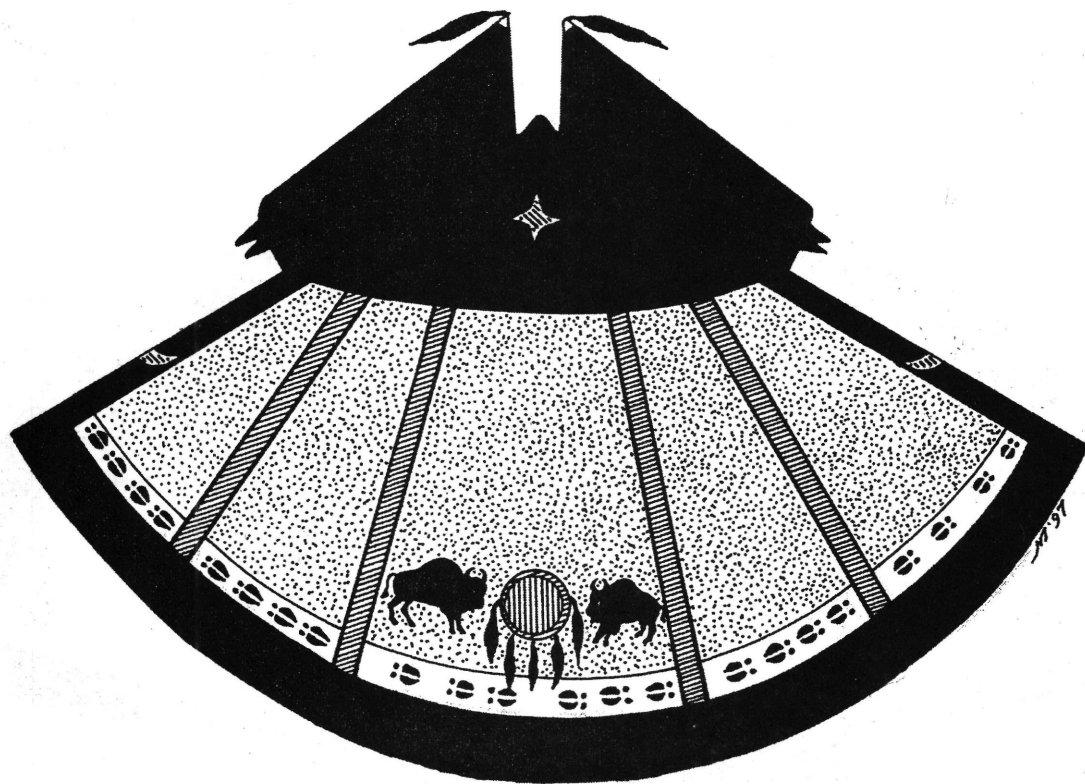
Figure 1.



