

PARFLECHES

How Native Women Pushed the Envelope of Abstraction

By America Meredith (Cherokee Nation)

BEFORE PIET MONDRIAN helped found the De Stijl movement, before Kazimir Malevich penned *The Non-Objective World*, before Wassily Kandinsky painted *Composition I*, even before the rise of modernism, there was the parfleche. Indigenous women from the Great Plains, Plateau, Great Basin, and Southwest painted abstract imagery onto rawhide containers to create bold, graphic artworks meant to be seen from a distance and meant to be seen in motion. Using a visual vocabulary of simple shapes and a limited palette, they created a corpus of paintings that continue to amaze and confound audiences today.

Unlike those early 20th-century European abstract painters, the Native women who painted parfleches did not create “art for art’s sake.” Indigenous artists, like the overwhelming majority of artists throughout world history, did not separate art from daily life. A parfleche is eminently utilitarian. Art historian Gaylord Torrence wrote, “The containers were lightweight, unbreakable, and weather-resistant, and their creation afforded women an important means of artistic expression. The superb utility of these objects, their compelling beauty as works of art, and their inseparable association with the horse all contributed to their importance in Plains culture.”¹

Torrence is the champion of parfleches in the field of art history. Now



ABOVE Lakota artists, *Parfleche Cylinders, Flat Cases, Boxes, and Envelopes*, collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institute. Photo: Taoboy49 (CC BY-SA 3.0).

OPPOSITE Cheyenne artist, *Parfleche*, ca. 1890, rawhide, pigment, collection of the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, 1981.28.4, gift of Mrs. Doane Farr. Image courtesy of the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City.

the senior curator of American Indian art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Torrence curated *The American Indian Parfleche: A Tradition of Abstract Painting* at the Des Moines Art Center, with a catalogue, back in 1994. Torrence strives to teach new generations to appreciate this once widespread art form.

While closely associated with the Great Plains, parfleches come from other areas including the Plateau, Great Basin, Southwest, Subarctic, and Prairie cultural regions. Tribes as far south as the Lipan Apache of Southern Texas and as far north as the Tsuu T’ina of Alberta made parfleches, as did tribes as far west as the Wasco, Wishram, and Tenino of Washington and Oregon.

While parfleches predated the 16th-century Spanish reintroduction of the horse, the art form flourished with the rise of horse culture in the Western United States and Canada. The horse enabled agrarian Great Lakes tribes to move west and interact with tribes already there, and to create the new nomadic cultures that epitomize American Indians in popular imagination. Prior to the reservation era of the mid- to late 19th century, this was a time of great wealth. Parfleches simultaneously stored precious material goods and displayed a family’s skill at hunting and creativity. Torrence writes that “great numbers must have been required; they were undoubtedly one of the most commonly produced aesthetic forms.”²

1. Gaylord Torrence, “Parfleche Envelope,” in *The Plains Indians: Artists of the Earth and Sky*, ed. Gaylord Torrence (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2014), 90.

2. Gaylord Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche: A Tradition of Abstract Painting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with the Des Moines Art Center, 1994), 24.

The term *parfleche*, as early conservationist and ethnographer George Bird Grinnell wrote, derives from the French terms *parer*, “to parry” or deflect, and *flèche*, “arrow,” referring to rawhide shields. The term broadened over time to include a range of embellished containers crafted from rawhide.³

One reason why parfleches have not received more scholarship is they have historically been a women’s art. Among Plains and neighboring tribes, painting historically was a gendered practice, with men typically painting figurative and narrative works while women painted abstract geometric works—on hides, textiles, and bodies. Instead of acknowledging the two genders’ painting practices, I have often heard the sentiment voiced that “Plains women didn’t paint.” Why does women’s geometric painting get so easily dismissed? Just as the abstract painters of early 20th-century Europe challenged public perception, the abstraction of parfleches continues to challenge the public. One could engage with this geometric abstraction on a purely aesthetic level or delve deeper into a quest to understand its symbolism, but it takes the ability to embrace uncertainty and engage with Indigenous perspectives from different tribes. It may take more effort and time to explore Indigenous aesthetics, but the rewards are great and the art helps us understand the artists’ worldviews—to hear voices of Indigenous women who have too often been silenced in the past and today.

