

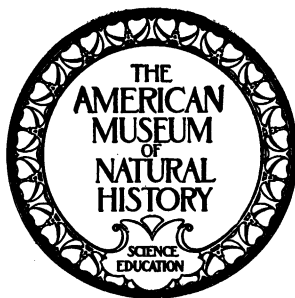
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XXI, PART IV

CROW INDIAN ART.

BY

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NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES
1922

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INTRODUCTION.

An adequate study of Crow art, or for that matter of the art of any other Indian tribe, would be possible only if all the various museums of this country and of Europe had published illustrations of the material in their possession. But even were all the objective evidence of the æsthetic aspirations of primitive tribes readily accessible, there would still remain to be explored the subjective attitude of the artists, a subject to which Professor Boas has often called attention and which has almost persistently been ignored. During my frequent visits to the Crow Reservation I collected art specimens and made some observations on methods of decoration, but without ever concentrating my attention on this phase of native activity. My own collections are indeed supplemented in generous fashion by other material, mainly from the Lenders and Tefft purchases; and through Mr. G. G. Heye's courtesy I have also had access to the material in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Nevertheless, I feel that my observations are inadequate even on the objective side. It is especially in approaching the delicate matter of characterizing tribal styles that the student feels the incompleteness of even a large random collection. Considering that older specimens are often of doubtful provenance, that others though certainly bought in a given locality have probably been imported from elsewhere, quite satisfactory results could be secured only from very large series of specimens from all of the tribes embraced in a survey. Since this condition was not fulfilled in the present case, my comparative results must be regarded as purely tentative and are put forth in order to be tested in the light of fuller information. That such provisional summaries are not futile is proved by the fact that not a few of Professor Kroeber's earlier generalizations, based mainly on the then much smaller collections in the American Museum, are fully borne out by the larger material now accessible. In the interest of brevity and clearness I have largely adopted the design nomenclature already used by Kroeber and Wissler in their discussions of Plains art.

The art of the Crow Indians may, from the point of view of technique, be regarded as either painted or embroidered; from the point of view of use, as decorative or graphic. These concepts lie at the basis of the classification here adopted.

PAINTING.

An informant told me that in the old days the same colors as now were used for rawhide painting, except that instead of the dark blue now employed an even darker pigment was used, one almost black. Whether this pigment was identical with a dark dirt called *awúə*, mentioned as a substitute for blue, is not clear. According to Wissler, the Dakota too had no blue pigments until the days of the trader, when they substituted them for black.¹

A half-hourglass figure called *măcuce* is said to have been more commonly used in olden than in more recent times.

PARFLECHES.

Dr. Wissler has pointed out that Dakota tradition records parfleches not painted but incised, the hair of the buffalo being first removed and the designs being produced by scraping away portions of this layer, giving effects in light and shade.² In the Field Museum in Chicago I have seen two such Crow parfleches. According to my notes, the design consists of a central diamond flanked by centripetal isosceles triangles, and within the diamond there are several minute diamond figures. This pattern appears in two panels. The incised technique is also found in two specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation,—a rawhide crupper and a sword case of the same material. In both the dominant pattern consists of elongated isosceles triangles.

A general treatment of Plains Indian rawhide decoration may properly start with Professor Kroeber's illuminating analysis.³ His classification of parfleche styles rests on the three modes of combining rectangular with triangular figures. His first type is characterized by the exclusive use of triangles and the diamonds or hourglass figures resulting from their union; the second class partly replaces the triangles by rectangles; in the third group triangles are lacking or at best ancillary to the rectangular figures. Type I is used almost to the exclusion of others by the Arapaho and Dakota and is said to predominate everywhere except among the Shoshoni. Type II attains its high-water mark of development among the Shoshoni, but is used also by the Ute and in some measure by the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre. Type III is not characteris-

¹Wissler, Clark, "Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians" (*Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 18, part 3, 1904), 270.

²Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, 256.

³Kroeber, A. L., "Ethnology of the Gros Ventre" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 1, part 4, 1908), 158-177.

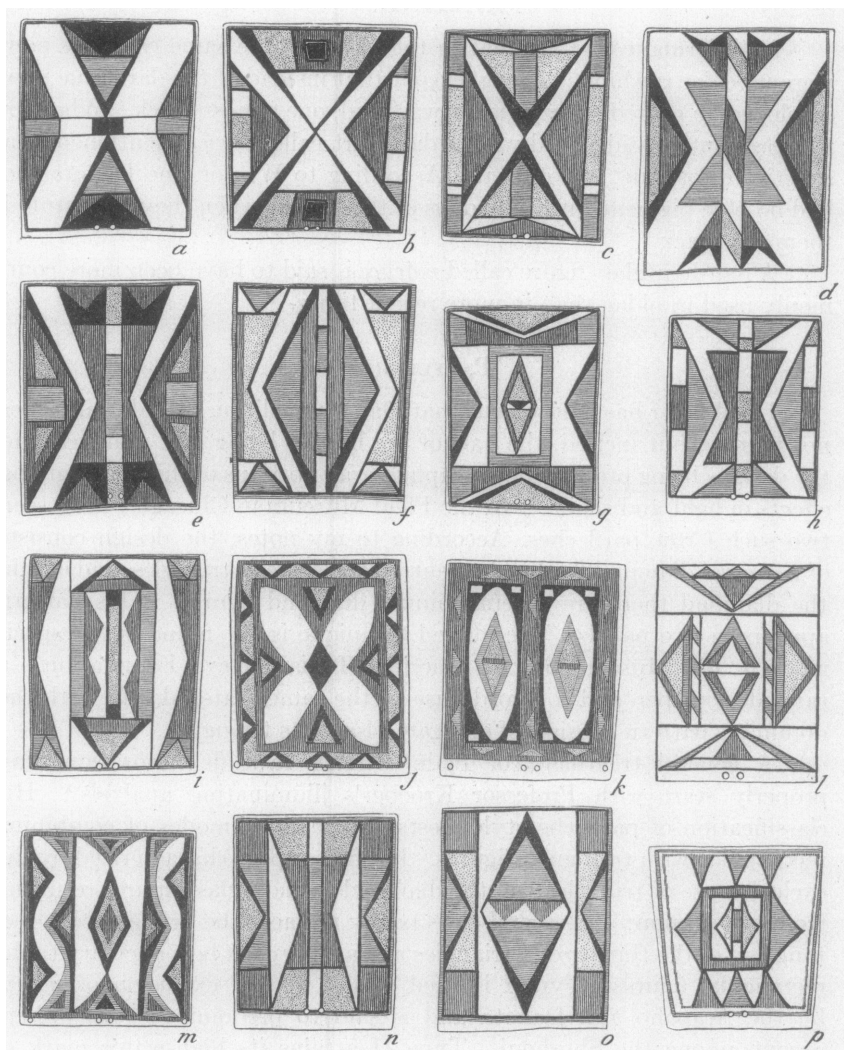


Fig. 1. a-i (50-6857, 6858, 50.1-3860a, 737, 3859a, 50.1-6846, 50-3863, 3865), j (50.1-993), k-l (50.1-5426, 3866), m (50.1-5463), n-p (50.1-3858a, 3868, 50-1774). Parfleches. a-i, k-l, n-p, Crow; j, Cheyenne; m, Hidatsa.

tic of any particular tribe but occurs "somewhat sporadically among almost all tribes." This typological grouping is followed in Kroeber's paper by a definition of tribal styles, in which due weight is accorded to the arrangement of patterns as well as to their geometrical character.

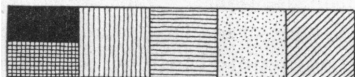
After going over the Crow specimens and comparing them roughly with those from other tribes, I have arrived at the conclusion that for purposes of characterization the combination of the geometrical elements into units of higher order and the method of arrangement of these units within the decorative area are of considerably greater significance than the use of such geometrical abstractions as rectangles and triangles. Kroeber himself realizes this when he points out that type III is less frequently shared by peoples with type II than by tribes with type I: The difference between the two types is not so much in their individual design elements as in the disposition of these in the decorative field.

Adapting or expanding Kroeber's nomenclature for my purposes, I will mainly employ the following self-explanatory terms for briefly describing the Crow *parfleches*: transverse border stripe, marginal border stripe, central hourglass, marginal obtuse triangle, bifurcating stripe, marginal half hourglass, central diamond, X figure, framed central triangle, laterally framed central rectangle.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Crow *parfleches* is the triple longitudinal disposition of patterns, which may culminate in a definite three-panel arrangement with a central figure flanked by symmetrical border stripes (Fig. 1).¹ Of twenty-five specimens only three represent a break with this traditional scheme; and even two of these exceptional cases may be plausibly conceived as mere variants from the familiar type through the addition of a transverse stripe above and below. A longitudinal arrangement is of course highly characteristic of the Arapaho, as noted by Kroeber, but with them the tripartite division is rare. Of the numerous specimens pictured by Kroeber only two² conform to Crow standards, five stripes being far more popular with the Arapaho than three. A consequence of this feature and of the tendency to leave large spaces unmarked is the relatively and absolutely lesser size of the Arapaho central figures. The designs of the Dakota are also markedly

¹The illustrations of objects published in this paper are the work of Mr. Rudolf Weber, whose color scheme is the following:

²Kroeber, A. L., "The Arapaho" (*Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 18, part 1, 1907), Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1; Pl. XIX, Fig. 3.



black red blue yellow green

smaller than those of the Crow, though not for precisely the same reasons. Their artists crowd the decorative field with painting, but the extensive use of borders limits the space available for the main designs and this area is often further diminished by halving, the tendency being to place one of a pair of figures in each half.¹

In six Crow specimens the central position is occupied by a large hourglass figure, which is always divided by a longitudinal stripe. The hourglass may extend throughout the length of the decorative field (Fig. 1e), or it may only occupy the middle portion of the center, in which case there is a funnel-shaped expansion upwards and downwards to the limits of the painted area (Fig. 1d, h). The bisecting strip is generally crossed by transverse lines, which divide it into a series of narrow rectangles differentiated by leaving some blank and painting others, or by the use of distinct colors. In one pair of specimens the strip is not divided by horizontal lines but by two parallel slanting lines, the enclosed area being colored brick-red; similar but smaller areas are painted in orange in the funnel areas (Fig. 1d). Each triangular half of the funnel section is further subdivided into a larger triangular portion colored red and a smaller quadrilateral within which a central black area of only moderately isosceles character is flanked by two small blue triangles. Where the hourglass occupies the entire length of the field, its upper and lower portions are nevertheless set off by the use of a different color. Thus, in one specimen (Fig. 1n) the transverse lines dividing the bisecting strip are extended across the entire width of the figure and the lateral portions thus cut off from the core of the figure are painted yellow. In another case (Fig. 1e) the severed wings are blue, but enclose each a small triangle of the same color as the body of the hourglass. In none of these cases, however, is the unity of the hourglass impression seriously affected. So far as my personal reactions go, this happens more nearly in the parfleche with the oblique lines through the bisecting strip, and possibly to this fact may be ascribed the aesthetically unpleasing effect of this variant. Unfortunately I can only infer native agreement with my own feelings from the rarity of the device.

The hourglass occurs twice in a definite panel arrangement.

A large central X figure may perhaps be conceived as a variant of the hourglass. The design appears most prominently in a pair of parfleches (Fig. 1b). Each triangular half of the figure has the edges and base painted in blue, and blue lines further divide the remainder of the area into four parts. The area near the point of intersection of the two

¹See Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians*, Figs. 87, 90.

X-forming triangles is green. In the remaining quadrilateral the symmetrical lateral areas are yellow, the central quadrilateral is red and the rather irregularly drawn square it encloses is blue. In Fig. 1c is shown a rather unusual arrangement. The X-figure occupies the central panel, but owing to marginal border stripes and two large obtuse triangles in the panel itself the size of the central design is less impressive. The subsidiary elements are clear from the illustration. With the X designs I class the one appearing in a pair of parfleches (Fig. 1a), although the constituent triangles are separated by a narrow transverse band. However, the general impression is very similar and the disposition of obtuse lateral triangles (truncated of course in this case by the band) corroborates the relationship with the forms described above.

In four parfleches, two of which are mates, the dominant figure is a large diamond, which in the pair is bisected by a longitudinal stripe. In one specimen (Fig. 1o) there is a central transverse band enclosing two triangles; in another case a similar band is crossed by two vertical lines. In both parfleches a triangle runs to the boundary of the transverse band. In the specimen figured the apex is below that of the corresponding point of the enclosing half of the lozenge, while the base of the triangle coincides with the boundary. In the other specimen the apex of the enclosed triangle coincides with that of the half lozenge but its base extends only between the two vertical lines of the transverse band. Fig. 1f shows the subdivision of the half-diamonds by the use of different colors. The treatment of the longitudinal bisecting stripe resembles that discussed in connection with the hourglass figures.

Two parfleches might logically be grouped under the diamond category, but psychologically this seems inadmissible, or at least undemonstrable to me. In one case the central design is a figure with longitudinal bisecting stripe that may be conceived as a relatively small diamond expanding into a funnel upward and downward. Unlike the corresponding hourglass case this seems to me wholly to alter the psychological character of the design; owing to the relative proportions of the elements it would be quite as plausible to conceive it as a double hourglass. In the second parfleche the central section, instead of being occupied by one large diamond is decorated with two small ones, one above the other. These two specimens, while differing from others, seem to me to correspond more closely to the Crow style than a third (Fig. 1i) displaying an hexagonal figure in the central panel. The vertical sides are considerably longer than the others and the area bounded by them encloses a number of smaller designs set off by different colors.