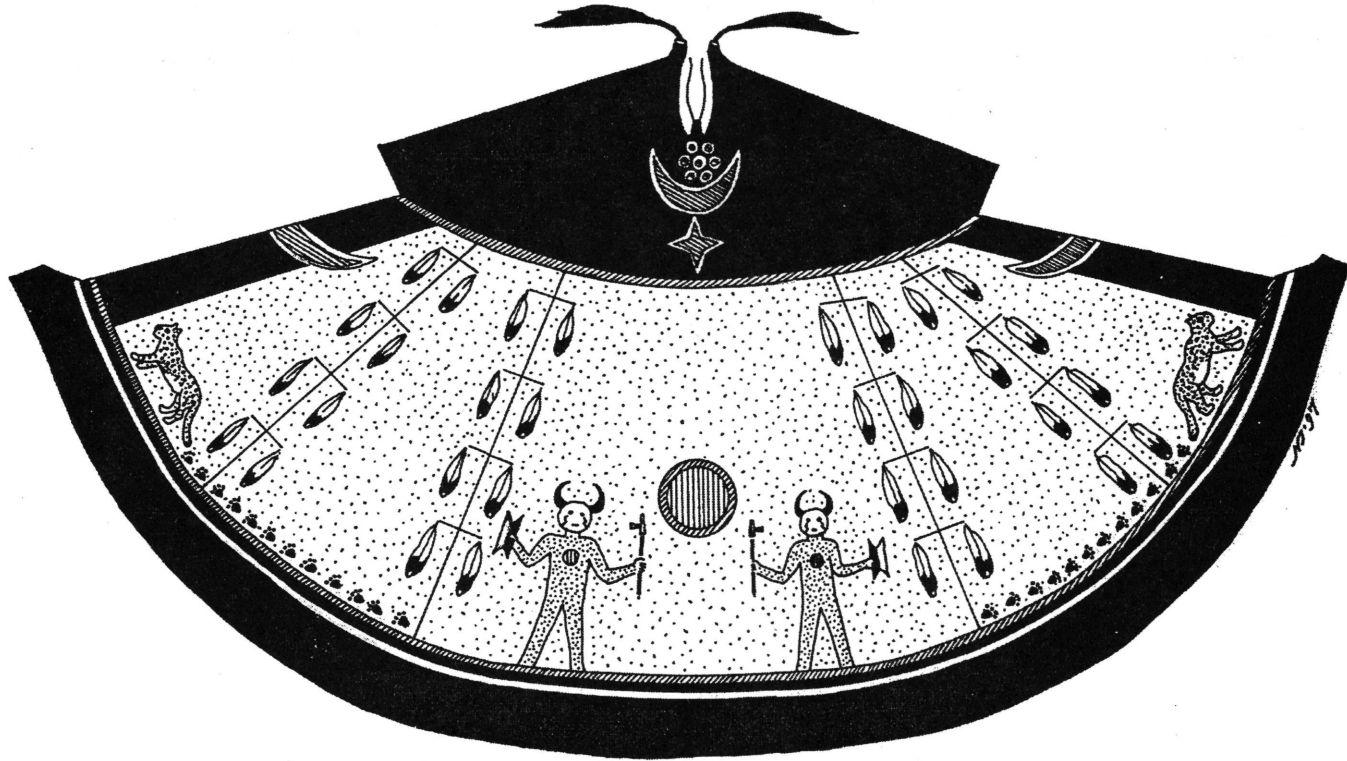
1. Flat case, Cheyenne, c. 1860-1870. Paint on parfleche. Courtesy John W. Painter (Author's sketch after Painter n.d. /1991/: 101-102).



2. Detail of a panoramic drawing of a Sun Dance camp, Cheyenne, c. 1874-1879. Original made by Chief Killer, Cheyenne, with pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York, Cat. No. 11/1706. Author's sketch after the original. The detail illustrates two tipis dreamed by Lame Bull. The black one is his own, the red one with horned human figures might be White Shield's tipi.