Few historical parfleches can be attributed to named artists because they were collected with little accompanying information. However, based on studying 1,500 specimens in more than 100 collections by 1994—and far more since—Torrence developed a diagnostic methodology for attributing tribal affiliations to the many historical parfleches scattered in museum collections across the globe. Rawhide disintegrates rapidly, so it is extraordinary that any 18th-century examples are still intact in museum collections today. They may have been modeled on folded birchbark



containers ubiquitous in the Great Lakes region, where the Dakota, Cheyenne, and other Plains tribes once lived.⁴ They also share aesthetics with painted hide robes, widespread across the continent, and in turn with Indigenous tattooing and body painting. “This fundamental vocabulary of visual forms consisted of geometric motifs, both straightedged and curved, organized into complex compositions with some type of rectangular frame,” Torrence wrote. “The images were based on highly elongated triangles, hourglass shapes, diamonds, rectangles, lines, and circular forms.”⁵

Some of the earliest parfleches in museum collections are unpainted or incised. Thick bison hides had dark epidermal surfaces that could be etched with fine lines and crosshatching to reveal a lighter layer of hide. Many early 19th-century parfleches combine incising with painting. Exclusively incised containers began to disappear in the 1860s and it is doubtful that any were made after 1880. Incising shared aesthetic qualities with woodcarving. It was particularly popular among Mescalero Apache parfleche makers who may have been influenced by Spanish colonial leatherwork.

The earliest painted parfleches reflect “a transitional form between robes painted geometrically and the final development of the parfleche envelope,” in which the painted design did not conform to the folding surfaces

but rather overlapped them.⁶ Later the painting aligned with the folded flaps, so a unified image would be created when the parfleche was folded into its final shape. By 1840, distinct tribal styles emerged.

Parfleches were sculpted from rawhide, which is processed but not tanned, so instead of being soft and supple, the hide is tough and water-resistant and holds its shape. Bison was the preferred hide until American mercenaries decimated their herds in the late 1860s and early 1870s; after 1880, it was seldom found. A bison hide is darker brown than other hides and develops a craquelure over time. Besides bison, it is difficult to determine exactly which animal hide was used. Elk, deer, horse, cow, and even moose hide was used, and all were off-white to beige. The unpainted surfaces provided the lightest parts of the parfleche design. Typically a single hide could yield a pair of parfleche envelopes. Ute and Jicarilla Apache artists made large pouches three to five feet wide that took up an entire hide.

Men typically hunted and skinned the animals, while women prepared the hides in a complex process requiring strength and skill. The artist staked a hide about six to ten inches above the ground, with its hair side facing down, then defleshed the hides by scraping off the muscles, tissue, and fat with bone or, later, metal hide scrapers. The hides shrank as they dried and were doused with water

3. George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life*, Vol. 1 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1923), 244.

4. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, 245; Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 30, 57.

5. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 30.

6. Torrence, “Parfleche Envelope,” 90.



as needed to clean them and keep them workable. Drying needed to be slow and steady, and the hides were painted while still staked. Prior to painting, the artist often coated the hide with sizing, which sealed the hide. Sizes came from numerous animal and plant sources, particularly prickly pear juice.

To compose a design, women often used straight, peeled willow sticks that could be pressed into the wet hide to leave a mark for painting. “The finest parfleche painting always transcends the static, mechanical quality that would be imparted by too great a reliance on measuring devices,” writes Torrence,⁷ who also points out that the character of the

artist’s hand is lost in schematic drawings of parfleche designs.

Prior to 1850, parfleches had a limited palette of red, green, and black. As styles evolved, Torrence wrote, “Green became an important color within the compositions, essentially replacing black as the predominant color counterbalancing red. Black, in turn, became the color used for the fine outlines delineating major motifs and for small units within the designs.”⁸ From 1850 to 1880, yellow and blue were added.