An important type, from a comparative point of view, is exhibited by four specimens. The one illustrated in Fig. 1p breaks most definitely with the Crow tradition in having no semblance of the tripartite decorative field. The center is here occupied by a framed rectangle, which encloses two triangles conceivable as half-diamonds separated by a longitudinal stripe. The frame furnishes the base for lateral isosceles triangles. From the top and bottom respectively there extend three V-shaped figures with their apices touching the frame. The entire decorative area is framed. In a pair of parfleches (Fig. 1g) there is a central framed rectangle bounded by a broad transverse border stripe above and below. The rectangle encloses two homologous lozenges, the smaller one being traversed by a central band enclosing a small triangle. Another parfleche has apparently been turned inside out since only the inner sides of the flaps exhibit ornamentation, now rather faded. The arrangement resembles that just described, inasmuch as there are broad transverse border stripes and a lozenge-enclosing central rectangle, which, however, is framed only laterally.

From a consideration of the central designs I will now pass on to a discussion of the marginal areas. Those definitely paneled off from the center, whether in longitudinal or transverse bands, will be treated first. Fig. 1c shows unusually narrow longitudinal border stripes divided into rectangles, and recalling the bisecting stripe of the central design in other specimens. A very characteristic element occurs in four parfleches. The lateral panel is divided into three rectangles, the central one being much the largest and enclosing a large obtuse triangle. The decorative unit may then be conceived as such a triangle flanked above and below by a square or rectangle. On the other hand, since the apex of the triangle does not touch the inner boundary of the panel, it leaves a K-figure, which may be assumed to have independent decorative value as it is set off by a distinct color (Fig. 1n). It will be noted that this marginal motive is combined both with the central hourglass and the diamond design. The obtuse triangle without flanking squares occurs in the pair of specimens with the central framed rectangle (Fig. 1g). In the decidedly wide transverse borders of these parfleches there is a half hourglass lying on its long side and separated from it by a blank space an obtuse triangle. The other specimen of this category (50.1-3866) has a pair of homologous obtuse triangles in each lateral panel, but their apices point away from the central figure. On the other hand, the large obtuse triangles of the transverse bands point towards the center in the usual fashion; they include minor triangular designs. Finally, the unusual

central hexagon (Fig. 1i) is coupled with lateral panels in which a half-hourglass is placed so that its vertical side coincides with the outer edge of the panel.

Turning now to those specimens in which the lateral figures are not paneled off, we find one pair (Fig. 1f) in which half-hourglasses are arranged as just described; the upper and lower sections of the figures are segregated by transverse lines and enclose small triangles. The majority of the other pieces of this category have large centripetal obtuse triangles, one on each side, so that this arrangement must be reckoned characteristic of the Crow style. In one case, that of the double-funneled diamond in the center, there are two triangles on either side, their lines running parallel to those of the central figure. Such parallelism also characterizes the *parfleche* with the two central diamonds, but here the lateral figure marked off consists of a central obtuse triangle flanked by smaller right-angled ones. The centripetal marginal triangle may enclose not only lesser triangles sharing its apex but also some other designs. Thus a narrow quadrilateral strip is several times cut off along the outer edge and subdivided by horizontal lines (Fig. 1h). In another instance (Fig. 1e) the triangle contains a square at the edge flanked by a right-angled triangle above and below.

The preceding analysis enables us to offer some comparative remarks. While previous investigations of other aspects of culture warranted the expectation that some definite relationship with the Arapaho style might come to view, the expectation remains unfulfilled. As I have already pointed out above, both the general arrangement of the patterns and their size vary in the two tribes, and the characteristic minor features of Arapaho ornamentation, such as the dots and the bear-foot motive, are wholly absent among the Crow. There is as little resemblance of Dakota and Crow decoration. The Dakota method of dichotomizing the ornamental area, of framing it in its entirety, of enclosing a pair of bars within a lozenge, is quite foreign to the Crow.

It would be natural to assume a peculiarly intimate relationship between the Crow and the Hidatsa styles, but the diametrically opposite condition obtains. Not a single Hidatsa *parfleche* resembles any one of the Crow specimens: arrangement of the decorative area, size of patterns, minor features all differ fundamentally. The Museum has seven Hidatsa *parfleches* and I will class with these a Mandan piece from the U. S. National Museum of which Professor Boas has kindly lent me a sketch, and another in the American Museum's Audubon collection. In six of these cases the general arrangement conforms to the Dakota

pattern. That is to say, the field is divided into two panels, each of which is dominated by one design (Fig. 1k). This, naturally enough, does not approach in size the central figure of the Crow tripartite scheme. In the one instance of something resembling the Crow three-panel system (Fig. 1m) the resemblance proves, after all, superficial. For each lateral panel is not filled with one connected complex of elements, but with two dissociated designs, making after all five instead of three longitudinal divisions. Another trait appearing in this specimen and very common with the Hidatsa,¹ but almost wholly lacking among the Crow, is the use of curved lines. For example, isosceles triangles tend to have curvilinear sides, and so do hourglass figures. Various minor devices find no parallel in Crow art. Thus, there is one piece with a vertical row of dots in a bisecting stripe; in another a curved hourglass is cross-hatched; in three instances there is a heavy border around the entire decorative field. The Mandan piece in the Audubon collection has five longitudinal designs. A central strip bisects the field longitudinally and divides the two halves of two diamonds, one above the other. On each side of this central double lozenge is a double-funneled diamond and at the edge is a combination of two elongated, centripetal obtuse triangles. On the basis of material available I do not hesitate to say that no two parfleche styles differ more than those of the Hidatsa and Crow.

Elsewhere I have described four Assiniboin parfleches,¹ with which I am now able to consider a fifth. Four of these have a distinct frame round the decorative field; an equal number have the area divided by a longitudinal stripe so that two panels result, which are ornamented with symmetrical patterns. The arrangement is thus distinctly of the same type as that of the Dakota and Hidatsa. The figures themselves exhibit considerable variety and without a larger series it is impossible to indicate their exact relationship.

Professor Kroeber, in dealing with the Gros Ventre parfleches, suggests the possibility of a close correspondence with the Crow style,² but the pieces described and figured by him do not indicate more than a very moderate resemblance. The specimen illustrated in his Plate XI, Fig. 3, comes nearest to the Crow method of decoration and, as he points out, is in the Shoshoni style.

For sketches of parfleches from two of the most important tribes for our purpose, the Kiowa and the Cheyenne, I am indebted to Professor

¹Lowie, Robert H., "The Assiniboine," (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 4, part 1, 1909), 23.

²Kroeber, *Gros Ventre*, 176 f.

Boas. His three Kiowa specimens share the tripartite arrangement of the Crow, yet this cannot be taken as proof of close connection, which is negatived by the character of the designs employed. Neither the central nor the lateral patterns conform to Crow standards, and a frame extending in all Kiowa specimens round the decorative area finds only a single Crow parallel. The central figure is not the familiar large hourglass or diamond of the Crow. In one case there is a rather small hourglass (not extending to the border) with concave sides and three prongs above and below. The lateral designs might be conceived as centripetal obtuse triangles, but they are narrower than the Crow equivalents and differ fundamentally in having concave sides, besides enclosing distinctive minor motives. The two other parfleches resemble each other closely without being mates. Both have the framed area bisected by a longitudinal stripe, which however does not destroy the unity of the central pattern it divides into symmetrical halves. It may be easiest to describe the half-design. In one parfleche it consists of a very small central half hourglass with concave side, and this figure is touched above and below by the apex of a narrow right-angled triangle of which the base coincides with the inner line of the frame. The two halves with the bisecting stripe thus form a central hourglass, low and relatively wide, with a funnel above and below. The other parfleche has a still lower and relatively broader central hourglass, which however is not curved on the sides, but angular, so as to suggest two M's respectively swung ninety degrees to the left and right from an upright position. While the little hourglass is angular, the right-angled triangles flanking its halves have slightly curved hypotenuses. The lateral designs of the two parfleches are also similar. In each case a small centripetal isosceles triangle is flanked by right-angled ones with hypotenuses projecting towards the center of the field. In one specimen these flanking triangles touch the little triangle they flank; in the other they are connected with it by short stems.

Professor Boas's sketches of six Cheyenne pieces show the invariable framing of the decorative field in contrast to the Crow practice; this feature also occurs in one of the only two specimens in the Museum (Fig. 1j), where the border effect is distinctly similar to that observable in an Hidatsa parfleche. None of the Cheyenne parfleches are definitely of the Crow type. My impression coincides with Professor Kroeber's, viz., that the Cheyenne fall into the same category as the Arapaho and the Dakota, though their relationship with the former seems much closer. The longitudinal arrangement with a tendency to a fivefold division of

the field, the occasional employment of curved lines, the use of such specific devices as the pronged "bear-foot" pattern and rows of dots, all point in the direction of Arapaho relations.

The Blackfoot style has been defined by Professor Kroeber, and I have reëxamined the specimens in the Museum for the present purpose. The result is again a negative one as regards any intimate connection with the Crow. The frequent framing of the field, the common dichotomy of the decorative area with like designs in the panels thus formed, and the use of curved lines suffice to differentiate the Blackfoot from the Crow pieces. As a matter of fact, I can find only two cases in which there is marked similarity to Crow parfleches. Specimen 50-4469, with a framed central rectangle, extraordinarily resembles the Crow parfleche 50-1774; and 50.1-1087 is distinctly of the Crow style with its narrow lateral panels and large central hourglass.

So far as I can see, the closest relationship obtains between the Shoshoni and the Crow style. This conclusion of mine is corroborated by the impressions of Professors Boas and Kroeber, both of whom, when I showed them some Crow specimens, were at once struck with their Shoshoni-like appearance. The marginal border stripe that occurs in a number of Crow specimens is eminently characteristic of the Shoshoni, as Kroeber has pointed out. I found it in sixteen out of twenty-two cases. The framed central rectangle is likewise typical of the Shoshoni, the only difference consisting in the greater width of their rectangles as compared with those of the Crow. Still more important in my opinion is the general arrangement of patterns. The tripartite scheme is of course favored by the extensive use of two longitudinal border-stripes, and as among the Crow this feature is coupled with central designs of relatively considerable magnitude. Finally, a comparison of the Shoshoni specimens described and figured by Kroeber and myself¹ with those from the Crow reveals close resemblances of a specific character. One of my Shoshoni pieces duplicates in its central figure the Crow split diamond; another, the X-figure interrupted by a transverse band; and so forth. Such a Crow anomaly as the small parallelogram with two oblique sides within a bisecting strip (Fig. 1d) is also found among the Shoshoni. Of course, there are differences. Among others, the marginal stripe and the framed central rectangle are certainly more prevalent in Shoshoni art. But judging from the available evidence I am forced to conclude that in a grouping of the parfleche ornamentation of the Plains the Shoshoni and the Crow belong together.

¹Kroeber, *Gros Ventre*, 172 f., Pl. X, Fig. 1 and 2. Lowie, Robert H., "The Northern Shoshone," (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol 2, part 2, 1909), 203-205.

Professor Boas's sketches as well as Kroeber's description of Sahaptin parfleches and Spinden's illustrations¹ show that in some respects at least the Sahaptin must be classed with the Crow and Shoshoni.

RAWHIDE BAGS.

The box-shaped rawhide trunks found among the Hidatsa and the Sauk and Fox² do not seem to occur at all among the Crow. But with other Plains tribes they share rawhide bags of rectangular shape, usually with envelope flap, and cylindrical medicine cases. There are also little containers, square at the bottom and sides and concave at the top.

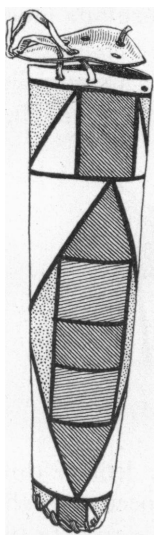


Fig. 2. (50.1-3882). Cylindrical Rawhide Bag. Crow.

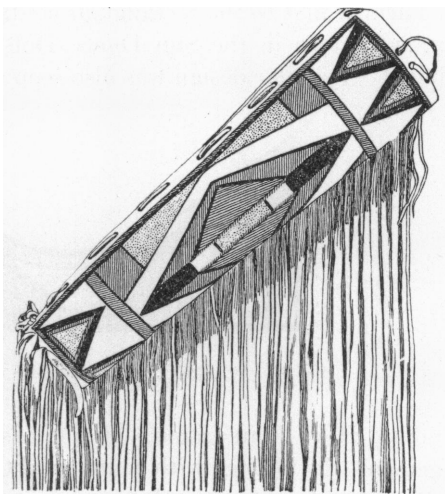


Fig. 3. (50.1-1261). Cylindrical Rawhide Bag. Crow.

Professor Kroeber distinguishes four types of ornamentation on the cylindrical bags of Plains Indians. From the specimens in the Museum it is clear that his third type predominates among the Crow, i.e., the one characterized by a central diamond flanked above and below by a centripetal isosceles triangle. In one case the dominant figure is a closed X, but the constituent triangles are of equal size. Kroeber's

¹Kroeber, *Gros Ventre*, 175 f.; Spinden, Herbert J., "The Nes Percé Indians" (*Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol 2, part 3, 1908), 209.