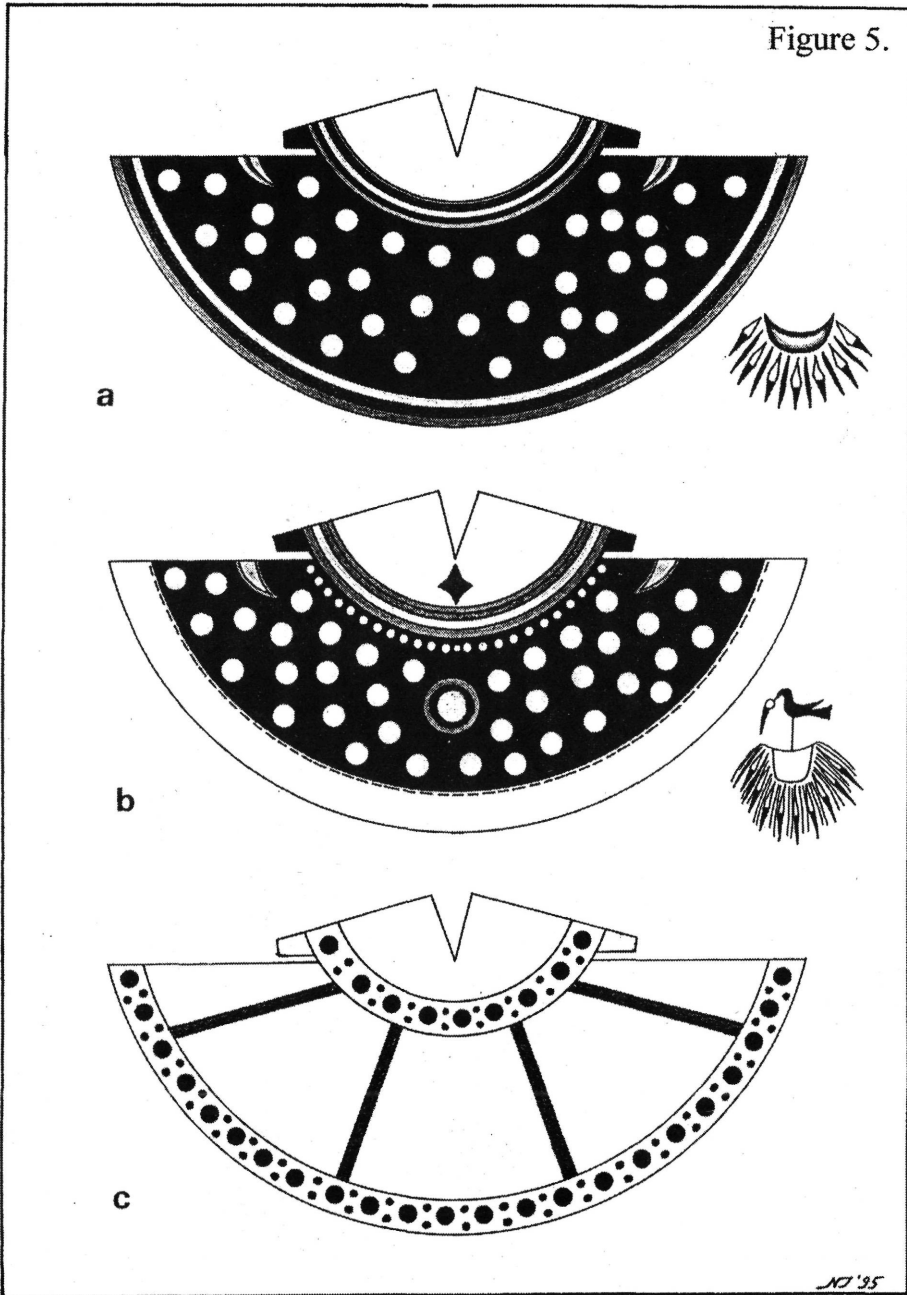


3. Reconstruction of a tipi painting, Cheyenne, 1906. Author's sketch after the original drawing of the Yellow Tipi of Lame Bull, Cheyenne medicine man. Drawing collected by James Mooney, now preserved in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Cat. No. 2538. Model collected by James Mooney, now preserved in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Cat. No. 96957.