Natural pigments could be sacred, and some required great skill to make. Ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore wrote that yellow ocher, mined on the

Standing Rock Reservation, was ground into powder then heated to become a deep red: “The baking of this ocherous substance—a process which requires skill—is done by the women.”⁹

Clark Wissler, who conducted field research among Northern Plains tribes from 1902 to 1905, transliterated Blackfoot terms for their paints: “Yellow earth. Buffalo yellow (buffalo gall stones). Red earth (burned yellow earth). Red earth (as found). Rock paint (a yellowish red). Many-times-baked-paint (a yellow earth made red by exposure to the sun). Red many-times-baked (a similar red, as found). Seventh paint (a peculiar ghastly red-purple). Blue (a dark blue mud). White earth (as found). Black (charcoal).”¹⁰

Native black, made from iron oxide, lignite, charcoal, walnut hulls or roots, or sunflowers, leaned toward brown. Native artists used natural blacks long after commercial pigments were available. Reds, the most common natural pigment, were primarily made from red ocher, that is clay with iron oxide, but also from buffalo berries, pussy willows, or cactus fruit. Yellows were mostly yellow ocher but could also be made from bison gallstones or wolf lichen. Green came from copper carbonate or dried green algae. Blue came from earth or even duck excrement. These natural pigments were dried and ground with stone mortars. Each color was stored separately in its own hide pouch.

The first trade pigment available in the West was mercury vermilion from China. Introduced in the 18th century, it is found even in the earliest surviving parfleches. Commercial pigments were commonplace by 1875. Colored crayons were occasionally used in the late 19th and early 20th century to enhance the depth of a color field.

To apply the paint to a parfleche, artists relied on styluses shaped from smoothed-down stone, wood, mountain sheep horn, or, most commonly, bone. Torrence writes, “The porous bone soaked up and held the paint, and allowed it to flow smoothly when the tool was applied to the surface of the hide. Held in one direction, it produced a sharp, thin line; turned

7. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 51.

8. Torrence, 35–36.

9. Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 116n1.

10. Clark Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*, Volume 5, Parts 1-2, 133.

11. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 47.

to the side, the board edge could be used to spread the paint over a wide area.”¹¹ Artists had a dedicated stylus for each color. They also made brushes by chewing the edge of willow or cottonwood sticks to loosen the cellulose into separate fibers. The rounded end of a stick was ideal for painting dots.

Paint is pigment with a binder. Pre-reservation parfleche artists commonly used bison or other animal fat as their binder. With a little binder, pigments were sometimes formed into cakes, which in turn could be applied directly to wet rawhide, much like an oil pastel. Otherwise, powdered pigments were mixed with hot water and animal glue to create liquid paint. Each color was stored in its palette, often made from a tortoise or mussel shell.

After a painting was finished, the artist could coat it with more sizing or a tree-gum varnish such as wild cherry, piñon, or tamarack. Finally, the hide was pulled off its stakes, flipped over, and the hair was removed by pounding it with a stone or the back of an axe, scraping it with an elk antler scraper, or a combination of these techniques. The parfleche was folded, any corners pounded into place, and weights were used to form the desired shape as the container dried. Tanned hide thongs were most commonly used to lace the parfleches. Artists burned holes with heated metal since these held up better over time than cut holes. Any fringe cut from single sheets of tanned hide or other embellishments, such as jingles or hawk bells, were sewed in.

Parfleches held everything from sacred bundles to everyday household goods. Grinnell recorded that parfleches held “ornaments, wooden bowls and dishes, small horn spoons, and any odds-and-ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise, for it might contain anything from an elk’s tooth to a twenty-dollar gold piece.”¹²

One of the few known 19th-century parfleche makers, Maxi’diwiac, or Buffalo Bird Woman (Hidatsa, ca. 1839–1932), said, “Our clothes we put away in parfleche bags which were used only for

this purpose. We never used these bags or cases to pack meat or foods in, as we wanted to keep our clothes clean.... There was just one bag for the man’s suit and that of his wife. The war bonnet and trail were kept in the bag, along with the clothes.”¹³

Form followed function, and parfleche uses varied from tribe to tribe. The most common forms that parfleches took were folded envelopes, flat cases, cylinders, and boxes.