²Mr. Skinner tells me they also occur among the Kickapoo, Prairie Potawatomi, Plains-Ojibway, and Santee and that he has seen one or two unpainted Menomini specimens.

other styles are apparently lacking altogether. On the other hand, quite anomalous modes of decoration occur on two cylindrical bags in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, which I had the privilege of inspecting through Mr. George G. Heye's courtesy. One of them displays a series of parallel zigzag lines above one-stepped rectangular designs with subsidiary features (No. 9156); the other has series of stemmed little circles, boxed X-figures and boxed little hourglasses (No. 2-330). In both instances the pattern is of course more elaborate than in the usual specimens, such as shown in Figs. 2 and 3, which are also represented in Mr. Heye's collection.

To the other forms of rawhide bag it would be rash to assign a distinctive style since the material is inadequate and exhibits much variation. Turning first to the rectangular containers we find a characteristic triangular pattern in the Sun Dance Doll envelope already illustrated elsewhere.¹ A similar design was also seen in the Museum of the Ameri-

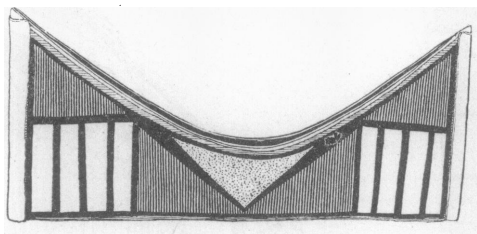


Fig. 4. (50.1-3874). Small Rawhide Container. Crow.

can Indian, Heye Foundation,—in one case with a definite three-panel arrangement, the lozenge with centripetal triangles occupying the center (2-9621). Another piece in the same institution conforms to the three-panel scheme, but has a toothed concave hourglass in the middle (8776). Two bags in this collection are noteworthy as revealing the two-panel arrangement lacking in the Crow parfleches (8877, 5-773). A similar disposition occurs in a specimen in the American Museum of Natural History; in this case the field is bisected by a narrow longitudinal stripe with a wide diamond in each of the resulting panels. In another rawhide envelope the principal design resembles that of the Sun Dance bag, but the free points of the central diamond each touch those of a diminutive triangle. The flap of this specimen is decorated with two triangles, from the points of which hang two tiny triangles, base down. Of two rawhide

¹Lowie, Robert H., "The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 16, part 1, 1915), 17.

bags for medicine rocks, the field of one is divided into variously colored rectangles, a device also found in a rectangular bag of different character; the second has for its dominant figure a longitudinally bisected diamond. A Tobacco bag with vertical stripes alternating with rows of dots has been figured elsewhere.¹

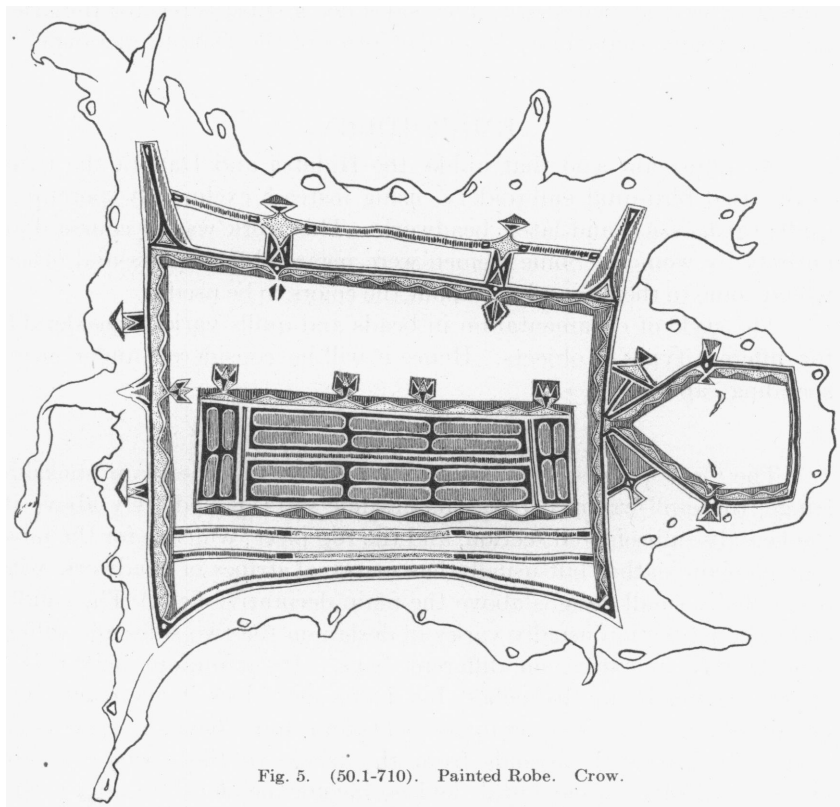


Fig. 5. (50.1-710). Painted Robe. Crow.

The small concave-topped type of bag is represented by a single specimen in the Museum (Fig. 4), but I have seen like pieces in the Field Museum and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

ROBES.

The Museum has one painted calfskin robe (Fig. 5) from the Lenders collection. In general impression, as well as in many details,

¹Lowie, Robert H., "The Tobacco Society of the Crow Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 21, part 2, 1920), 160.

such as the borders of triangles, it is remarkably similar to a Dakota specimen figured by Dr. Wissler as a typical woman's robe.¹ The resemblance is certainly stronger with this Dakota piece than with two Hidatsa robes in the Museum's collection. Nevertheless the principal design is by no means identical with that of the Dakota, a uniformly oblong figure rounded at the short sides being substituted for the alternatingly wedge-shaped and lenticular forms of the Dakota rectangle.

EMBROIDERY.

An informant said that unlike the Hidatsa and Dakota the Crow never used bird-quill embroidery, using instead exclusively porcupine quills (*apāri isúa*) and later, beadwork. This work was of course done entirely by women. Some women were regarded as experts and others would come to them for advice about the colors to be used.

The style of ornamentation in beads and quills varies considerably for different types of objects. Hence it will be considered under corresponding captions.

PIPE BAGS.

The Crow pipe bags consist of four divisions,—the plain buckskin fringe, the quill-wrapped fringe of rawhide slats immediately above it, the heavily embroidered section, and the top piece, which is for the most part of plain leather but usually has marginal stripes of beadwork with occasionally small designs above the main decorative field. The solidly embroidered section usually varies in design on the two sides and differs considerably in extent on different bags. Its minimum height is 2 inches, its maximum 10 inches, but in no case does it encroach completely on the top piece, as in some Dakota and Cheyenne specimens, where the beadwork extends from the fringe to the opening of the pouch. Ancillary ornamental devices include pendent tin cones with hair or plumes, and quill-embroidered discs.

Dr. Wissler has shown² that the pipe bags of the Plains conform to two main types,—those with four ear-like flaps at the top and a plain fringe at the bottom; and those without flaps and with a double fringe, the upper consisting of strips of quill-wrapped rawhide.

The former type is represented by the Blackfoot and Sarsi. In the Field Museum I once noted some Crow samples of this form, but as will

¹Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, 246.

²"Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*," vol. 5, part 1, 1910), 70-72.

appear presently they do not correspond to the tribal style. Of the Plains-Cree pieces in the American Museum all but one conform to the Blackfoot standard, including an old bag catalogued as coming from the Northwest Territory and another collected by Mr. Skinner in Saskatchewan. Outside this culture area the flapped single-fringed pipe bag occurs among the Cree near James Bay and among the Ojibway. Dr. Goddard collected a Wichita piece of this category, which raises an as yet insoluble problem of diffusion.

The flapless type is characteristic of the Dakota, Crow, and Cheyenne. The much less abundant material in the Museum from other Plains tribes also belongs to this class, as does an Omaha pouch pictured by Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche.¹ A Kiowa specimen presents an anomaly in that it lacks the quill-wrapped rawhide fringe, for which are substituted pairs of intertwined buckskin strings falling down separately to form the lower part of the fringe. However, this feature in no way suggests the Blackfoot style. It is a fair inference, then, that apart from the Wichita anomaly the Dakota variety is predominant in the Plains, yielding to the Blackfoot form only in the extreme northwest. It is even possible to assume that the style of which the Blackfoot are in recent times the most conspicuous followers was introduced into the area by the Cree.

Turning now to the method of ornamentation, we find that floral designs of the pattern usually associated with Woodland art appear among the Ojibway and Cree, but not to the exclusion of others among the latter. The Plains-Cree specimens sometimes exhibit the stepped triangles so common in Blackfoot art; and one bag from the Lenders collection is decorated on both sides with a pair of elk, recalling a single representation of this animal on a Blackfoot pouch. The typical Blackfoot ornamentation seems to be shown in Wissler's figure,² which illustrates a series of stepped diamonds. Stepped patterns are also prominent on Sarsi bags.

The decoration of the flapless bags differs from the above in a number of significant features. As Wissler points out, the main decorative field is larger than in the Blackfoot type. Further, the patterns are frequently of a more complicated type, and in a distinct majority of instances there are auxiliary decorative elements in the top-piece of the bag that are lacking in the other form of pouch. Most noticeable among these is the lateral stripe running along each edge from the main field to

¹"The Omaha Tribe" (*Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1911), Plate 42.

²*Material Culture of the Blackfoot*, Fig. 35.

the mouth of the bag. Dr. Spier and Miss Weitzner plausibly suggest that one of these is designed to cover the seam, the other presumably being put on for symmetry. When holding one of the pouches flattened from use in his hand, the bearer would in most cases see only the stripe on one margin, that on the opposite edge appearing on the reverse to a person facing him. In a number of cases the two marginal bands are so wide that they are simultaneously visible from both sides. These wider strips harbor, perhaps more frequently than any other single motive, a series of small rectangular crosses. I have noted these marginal crosses on Crow, Cheyenne, Dakota, and Arapaho bags; a piece in the Lenders collection credited to the Shoshoni exhibits the same decoration. In a Cheyenne pouch obverse and reverse both bear, in addition to the unilateral marginal stripe, a similar central stripe.

Another subsidiary feature of the flapless type consists of small motives in the portion of the top piece immediately above the main decorative area. These designs include the feather pattern, two or more inverted V-figures, isosceles triangles standing on their apices, and combinations of such simple designs. In this form of bag there is also generally a much more substantial border of beadwork round the mouth.

The Museum has a sufficient number of bags from the Dakota, Crow, and Cheyenne to warrant some comparative statements. It is clear that the style of bag decoration in these tribes has had a single origin. However, I gain the impression that the relationship is definitely closer between the Dakota and the Crow than between either people and the Cheyenne, though in some respects these share features exclusively with one or the other of these neighboring tribes.

The following points seem to me noteworthy in connection with the available Cheyenne bags. There is a distinctly lesser fondness for white backgrounds than among the Dakota and Crow. On the whole the total patterns are of a simpler nature and the design elements themselves seem fewer. A feature occurring at least twice, and so far as I know lacking on Dakota pouches and all but one Crow piece, consists in a central stripe on the top piece in addition to the usual pair of marginal bands. In several instances (e.g., Museum specimens, 50.1-608, 50.1-601) the decorative field is divided into three panels, an arrangement recalling the Crow *parfleche* decoration, but lacking on Crow pipe bags; in one Cheyenne bag the design in the lateral panels is a K-figure, typical of rawhide decoration. The spreading motive appears in a form identical with that of the Crow. Two pouches, otherwise of the Dakota-Crow type, have no rawhide fringe.

In view of the considerable range of variation found in any one tribe, the resemblances between Dakota and Crow pouch designs are very striking. The treatment of the decorative area by the Dakota conforms mostly to one of three methods. There may be, regardless of minor features, a dominant central pattern or single design complex.¹ Secondly, there may be duplication of a pattern, each sample occupying an imaginary panel. In some instances, the intervening space is occupied to varying extent by minor elements.² These may become so obtrusive as to suggest an intermediate panel, leading in a few cases to the third style, a definite three-panel arrangement.³ Of these three methods the last-mentioned does not appear among the Crow in its full-fledged form, but duplication is sometimes found with intermediate figures of lesser dignity. (Fig. 6.) On the whole, there is preference for the dominant central design or complex (Fig. 7a), of which the unity is hardly broken in those few cases where a transverse band intervenes between the upper and the lower half of the pattern (Fig. 6). A very unusual variant is shown in Fig. 8a. The middle of the area is on either side occupied by a rather typical Crow-Dakota pattern, but to the left and the right of it there is a lateral pattern of which only half is visible when one faces either the obverse or reverse. In order to see all of this design it is necessary to distort the bag out of its natural shape. Since at any one time only one complete complex pattern is visible, I conceive this specimen as a deviation from the central-design type. As an arrangement different from that of the bags hitherto described may be mentioned the use of four small designs of uniform character, each in one of the quarters of the field (Fig. 7e); in another specimen the idea is the same but the design multiplied is not the box but an angular horseshoe (Mus. specimen 50.1-697). A similar conception is seen in a Dakota bag pictured by Wissler⁴ and in some Cheyenne pieces.

Except for the three-panel system, then, the general arrangement of the designs is shared by Dakota and Crow. But there are more specific resemblances. If we analyze the patterns of the Crow and Dakota pipe bags into their constituents, very much the same figures are seen to predominate,—the forked and the stepped designs, the box, the diamond, and the cross. The pronged design, however, seems to be noticeably more frequent among the Dakota. This corroborates Kroeber's state-

¹Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. XLII, 1; XLIII, 2; XLVII, 1, 4; XLVIII, 1.

²Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. XLII, 23; XLVII, 2.

³Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. XLIII, 3, 1; XLVIII, 2.

⁴Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, LV, 1.