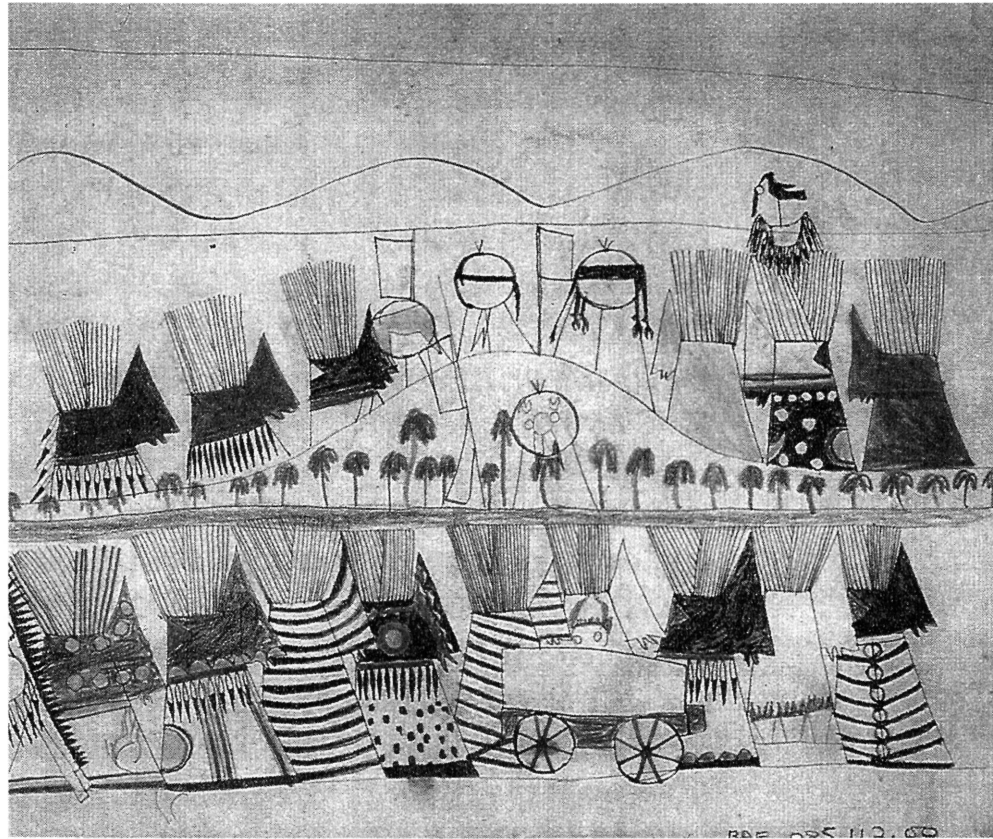


4. Reconstruction of a tipi painting, Cheyenne, 1906. Author's sketch after the original drawings collected by James Mooney. The original drawings, probably drawn by Carl Sweezy, an Arapaho artist, on paper by ink and colored pencil are now preserved in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Wasington, D.C., Cat. No. 2531, Vol. 9: 15. Tipi design dreamed by Lame Bull, and owned by White Shield.

Figure 5.



5. Reconstruction of Lame Bull's tipi designs: a) NMAI, SI-11/1706 variant of Lame Bull's Black Tipi, b) NAA, SI-154,064-C variant of Lame Bull's Black Tipi, c) Harvey White Shield's variant of Lame Bull's „Plain Tipi”. Author's drawing.



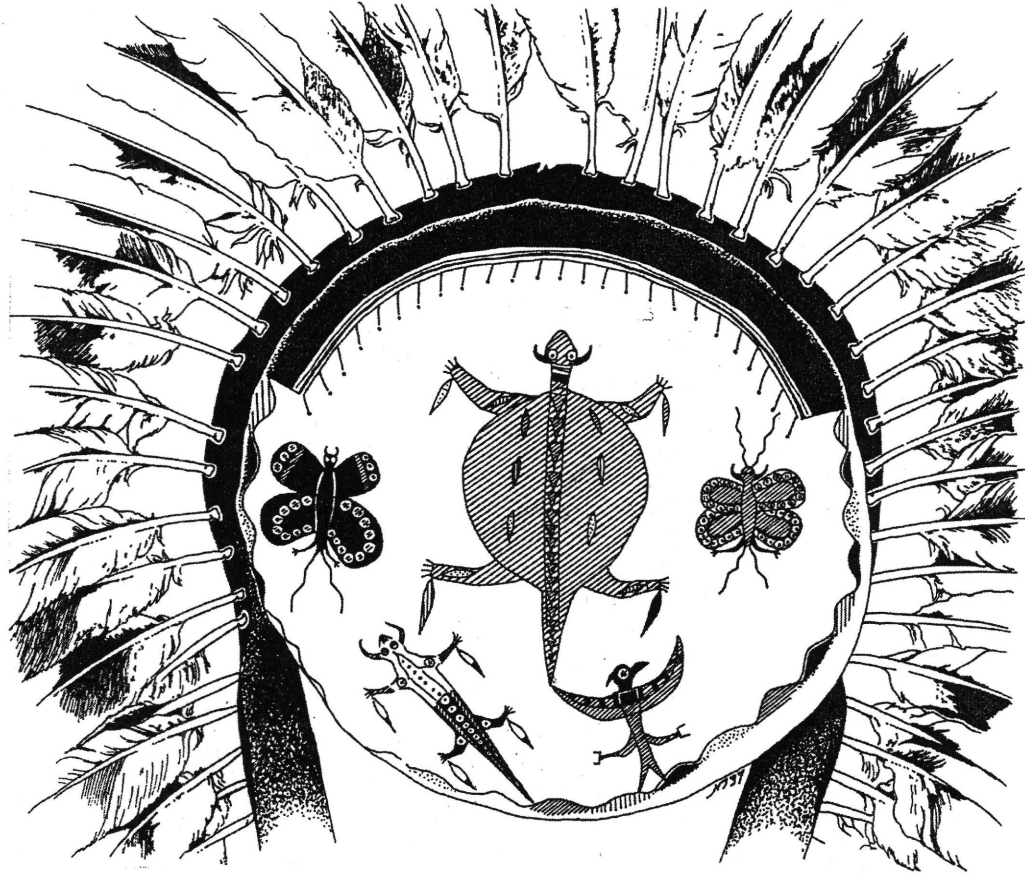
6. Drawing of a tipi camp, Cheyenne, c. 1874-78. Pencil, ink, colored ink and colored pencil on paper by an unidentified Cheyenne artist, incarcerated to Fort Marion, Florida. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Cat. No. 154,064-C, Inv. No. BAE 085112.00. Collected by General William M. Hazen.