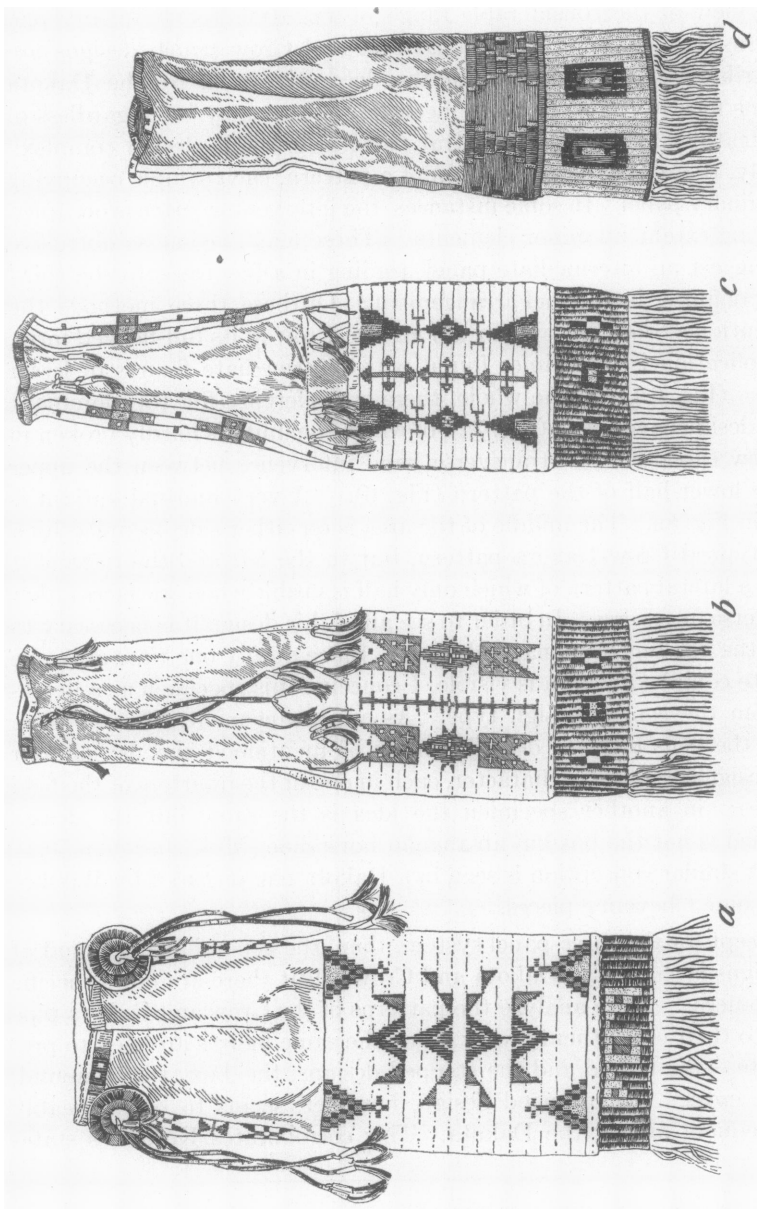


Fig. 6. a-d (50.1-694, 6835a, 701). Pipe Bags. Crow.

ment as to the preference of Dakota and Assiniboin for this feature in all their beadwork.

The combinations of these elements into designs of larger order likewise reveal a good deal of coincidence. Sometimes there is a middle figure with symmetrical designs above and below and sometimes an additional couple of symmetrical designs, one to the right and the other to the left of the central design. The main pattern of Fig. 6c, e.g., is very similar to that of a Dakota piece (50-6284). In both there is a central diamond with superior and inferior triangles enclosing a rectangle each. Some subsidiary features accentuate the resemblance, for corresponding to the double pronged design between the diamond and the triangles the Dakota pouch has stemmed forked designs producing approximately the same effect. Another Dakota bag lacks these accessories, but approaches the Crow piece more nearly in the relative proportions of the central design and its processes.¹ Another characteristic pattern is shown in Fig. 8a. It consists essentially of a central diamond with a superior and inferior forked design. Except for the colors it can be readily matched by Dakota pieces, even in subsidiary features. Thus, in two Dakota pouches the central diamond encloses a rectangular cross, and on one of them diminutive triangles appear near the apices of the forked designs, though not in contact with them. A more complicated variant has been figured by Wissler, and the general popularity of the conception among the Dakota is proved by its appearance on quite different types of objects such as strike-a-light pouches and leggings.² In the leggings the interposition of a rectangular cross between the central diamond and the forked designs merits attention, since it adds a point of likeness to the Crow piece.

In other instances the resemblance, while not extending to the entire pattern, holds for an integral part of it. Thus, the symmetrical spreading designs of specimen 50.1-702 are very nearly duplicated in an Oglala bag (50.1-446). So the triangle with a pair of spreading little triangles at each side, seen in Fig. 6a, appears clearly, though in a subordinate way on a Dakota bag.³ Another Crow bag exhibits a very close approximation to the innermost pattern of the same Dakota specimen, the prongs being replaced by little centrifugal triangles.

Sometimes the dominant pattern is of a simple character, as illustrated in Fig. 7c. Something comparable occurs on a Dakota bag,

¹Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. XLII, 2.

²Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Fig. 99; Pl. XLI, i; LI, 1, 2.

³Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Fig. 100.

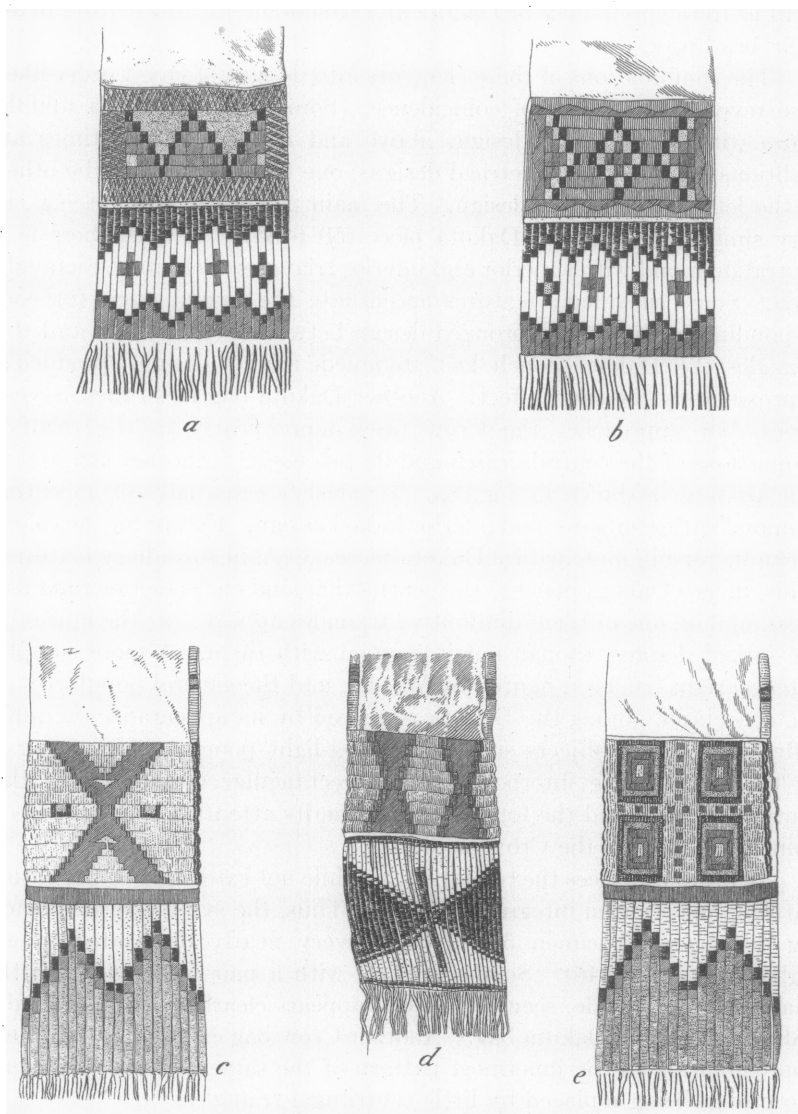


Fig. 7. *a-e* (50.1-5438, 700, 7506, 700). Pipe Bags. *a-b*, Hidatsa; *c*, Crow; *d*, Dakota; *e*, Crow.

though the details and the coloring differ.¹ On the other hand, the reverse of this Crow pouch (Fig. 7e) presents a conception certainly not characteristic of the Dakota, to wit, the multiplication of a simple unit, in this case the box designs. On another Crow specimen (50.1-697) four angular horseshoes take the place of the boxes. A somewhat similar treatment of the decorative field appears on a Cheyenne piece, which displays six rectangular crosses. So far as I can see, a series of such small and simple figures is used by the Dakota only as ancillary decoration.

In a single instance, the reverse of the bag shown in Fig. 6a, there is a realistic representation, viz., a warrior wearing a bonnet and mounted on a horse. There is less spirit in this figure than in corresponding Dakota representations, but the general style is the same. I have not encountered any Crow bag with a figure of the elk, such as appears on Dakota, Blackfoot, and Cree bags in the possession of the Museum.

So far I have confined attention to the beaded pouches. The Museum also owns three bags with quill-worked designs. One of these has a red background from which a single box design stands out in relief. Another combines the red-line design with numerous small box designs in quills and beadwork. In both cases obverse and reverse are identical. The same applies to the third specimen (Fig. 7d), where two stepped hourglass figures alternate with lavender spaces in the shape of stepped truncate diamonds similar to the pattern on a Dakota bag.²

The design on this last-mentioned specimen should be compared with that on quill-worked bags from other tribes. An Hidatsa specimen of this category (Fig. 7a) has on one side a central stepped triangle flanked by symmetrical halves of itself; the intervening spaces are yellow-stepped triangles, apices down. On the other side the central figure is a stepped diamond and the lateral figures again represent the halves of the central unit, the intervening areas being of hourglass shape. An old pouch credited tentatively to the Bannock in our catalogues, with the additional remark that it is possibly Cheyenne (Fig. 8d) exhibits on both sides two similar patterns, each consisting of two centripetal stepped triangles separated by a bar. On still another bag, of unknown provenience, one side exhibits as its central figure a vertical line with four transverse lines crossing it, which pattern produces the effect of a series of rectangular crosses (Fig. 8c). On the other side (Fig. 8b) there are six stepped triangles, arranged in longitudinal trios, with three little rectangular crosses in the intervening space. One Dakota piece (Fig.

¹Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. XLII, 1.

²Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. LV, 2.

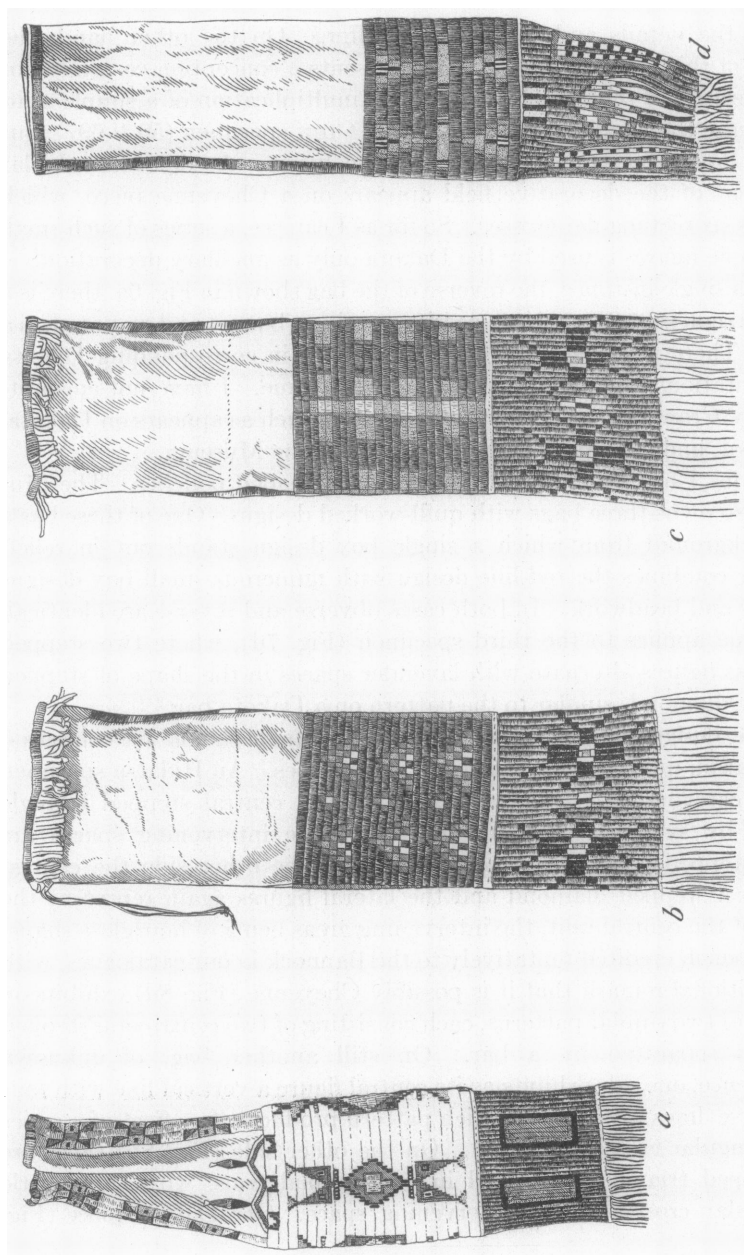


Fig. 8. *a-d* (50-6836a, 50.1-6326, 50-1176). Pipe Bags. *a*, Crow; *b-c*, unknown provenance; *d*, Bannock (?).

7d) presents a striking parallel to the Crow design of Fig. 6d. Two Dakota bags (Specimens 50.1-1205, 50.1-7505) exhibit anomalous figures, which in the former case are somewhat more elaborate than those previously described in this paragraph, but on the whole, the lesser complexity and restricted range of quilled, as compared with beaded, designs is very striking.

The quill-wrapped portion of the fringe frequently displays definite attempts at decorative designs. Stepped triangles (or other figures), rectangular crosses, and especially boxes, are probably the most conspicuous of these not only on Crow bags, but on all Plains Indian pouches of the flapless variety. For example, they are seen on available pieces from the Arapaho, Shoshoni, and Cheyenne. From this point of view, then, the Crow are no nearer to the Dakota than to other neighboring populations, but by and large it seems fair to consider their pipe bag ornamentation as bearing an especially close relation to that of the Dakota.

SOFT POUCHES.

One of the soft pouches in the collection conforms rather closely to an Arapaho specimen figured by Kroeber.¹ That is to say, the decoration consists essentially of a series of parallel horizontal lines in quillwork intersected at intervals by perpendicular lines of fluff representing feathers. The cover flap, likewise in Arapaho style, has beaded rectangular areas of one color enclosing bars of another, and the lateral ornamentation also presents much resemblance. This type of soft-bag decoration evidently has a very wide distribution among the Plains Indians. In one Crow specimen the fundamental idea is the same, but narrow bands of beadwork, each alternately light blue and dark blue in color, replace the quilled lines; the cover flap in this case has a narrow strip of beadwork without any special design. A third pouch exhibits considerable modification. Though the basic decoration still consists of parallel lines of quillwork, there is added a solid area of quillwork enclosing some stepped effects and topped by four more or less crescentic figures and little lanceolate forms (Fig. 9a). Finally must be noticed a pair of identically beaded bags (Fig. 9b). The cover flap resembles that of the first-mentioned pouch and its Arapaho analogue. The outer surface is completely covered with beadwork, with white for the ground color. From this background three complex patterns stand out in relief, the lateral ones being symmetrical. These are combinations of the forked

¹Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, Pl. XVI.

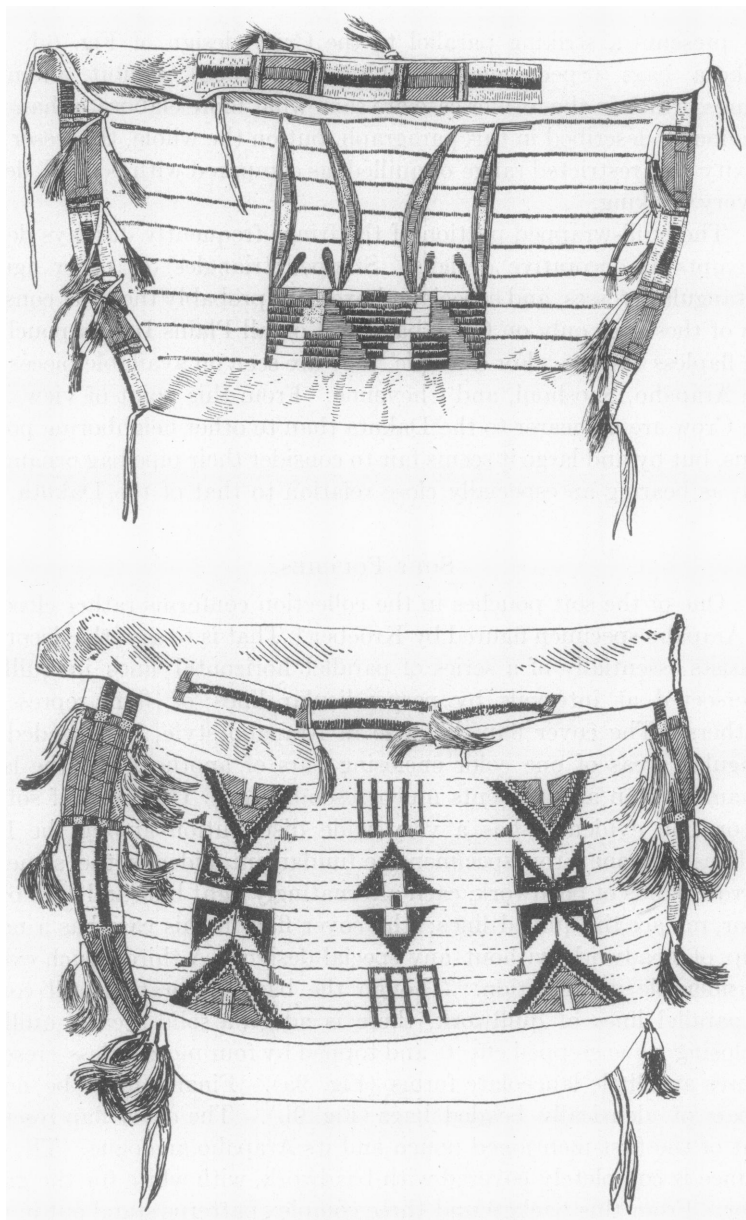


Fig. 9. *a, b* (50.1-706, 708). Soft Pouches. Crow.

design with what some Plains tribes call the tipi design. The central pattern is noteworthy because of its pronged extremities, a motive not common in Crow art. The rectangular cross in the middle of this pattern is white and its horizontal wings merge directly into the background.

CRADLES.

None of the Crow cradles observed exhibits the elaborate embroidery found among other tribes, such as notably the Dakota, nor have I ever seen them decorated in the style of the quill-worked cradles of the Arapaho.¹ In point of simplicity the Crow specimens rather recall those

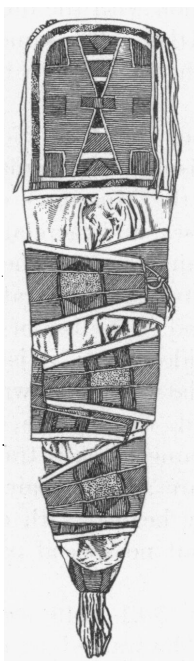


Fig. 10. (50.1-3909).
Model of Cradle. Crow.

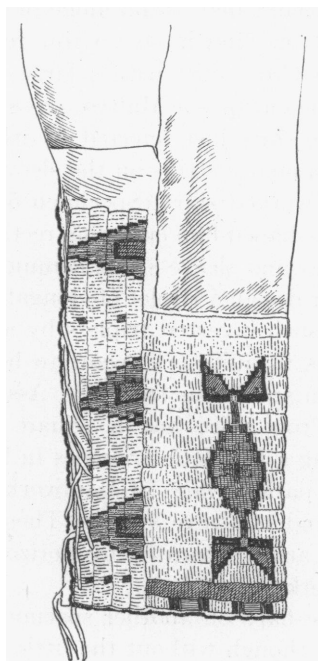


Fig. 11. (50-6849a). Legging.
Crow.

of the Blackfoot, which they also resemble in general outline.² In one of Curtis's photographs the head of a Crow cradle has a fairly elaborate floral design, but it is of obviously modern character.³ The sides are merely decorated with series of triangles, from the base of which dangle three little triangles.

¹Kroeber, *Arapaho*, 67.

²Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot*, 88.

³Curtis, Edward L., *The North American Indian*, vol. 4, facing p. 179.

Two models in the Museum show quite simple decoration on the flaps crossing the center of the cradle. The head and foot of the cradle cover are also beaded. The style of ornamentation is illustrated in Fig. 10. The triangles with approaching apices separated by a horizontal bar form a characteristic motive encountered on other objects.

CLOTHING.

The beadwork or quillwork on clothing is generally in relatively long and narrow stripes. In the old days a quilled rosette was very popular in the northern Plains, as is clear from Maximilian's Atlas. This element may stand alone or in combination with the quill-worked band, as we find it on a Crow robe in the Atlas. The same vignette shows a Crow shirt with a large rosette on the breast. In both cases the circle encloses a Maltese cross.¹

The shirt just referred to exhibits another characteristic element, the ornamental strips on the sleeves, which display rectangular crosses. A quill-worked shirt (Specimen 50.1-655) in the Museum's collections has a U-shaped flap enclosing rectangular crosses, and there are the pair of breast and sleeve strips common in the Plains area.² These exhibit for their design a triplet of elongated isosceles triangles separated from a row of such inverted triplets by a narrow band. The use of elongated triangles in quillwork seems to have been widespread; it is found on Museum specimens from the Assiniboin, Hidatsa, and Pawnee.³ Another Crow shirt has a square flap framed with white beadwork enclosing a few little triangles in blue; the framed area is traversed by several parallel lines of beadwork. There are again a pair of breast strips and of sleeve strips. These are solidly beaded with differently colored areas separated by horizontal bars, but no special pattern has been worked out.

The flaps on another specimen (Specimen 50.1-1249) are similarly framed, though without the little triangles. The framed area is solidly beaded, but, as in the previous case, there are three transverse lines. Breast strips and sleeve strips all present a single pattern, which is most readily understood from the illustration. A photograph of Hillside in gala dress reveals the decoration of the flaps and the breast stripe. The latter has for its principal decoration a central diamond with a centripetal isosceles triangle above and below. The flap is again framed and has

¹Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, 1843) Atlas, vig. XIII.

²Wissler, Clark, "Structural Basis to the Decoration of Costumes among the Plains Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 17, part 3, 1916), 102.

³For Hidatsa, see Curtis IV, picture facing p. 152.



Fig. 12. Grasshopper and his Daughter.

several transverse lines extending completely across the framed area. In the space intervening between consecutive transverse lines are pairs of short horizontal bars.

The men's leggings sometimes bear a beaded or quill-worked stripe. A quill-worked specimen in the Museum collection has a series of stepped

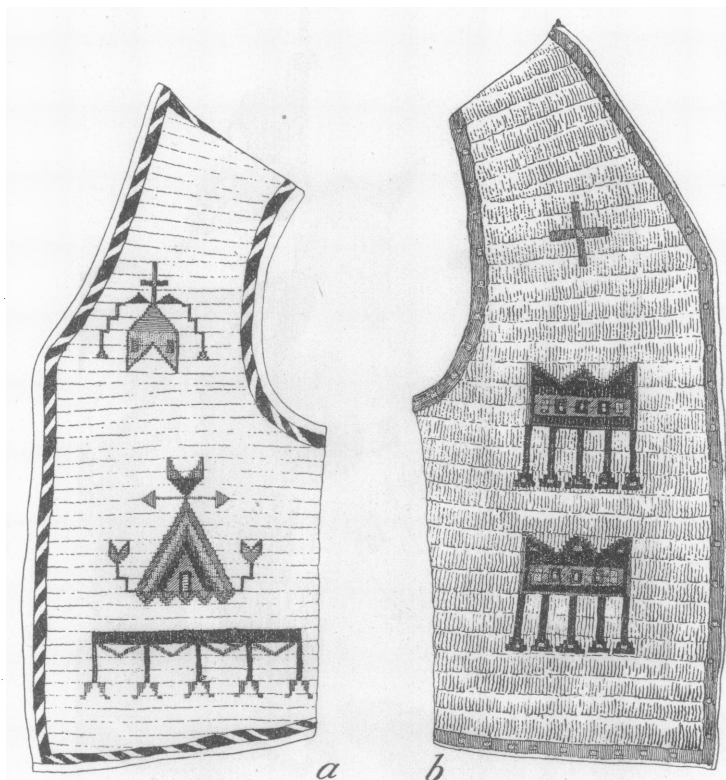


Fig. 13. *a, b* (50-6845, 6856). Beaded Vests. Crow.

triangles set off from the solidly quilled area. On a beaded piece this pattern alternates with pairs of feather designs.

War-bonnets display a narrow beaded zone along their lower edges. These exhibit stepped triangles or such triangles alternating with rectangular crosses. Similar motives appear in some of Curtis's Crow illustrations.

The women's dresses were beaded to only a very slight extent as compared with those of other tribes. Dr. Wissler has figured a typical

Crow piece and contrasted the meager beading round the neck and above the tail flap with the elaborate ornamentation of a Yakima and a Black-foot garment.¹ As he points out, the moderately undulating zone of beadwork merely follows the contour of the yoke. I may add that the narrow neck zone of this piece has little obtuse isosceles triangles on a white background. Another specimen (Specimen 1-5391) has quill decoration consisting of a rosette on each shoulder and sleeve stripes displaying in part a checker pattern.

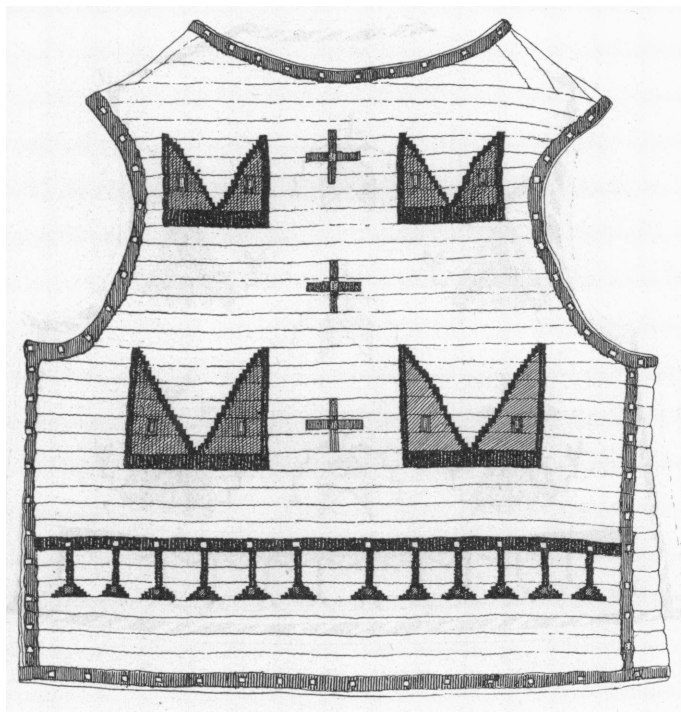


Fig. 14. (50-6856). Beaded Vest. Crow.