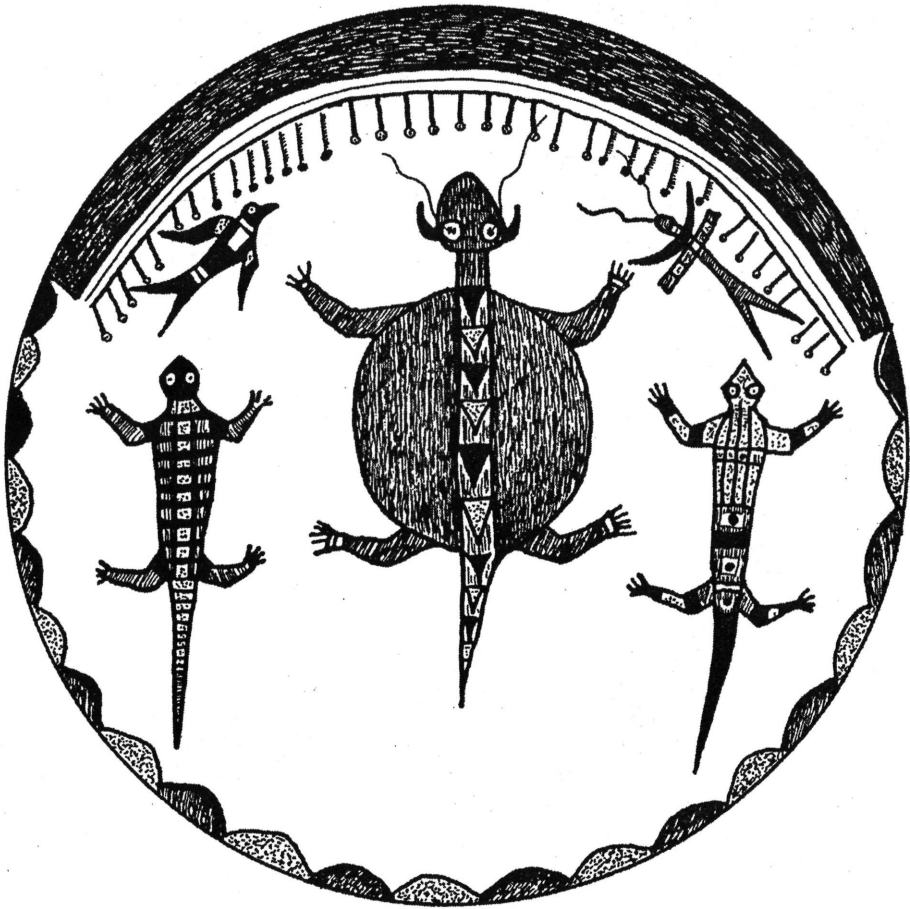
7. Shield, Cheyenne, c. 1880. Paint on leather. Shown without the red cloth trailer, decorated with feathers. Private collection. Photo courtesy of the owner.









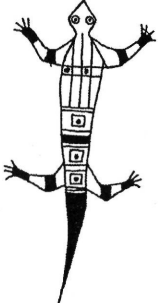
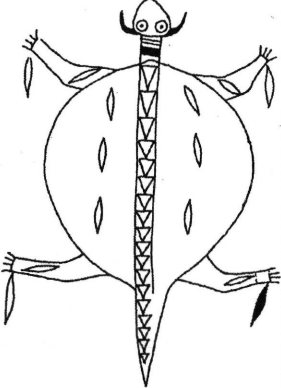
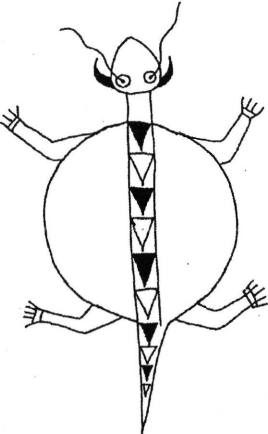
8. Detail photograph of the ink inscription on the back of the circular rawhide shield of Fig. 7.: „Presented by Lame Bull Medicine Chief, Cheyenne.” Photo courtesy of the owner.