The buckled leather belts obtained from the traders are generally decorated with beads in differently colored rectangular areas. These may exhibit box designs or enclose triangles, alone or in combination.

The decorative surface on women's leggings is larger than on the types of garment hitherto considered. A pair in the Museum's possession (Fig. 50-6849A) is very decidedly of Dakota type, as may be seen by

¹*Decoration of Plains Costume*, 99 f.

comparison with a specimen illustrated by Wissler.¹ There is as the dominant pattern of both a central diamond with a forked design above and below. The Crow diamond, however, encloses a rectangular cross lacking in the Dakota legging, and the line connecting the central figure with the forked designs is uncrossed. The Crow piece shares the separate lateral stripe of the Dakota specimen, but has a quite different ornamentation consisting of stepped triangles on a white background, in which respect it approximates Arapaho leggings.²

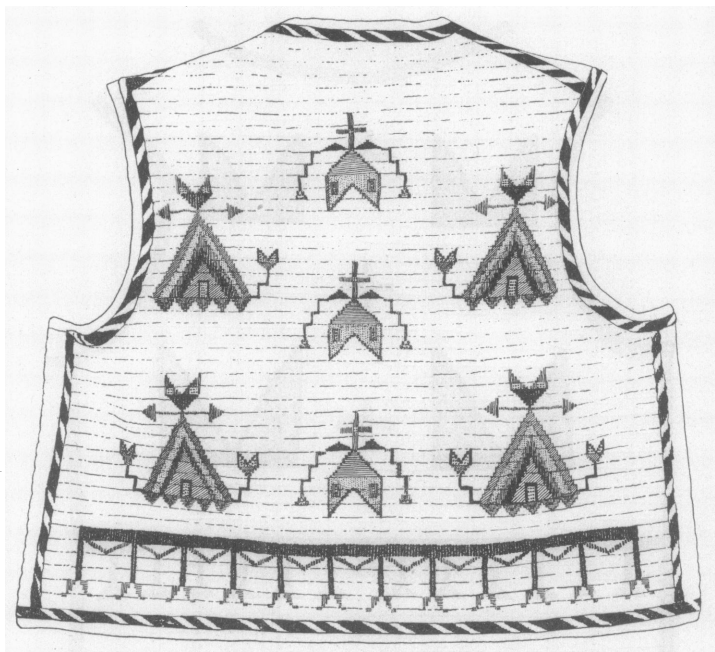


Fig. 15. (50-6845). Beaded Vest. Crow.

In dressing up for special occasions nowadays the dandies wear beaded cuffs. The floral design on Grasshopper's cuffs (Fig. 12) may be taken as characteristic, since very similar motives occur on those worn by Gros Ventre, White-hip, and a very young man when photographed on different occasions. There is of course no doubt that cuffs and decoration are both quite modern.

Though vests are of course also quite modern, the designs on two specimens are characteristic of the native style of decoration. In both

¹*Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. LI.

²Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 48.

the background is white. The specimen in Figs. 13b, 14 exhibits some resemblance to a Dakota waistcoat¹ in the use of the small rectangular crosses and the forked designs. The front designs suggest an Arapaho cradle decoration,² though differing in the peaked top. The crosses on this vest were said to represent stars; the five-tined figures, mountains. The long blue line with many processes ending in little triangles was not given any interpretation by the seller, but it resembles a design on the other vest to be noted presently.

In Figs. 13a, 15 the large triangles were identified with medicine-lodges, the long lines with processes as medicine-pipes, while the remaining designs remained unexplained. From an objective point of view it is the occurrence of the spreading pattern and of the bar terminating in little triangles that merits notice. The latter motive, while not perhaps frequent enough to be regarded as a favorite device, is used by the Crow in various settings and may turn out to be fairly distinctive of certain

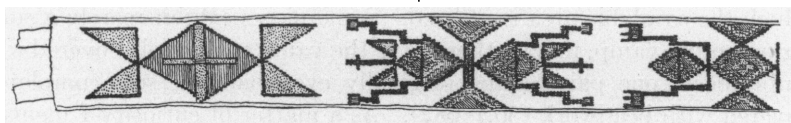


Fig. 16. (50-6842). Beaded Belt. Crow.

tribes. Kroeber figures it in cross-form on an Arapaho toilet pouch.³ The spreading pattern also occurs on other Crow specimens, e.g., the beaded belt shown in Fig. 16.

MOCCASINS.

Owing to the distinctive character of the decorative field in moccasin ornamentation, it has properly been discussed under a separate heading. I will reëxamine Kroeber's statements about the Crow style on the basis of the fuller material now accessible, using so far as possible his convenient terminology for design elements.⁴

Kroeber finds that in their moccasins, as in their beadwork generally, the Crow resemble both Blackfoot and Dakota. They use various designs, including the longitudinal stripe, the round-head, the angle-across, the red-line, and "the characteristic Blackfoot U-figure." The occurrence of the last-mentioned is especially significant because accord-

¹Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux*, Pl. LVI, 2.

²Kroeber, *Arapaho*, 69.

³*The Arapaho*, 95.

⁴Kroeber, *Gros Ventre*, 156-161.

ing to Kroeber it is nearly confined to the Blackfoot, being lacking even among the Gros Ventre, despite their long and intimate contact with the Blackfoot.

A rapid survey of the Crow moccasins in the Field Museum in 1910 led to the conclusion that the longitudinal stripe, with or without transverse bar and short parallel stripes, and the U-pattern with feather designs represent the most common styles. In the same summer I rather systematically noted the decorations on moccasins worn on the Reservation and soon satisfied myself that the U-design was decidedly the most fashionable. Usually it appeared with feather designs, which were sometimes topped with a curvilinear forked pattern. In some instances the U was very narrow. It occurred also in combination with a transverse stripe. Among other patterns observed in use the longitudinal stripe and the circular "club-head" were specially noted.

The specimens in the American Museum represent a considerable variety of styles. First may be mentioned the widely varying manner in which the available area is utilized. Some pieces exhibit merely a small figure on the vamp, many others have the vamp completely covered with embroidery, one pair having originally even had the sole completely covered with beadwork (50.1-682). As a matter of curiosity I mention the occurrence of painted sole decoration (50.1-686); presumably a rawhide bag had been cut up for the soles. In another pair the ankle flaps are almost wholly beaded, displaying a continuation of the vamp ornamentation (Fig. 17b). Even the tongue does not always escape embroidered decoration. In one case rather more than half an inch of the upper part of the tongue is beaded on the inside and so are two string processes, each tipped with tin cones holding little plumes (50.1-668). In the second example the tongue terminates in two oblong flaps, beaded on the inside, and provided with similar appendages (50-6861). The edge along the sole is also treated in widely varying fashion. In a fair number of instances it remains undecorated. More frequently, however, there is a narrow marginal border of beads, to which may or may not be added a beaded stripe along the heel seam. The border is probably never lacking where the vamp is completely covered with embroidery, but it is not restricted to such specimens. In several moccasins the stripe does not extend all along the edge. In some cases it ceases with the vamp, in others it passes all round the outer edge, but stops short with the rear end of the vamp on the inside.

To turn to the designs themselves, Fig. 18a illustrates a characteristic form of the U-figure, balancing two "feathers" on its convexity and one

on each of the horizontal arms projecting from its base. It is not in any of the Crow specimens available combined with a border stripe. From what has been said above it appears that the U is nearly if not quite so characteristic of the Crow as of the Blackfoot. Its distribution in the area is very interesting: Professor Kroeber found it completely lacking among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Ute, and records only a few Dakota and Shoshoni examples, as well as a single one from the Ojibway. However, Bodmer figures a Mandan Bull dancer wearing moccasins with a simple U-design, and one of the three moccasins shown in the last plate of his *Atlas* may well be from the same tribe, considering the length of his stay, the others being assigned to the Dakota in the text.¹ Although the Hidatsa moccasins in the Museum yield no support to the suggestion, the possibility should nevertheless be held in mind that the U-pattern may have spread from the Village tribes. If the Blackfoot adopted it only through indirect contact with these peoples, its complete absence among the Gros Ventre is more readily intelligible.

Fig. 19a illustrates the longitudinal stripe combined with short parallel stripes and a border. This, however, by no means always accompanies the stripe; for example, one of Maximilian's pictures shows merely the central stripe.² Another design recorded by his artist and still persisting to the present is the circle or "club-head." A typical sample from the Museum's collections is presented in Fig. 18c. This design also occurs both with and without marginal decoration. Further, the circle may be one-stemmed or, as also in Maximilian's picture, two-stemmed. Professor Kroeber finds the circle lacking among the Arapaho but occurring commonly among the Shoshoni and Gros Ventre, and more rarely among the Dakota and Blackfoot. Bodmer's pictures of several Mandan men and of the Hidatsa Dog dancer prove the frequency of this motive in the Village group.

The Maltese cross (Fig. 17d) occurs fairly often, with about equal frequency on adults' and on children's moccasins. Some specimens have a marginal stripe, others have none. One of my interpreters regarded this design as belonging properly to the Cheyenne rather than to the Crow. This would confirm Kroeber's statement that it is most typically Dakota and Cheyenne.

Kroeber's red-line and checker designs occur in a form very similar to that characteristic of the Dakota.³ Another pattern recalls a Dakota

¹Maximilian, *Atlas*, Tab. XVIII; XLVIII, figs. 18; I, 359.

²Maximilian, *Atlas*, Vig. XIII.

³Wissler, *Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians*, 244, Fig. 80; Pl. LIV, Fig. 2.

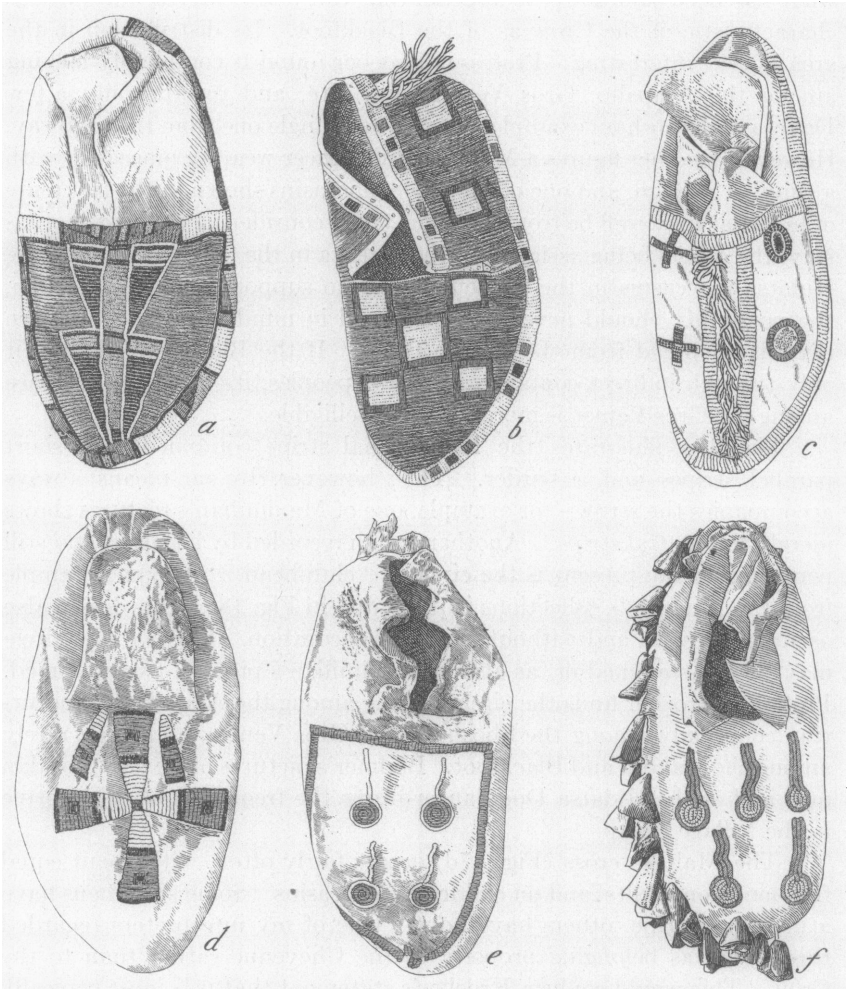


Fig. 17. *a-f* (50-6867a, 50.1-664b, 50-6865a, 50.1-671b, 50.1-3996b, 3958).
Moccasins. Crow.

one on exhibition in the Museum. It consists of a small beaded diamond in the center of the vamp with a centripetal isosceles triangle balanced on each point. In the Dakota specimen a pair of feather designs is substituted for these subsidiary motives. The bird motive found on some Dakota and Assiniboin pieces seems to be absent, though Bodmer figures an Hidatsa wearing moccasins with this type of ornamentation.¹

A very unusual pattern occurs on two pairs of moccasins said to have been used in the Tobacco dance. In one case (Fig. 17e) there are

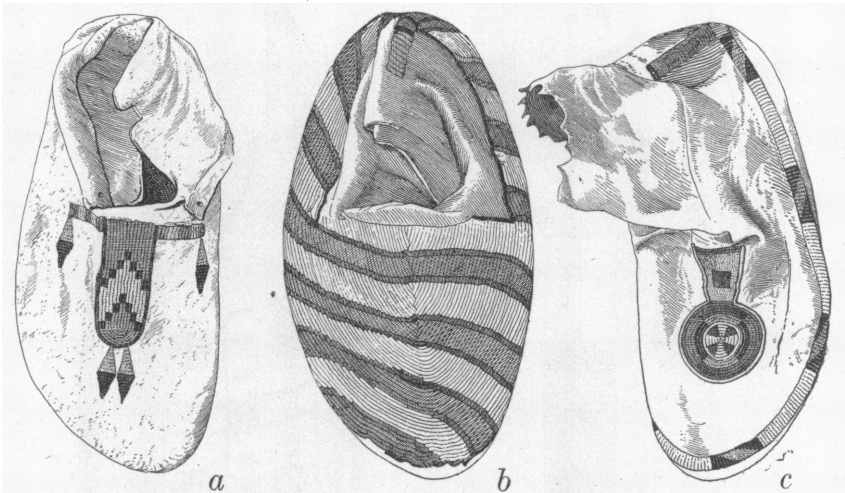


Fig. 18. a-c (50-6864a, 50.1-661a, 50-6868b). Moccasins. Crow.

four small stemmed circles within a narrow frame of beadwork following the edge of the vamp, the two curved lines being connected by a transverse bar in front of the tongue. The second pair of moccasins under discussion lacks the frame but has five precisely similar, though differently colored, stemmed circles, which remain unframed; the toe, the outer edge and the heel seam are trimmed with dewclaws (Fig. 17f).

There is one good illustration of the style of ornamentation which Dr. Wissler derives from the structure of the Apache moccasin: two narrow converging bands of beads enclosing a V-shaped space (Fig. 17c).² In this specimen a fringe of buckskin rises from the center of this space, part of which at least was originally painted over. Since a border stripe

¹Maximilian, *Atlas*, Tab. 24.

²This series, vol. 17, 110 seq.

appears together with a transverse band in front of the tongue, the decorative field is naturally subdivided into three parts, the central V-shaped area bounded by the converging stripes and two symmetrical panels suggesting right-angled triangles with a curved hypotenuse. These panels are ornamented with different motives,—the outer with

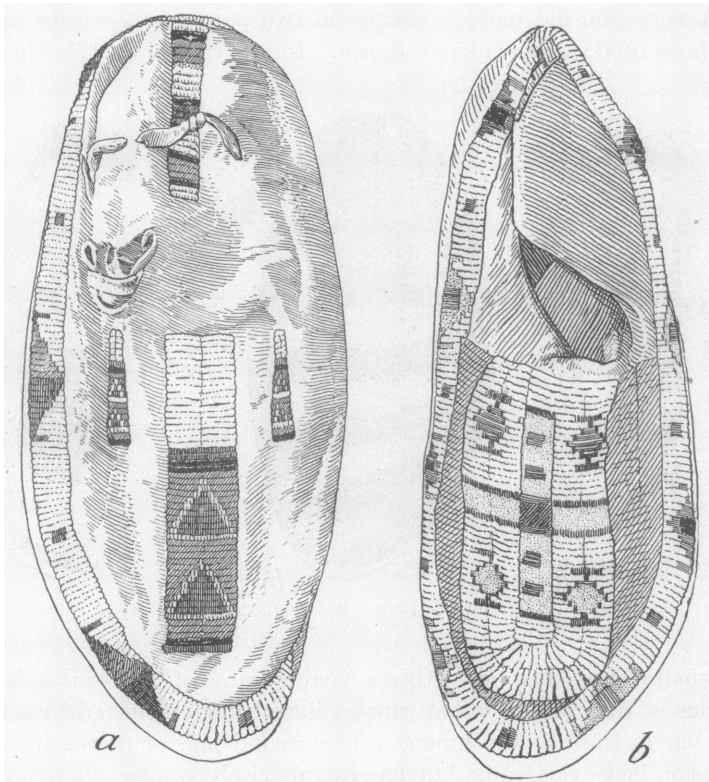


Fig. 19. *a, b* (50-6869b, 6866a). Moccasins. Crow.

two small circles of beads of which the inner part is painted, the inner with two crosses of corresponding size. The two figures in each panel are differently colored.

It seems to me that this type of decoration is directly related to that occurring on certain moccasins with vamp completely covered with beadwork. Fig. 20a illustrates a typical example. A central area, instead of being merely framed by converging lines, is covered with embroidery, leaving two panels quite similar in shape to those of the example dis-

ussed above. But instead of leaving these areas plain except for the small figures described, the artist has embroidered them all over. It is of course possible to break the monotony of the curved triangular spaces by introducing such devices as differently colored zones and subsidiary designs (Specimen 50.1-662). In one case (Fig. 17a) each panel is cut into by two genuine right-angled triangles flanking the narrow central area.

Another category of moccasins with completely decorated vamps is exemplified in Fig. 20b. The essential feature is the arrangement of beads in a series of vertical stripes bounded by the marginal stripe. The stepped design produced by varying the blue of the vertical bands with white squares constitutes an individual variant. In a quill-embroidered pair there is no attempt to relieve the monotony; in another case blue and green lines are introduced so as to result in a number of fret effects. Again alternate bands may vary in coloring. It should be noted that both in this and other classes of moccasins the one or more stripes may run parallel to the marginal stripe, thus more or less considerably diminishing the vamp area available for other ornamentation.

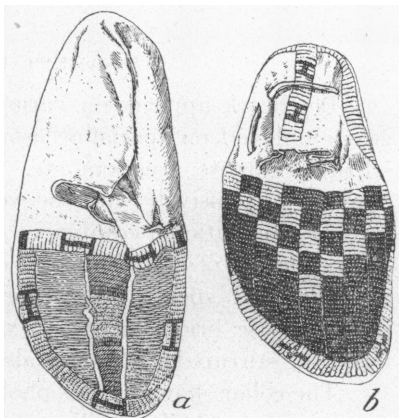


Fig. 20. a, b (50.1-1251b, 681a). Moccasins. Crow.

In at least two cases (Fig. 19a, b) there is a border stripe, while the central part of the decorative field is framed by two concentric beaded U-figures enclosing a rectangular cross. This sets off a convexly triangular space on each side, which is filled with beadwork colored so as to stand out from the remainder of the decoration.

It is possible to conceive the method of covering the vamp with parallel transverse lines of quillwork as a derivative of the red-line style, especially as in both a beaded border stripe is used. The psychological effect, of course, is very different. In one Crow pair the quilled portion remains plain, in another (Specimen 50.1-677) stepped motives are introduced.

Finally may be described two modes of decoration found each on a single pair. In one case the border stripe encloses an area covered with horizontal rows of blue beads relieved on the vamp by five box designs (Fig. 17b). The design is continued along the ankle flaps, each side dis-

playing two boxes on the blue background. The frame of the boxes is red, the interior white in all cases. On the flaps there is an upper marginal stripe similar to that along the edge of the moccasin. A quite anomalous style is illustrated in Fig. 18b. There is no border stripe on the vamp and what appears as such at the bottom of the ankle flaps is merely a continuation of the frontal decoration. The strangely amorphous character of this may be best understood genetically: the artist, generally speaking, followed the edge of the moccasin with concentric lines of beads, producing the strange transverse effects by introducing red and green beads on the light-blue background.

ORNAMENTAL RIDING GEAR.

Beadwork appears on various objects connected with the riding-gear employed on special occasions. Thus there are decorative collars, stirrup pendants, croupers, etc. These were associated especially, perhaps even exclusively with the women, for whom there certainly was a definite conventional equipment on state occasions. This is illustrated in my picture of Grasshopper's daughter (Fig. 12), who is seen with a shield and spear.¹ Her horse bears a decorative collar and a characteristic bridle pendant extending from the forehead down the face; the stirrup decoration is also apparent.

The collar shown in this photograph is typical. The lateral decorations are practically duplicated by two specimens in the Museum's collections; only the spaces between the large triangles differ somewhat. More variation is exhibited by the center piece connecting the lateral strips. In Specimen 50.1-709 its rectangular area is framed on all four sides by a narrow beaded border, which encloses two large symmetrical hourglass figures very much constricted in the middle. Within each hourglass sections are marked off by the use of different colors, and between the two hourglasses there is a rectangular cross. In Specimen 50.1-6257 there is again a narrow beaded border, mainly white, enclosing a second still narrower one in blue. Within the space thus doubly framed four vertical lines of white beads mark off panels of varying width, the arrangement being symmetrical. The central panel has a small rectangular cross in the middle; for the rest it exhibits several layers of beadwork differing in color without any special design. The panel on each side of the central one consists of three parts, of which a narrow marginal strip on the outer side is without design. The remainder con-

¹Cf. Curtis, vol. 4, pls. facing pp. 8, 20.

sists of two triplets of vertically superimposed right-angled triangles, the one series with apices down, the complementary series with apices up. Each marginal panel consists merely of a solid area of yellow beads.

The stirrup ornamentation that may be considered typical of the Crow is shown in one of Dr. Wissler's illustrations.¹ A comparison of the latter with the Shoshoni picture in the same publication² suggests a genetic connection.

The photograph (Fig. 12) shows a characteristic ornament attached to the bridle and falling down over the horse's face. The beaded design

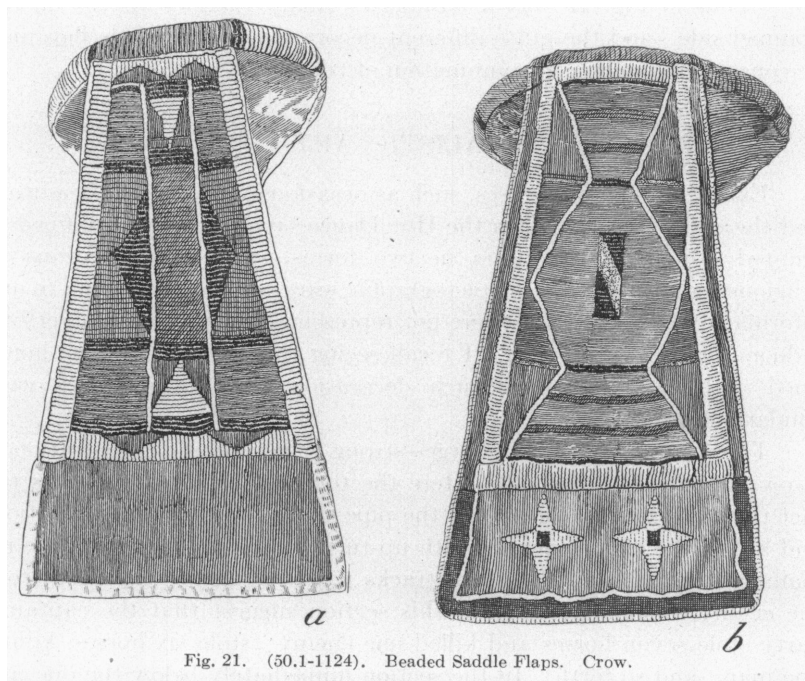


Fig. 21. (50.1-1124). Beaded Saddle Flaps. Crow.

in the center of the disc is a Maltese cross. In three specimens in the Museum this central figure varies. One has a central circle with numerous radii. The second exhibits a circle made of a single series of beads enclosing a cross of two single lines of beads; the circle is enclosed in a larger concentric one, and a portion of the intervening ring is set off by difference in color of beadwork. The third specimen has a disc with a four-pointed star.

¹Wissler, Clark, "Riding Gear of the North American Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 17, part 1, 1915), 26.

²Wissler, *Riding Gear*, 6.

A crouper in the collection closely resembles those from the Shoshoni and Blackfoot published in this series.¹

There are no saddle cloths or bags available for comparison with the Dakota pieces.² The saddles themselves, as Wissler has pointed out, conform closely to the Shoshoni pattern and also share the beaded flaps hanging from the pommel and cantle. The available area is in general solidly beaded, but without the development of complicated patterns. The æsthetic effect depends mainly on the disposition of differently colored patches, from which, to be sure, small designs are made to stand out. Thus in Fig. 21 only a number of small triangles appear on the pommel side; and the quite different decoration of the cantle flap may be conceived largely as a combination of triangles.

REALISTIC ART.

Except for sporadic cases, such as occasional attempts in beadwork and the carved stick used in the Hot Dance,³ realistic art is confined to painted objects. It appears in two forms,—the representations of religious significance and the pictographic war records. According to one informant, martial exploits were not represented on the lodge cover but indoors on the draft-screen. I recall seeing the walls of a frame house lined with canvas bearing such decoration. Of course robes were similarly painted.

The robe bought from Charges-strong will serve as an illustration of Crow pictography (Fig. 22). Here the topmost portion represents the fact that Charges-strong carried the pipe as leader of a war expedition, and killed two. The enemies with up-turned lock are Shoshoni, the remainder are Dakota. The horsetracks represent horses captured from the enemy. Different parts of this section suggest that the captain's party stole seven horses and killed one enemy; stole six horses, killing one man; and so forth. In the section immediately below the one just described the triangularly grouped marks represent a Crow war party. The scout whose tracks (or horse's tracks) appear, goes to the enemies' camp, designated by an isosceles angle, and returns to a pile of buffalo chips. In the third section of the robe the scout, carrying his wolfskin badge, is shown as pursued by the enemy, whose tracks are represented; he kills three men. Two enemies are attacking the mounted hero, who strikes them with his stick. Three enemies attack him with a pistol,

¹Wissler, *Riding Gear*, 18; *Material Culture of the Blackfoot*, 49.