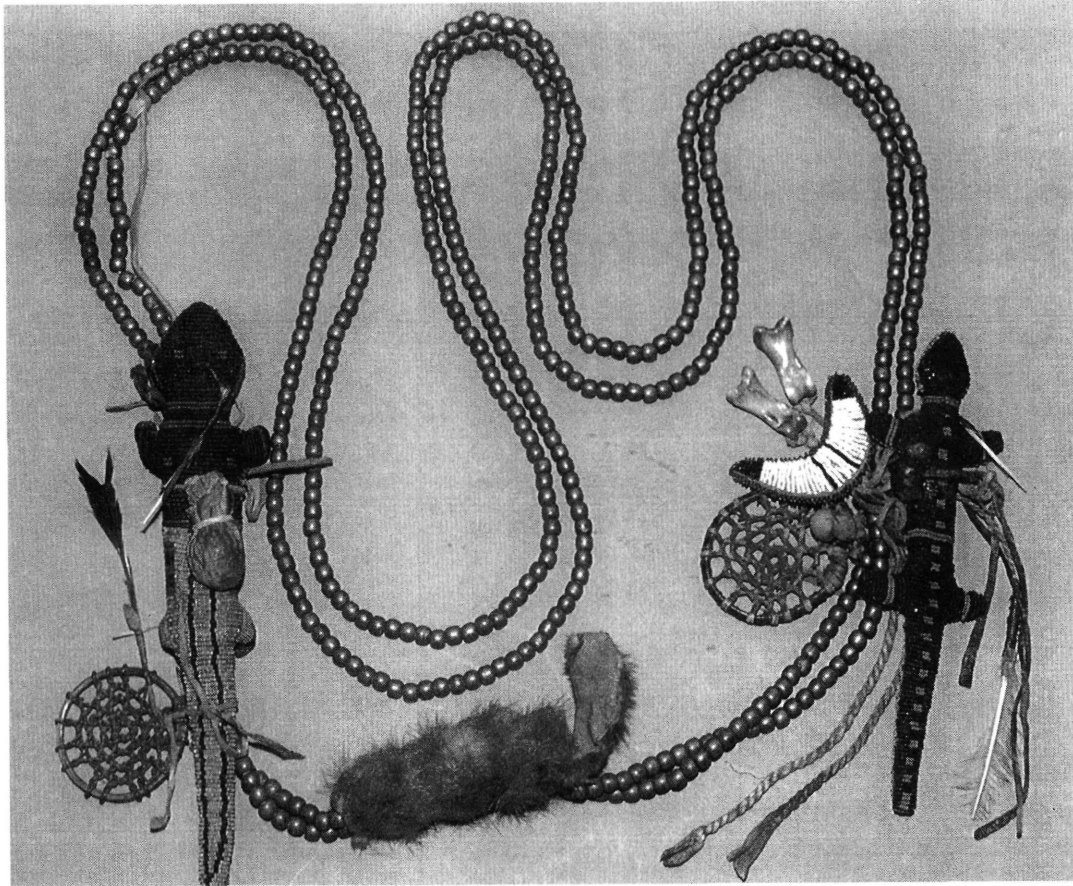
9. Shield cover, Cheyenne, c. 1850-1880. Paint on leather, feathers, red trade cloth. Author's sketch after the original, now preserved in the Colorado State Historical Society, Denver, Cat. No. E 1850.11. Original shield cover is the gift of Elizabeth Corse.



10. Shield cover, Cheyenne, c. 1850-1880. Paint on leather. Author's sketch after a color photograph. Formerly in a private collection, present location unknown.

	Lame Bull shield	CSHS shield	US private shield
Bird			
Butterfly			
Lizard			
Turtle			

11. Chart illustrating the stylistic and iconographical correspondences between the motifs of the three shields attributed to Lame Bull, Cheyenne. Author's drawing.



12. Medicine bandolier, Cheyenne, c. 1865. Brass beads, multicolored glass beads, wood, leather, fur. It belonged to Lame Bull and was handed down by his descendants. Courtesy of the present owner.



13. Lame Bull, Cheyenne medicine man. Negative copied by DeLancey Gill, original photographer and date not recorded. c. 1880. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Cat. No. 330.



14. Lame Bull and his wife. Vintage photograph. c. 1890-1900. Date, photographer, location unknown. Identified by descendants of Lame Bull as their grandfather. Courtesy John W. Painter.