²Wissler, *Riding Gear*, 22, 23.

³This series, vol. 11, 184.

arrow, and rifle. He strikes them with a long-feathered spear. Again, he is shown killing an enemy. In the next section of the robe the hero appears on a bay horse, which is killed. Two Dakota shooting at him are struck by him. He catches up with the enemy and strikes one. An enemy on foot shoots at him, the hero shoots and runs over him, goes on foot, spears a man, and kills him. In the lowest section the owner is shown on a raid to the Shoshoni camp. He is driving off five horses, the enemy are

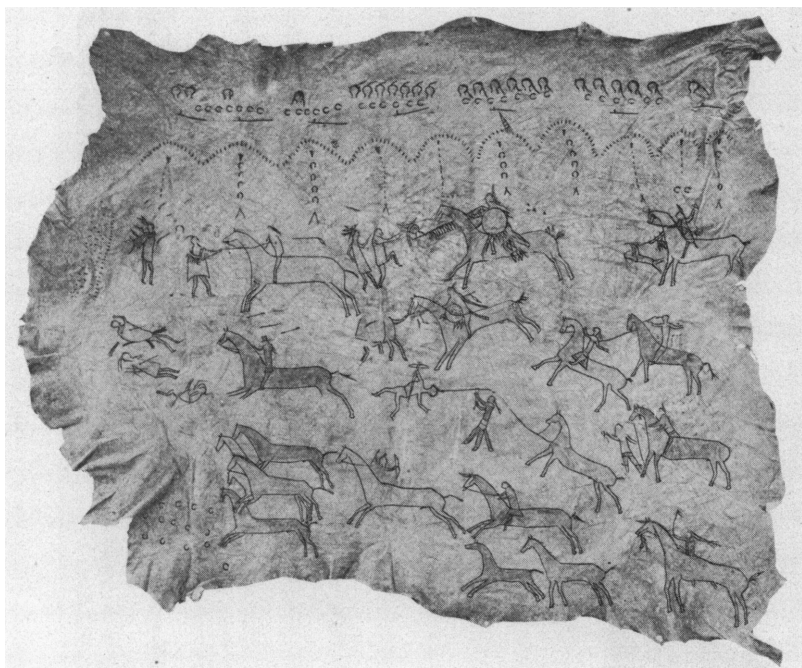


Fig. 22. (50-6826). Robe with Pictographic Design.

in pursuit, dispatching arrows after him. He is again shown driving two horses from the Shoshoni camp.

It is obvious that though the painting just described is preponderantly realistic, it is by no means free from symbolical representations.

The practice of decorating tipi covers was certainly obsolescent even when I first visited the Crow. In this respect they presented a striking contrast to the Northern Blackfoot, who during their holiday week in 1907 displayed an impressive number of painted lodges. On a corresponding occasion at Lodge Grass I particularly noted only a single painted tipi, the decoration consisting of the figure of a thunderbird

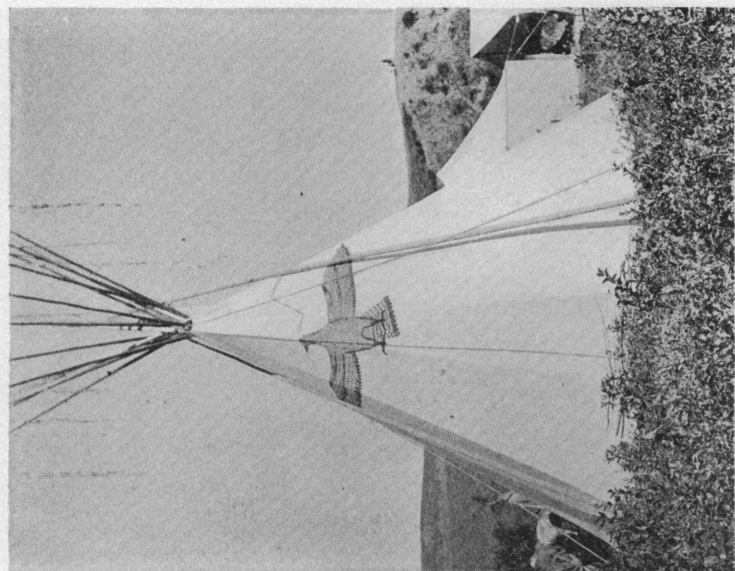
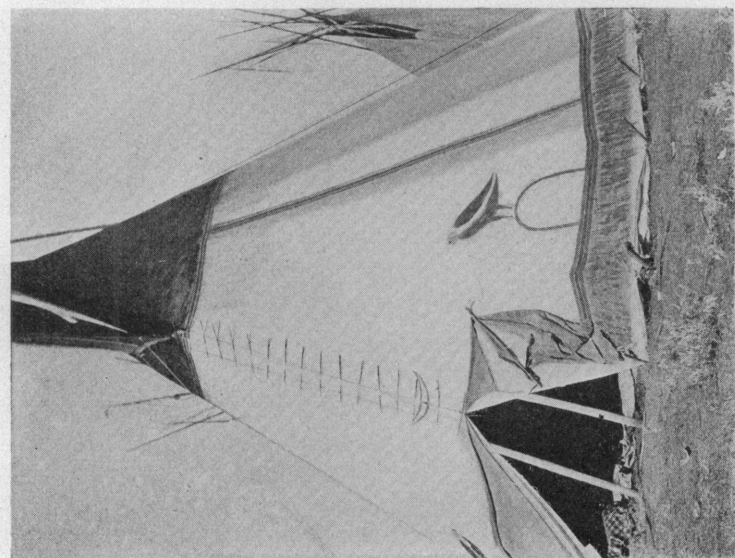


Fig. 23. Tipi Cover Designs. Crow.

(Fig. 23b). My photographs include pictures of several other painted lodge covers, but the most elaborately decorated one, showing figures of horses, was said to be an importation from the Dakota. Another (Fig. 22a) shows ornamentation at the bottom, a crescent above the entrance and a series of bird figures perched on inverted U's resting on the margin at the bottom. On still another lodge there were elongated figures of horses. Mr. Curtis has photographed a medicine lodge with the picture of a feathered pipe on the side and a crescent above it. In another of his illustrations, probably showing another view of the same lodge, there appears again a feathered pipe with a circle above it.¹

The lodge described and pictured by Catlin also has ornamentation of religious character, though Catlin's interpretation of the human figures as the Great and Evil Spirit is unconvincing.² The shields in the Museum have been described in a previous publication.³ Although animals and other realistic motives appear on shields, they are far from excluding geometrical designs, which may be presumed to have almost always a symbolical significance. In some cases, of course, realism and symbolism are indistinguishable, as when a circle represents the sun or a crescent the moon. Judging from specimens seen in the Field Museum, in the American Museum, and on the Reservation, the buffalo, the eagle (thunderbird), and the elk are the animals most commonly depicted in the religious art of the Crow.

In 1910 I took notes on two blankets seen in Lodge Grass and Pryor, respectively. One of them was said to have been formerly worn in battle. The Thunderbird was painted in the center; the Sun was represented several times, each representation consisting of a series of differently colored concentric rings; and there were a number of stars. The other blanket displayed a female in front of a male elk, the decoration being associated with the Spurned Lover motive.⁴ It was said to have been dreamt by a lover whose advances had been repelled, who had sought a vision, seen the robe with its decoration, and with it captivated the haughty maiden.

SYMBOLISM.

Compared with other tribes, the Crow have a decidedly meager system of symbolic interpretation. As for colors, black was the accepted

¹Supplementary Plates to Vol. IV, pl. facing p. 56.

²Catlin, George, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (London, 1848), I, 43 f.

³Lowie, Robert H., "Religion of the Crow Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 25, part 2).

⁴Lowie, Robert H., "Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 25, part 1, 1918), 192.

symbol of the slaying of an enemy;¹ red paint was emblematic of longevity and the ownership of property and was specially associated with the Tobacco ceremony; white clay (*úke*) represented a washing to induce a vision and knowledge of the future. Other interpretations depended on individual revelations; thus, lightning lines representing the Thunderbird might be yellow, blue, or green.

After not a little questioning as to the interpretation of ornamental designs on parfleches and in beadwork, I arrived at the conclusion that most of them had no symbolical significance and that interpretations in some cases were either quite subjective or at all events applied only to a limited number of instances. The most persistent interpretation for a definitely non-realistic pattern was that of a diamond, painted or embroidered, as a child's navelcord (*bakât icté'pe*). In a different category belong the interpretations of a zigzag line as lightning, and of a horseshoe, curved or angularized, as a horse. Though they occur frequently, the interpretation (as in the case of the circle representing the sun) rests on a real similarity between the design and the thing it stands for. Of course the point is that simple geometrical forms do not represent objects without ambiguity. Thus, a right-angled triangle was once interpreted as a spear head; a pair of such triangles forming Kroeber's "forked pattern" were interpreted as two facing tipis. On another specimen a large isosceles triangle was said to represent a medicine lodge. The triangular area with convex hypotenuse on a moccasin was called a knife scabbard. For the designs on a crupper the interpretations were manifestly dictated by the use of the object: an elongated isosceles triangle standing on its apex was called the horse's head, two small isosceles triangles balanced on its base were his ears, a similar triangle hanging from its apex was the bridle. Crosses were sometimes called stars. A vest design not clearly drawn in my notebook represented mountains.

Several figures are designated by definite names without apparently having any symbolic significance. Thus the longitudinal stripe on the vamp of a moccasin is known as "many-quills" (*apári-ahô*); a circle on a robe as *bic aratsitsáxe* (robe circle) and on a moccasin as *it u'pén tsitsáxe* (tip of circle); the stepped design as *irúə* (color); a diamond, besides the common symbolical appellation of "navel cord" also bears the name of *bāru-xāwe* (beads forked); a half-hourglass was called *mācuce*.

The interpretations of certain designs on a vest have already been given (p. 307).

¹Lowie, Robert H., "Social Life of the Crow Indians" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 9, part 2, 1912), 235.

SUMMARY.

It seems fairly clear that the Crow have not achieved a high degree of individuality in their art. In the realistic ornamentation of their tents they are distinctly inferior to the Blackfoot, and if they excel the latter in the quality and variety of embroidered designs the reasons may plausibly be found in the influence exerted on the Crow by Dakota contact.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the beadwork of the Crow, especially in its most highly developed representatives, is a somewhat attenuated reflex of Dakota art. Perhaps only in the decoration of moccasins—particularly as regards the popularity of U-patterns—can Blackfoot influence be plausibly assumed.

A question of great theoretical interest which any protracted study of Plains Indian art is likely to raise relates to the connection between beaded and quilled designs. Can we legitimately conclude that the later technique simply continued the patterns made in quills prior to White contact? The difficulty lies in the relative paucity of quillwork as compared with beadwork in our museum collections. Nevertheless, after somewhat rapidly surveying our Plains Indian quillwork, and eking out this meager evidence with the illustrations in Maximilian's Atlas, I have been unable to avoid the tentative conclusion that the relation between beaded and quilled designs is far less close than might a priori be assumed. Or, to put it more precisely, that relationship is limited to a comparatively small number of fairly simple motives. The rosette, the rectangular cross, the isosceles triangle, the solidly worked stripe, the parallel lines, the stepped design,—these doubtless find their prototypes in quillwork. The stepped design, in particular, judging from its ubiquitousness, may be regarded as one of the oldest products of Plains Indian art in embroidery.

The difference between quilled and beadwork lies in the much greater intricacy and variety of the latter. I have not encountered anything in quillwork to compare with, say, the complicated patterns on Dakota and Crow pipe bags. One qualification may be offered. Some of the quilled pieces do exhibit fairly complex forms and their totality possibly comprises a very fair assortment of diverse motives. However, I am decidedly under the impression that these samples of greater skill are exceptional individual achievements rather than representatives of a tribal style. At least, each of these more complicated quilled designs I have specially noted seems to be quite different from the rest. It is not so

with beadwork: such combinations of, say, diamonds and forked designs, as may be seen on Dakota and Crow specimens, are not unique but represent an established norm recurring again and again. One fact rather impressed me while turning over a large series of pipe bags. Three quilled bags from as many tribes all displayed very similar decoration,—the stepped design either in its diamond or triangular form. I doubt very much whether three beaded bags similarly taken at random could be found with so little diversity of ornamentation.

So far as I can see, then, the introduction of glass beads stimulated a very considerable efflorescence of new æsthetic conceptions or recombinations, while doubtless most of the older ones were retained.

The rawhide decoration of the Crow has been shown to have quite different relations from those of their beadwork. The Dakota influence in this line of activity is nil. The Crow style has affiliations with that of the Shoshoni, and we might almost add, with the Shoshoni alone.

A trait shared with other Northwestern tribes, notably the Gros Ventre and Blackfoot, is the inconsiderable development of symbolism. In this respect the contrast between the Crow and the Dakota is certainly very marked.

The history of Crow art cannot be satisfactorily traced without much fuller data from the Hidatsa and on the general evolution of Plains æsthetics. So much is at least certain that the rawhide painting of the Crow and the Hidatsa is quite unrelated. The embroidered designs, so far as I can see, also betray no fundamental likeness: such resemblances as exist are readily intelligible as the consequence of the same foreign influences. Whether the forms of art activity more recently in vogue existed at all, or not before the separation, Crow and Hidatsa art have certainly had very different histories, and the renewed contact during the last century has little affected the extent of these differences.