Folded envelopes were by far the most numerous, and a family might own six to eight parfleches just for storing food. Horses carried matched pairs hanging from both sides of their saddles. Envelopes were usually vertically oriented, except Plateau envelopes that were horizontally oriented. Made from a single sheet of hide, envelopes had interior and exterior flaps laced together and could expand at the center for more storage capacity.

Flat cases were made by every tribe that made parfleches. Blackfeet and Crow tribes used heavily fringed cases with strands as long as 45 inches for ceremonial items, while Cheyenne people used cases without fringe. “The addition of the fringes significantly transformed the visual emphasis of the case from the painted image to a balance between surface ornamentations and sculptural form,” wrote Torrence.¹⁴ In transit, cases hung from the swell (front curve) or cantle (back curve) of a woman’s saddle; while at camp, they hung from wooden tripods. Some very early Wichita bison-rawhide

cases were unpainted. These flat cases may have evolved from twined pouches. Flat cases without fringe often stored women’s tools, sewing items, and foods.

Cylinder-shaped parfleche always contained sacred objects, including “medicine bundles, ceremonial clothing, feathers, and rolled feather headdresses.”¹⁵ Kiowas and other tribes rolled up feather headdresses and safely stored them in cylinders. Crow artists, in particular, added fringe up to 36 inches long. Cylinders ranged from 10 to 30 inches long and often tapered at the bottom. Artists typically painted a four-part design on the disk at the top of the cylinder. “Painted in this manner, the simple piece of rawhide was transformed into a cosmological diagram; it defined the circle as a universal symbol of the unity and continuity of all life and evoked the four sacred directions and the supernatural powers with which they were identified,” observed Torrence.¹⁶

“The final evolution of parfleche containers was the painted rawhide box, a form developed during the early reservation period and produced almost exclusively by Lakota women,” Torrence summarizes.¹⁷ Boxes grew in popularity as people traveled more by horse-drawn wagons than horseback. Artists painted five sides of the boxes but left the bottom plain. These served as tool cases and may have evolved from rawhide trunks. Dhegiha and Chiwere Siouan-speaking tribes collected Lakota boxes. Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Meskwaki



BELOW Sicangu Lakota artist, *Pair of Parfleches*, 1880–1885, rawhide, pigment, Native-tanned skin ties, 22½ × 13¾ and 22¼ × 12¾ in., collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ralph T. Coe Collection, Gift of Ralph T. Coe Foundation for the Arts, 2011.154.152.1, .2 (CCO 1.0).

OPPOSITE Cheyenne artist, *Parfleche*, ca. 1890, rawhide, pigment, collection of the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, 1981.28.4, gift of Mrs. Doane Farr. Image courtesy of the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City.

12. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, 244.
 13. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 62.
 14. Torrence, 66.
 15. Torrence, 69.
 16. Torrence, 70.
 17. Gaylord Torrence, “Parfleche Box,” in *The Plains Indians: Artists of the Earth and Sky*, ed. Gaylord Torrence (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2014), 90.



ABOVE, TOP Arapaho artist, *Parfleche Bag*, ca. 1900, rawhide, pigment, 26½ × 15½ × 1 in., collections of the Brooklyn Museum Collection, X1111.3, Brooklyn, New York (CC-BY).

OPPOSITE Cheyenne artist, *Parfleche Envelope*, 1870, bison rawhide, pigment, 12 × 2½ × 20 in., collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society, ID 00162, M. L. Andrews Collection. The artist was a female companion of Philip Block.

people repurposed Lakota and other Plains tribes' envelopes into trunks to hold sacred items. The Meskwaki painted clan designs on these.

Artists used parfleche techniques and designs for other rawhide items including "burden straps, knife sheaths, quivers, horse cruppers and saddle ornaments, and sun visors."¹⁸ Worn-down parfleches were recycled. "The usual fate of a gift parfleche is to be cut into moccasin soles," wrote Wissler.¹⁹ Remnants of parfleches became cradleboard hoods, knife sheaths, toy cases, or any range of items still bearing traces of painted designs.

These designs are the enduring legacy of parfleches. Kiowa beadwork artist Teri Greeves said her sister Keri Ataumbi (Kiowa) taught her to appreciate the aesthetics of parfleche painting. "My sister helped me see the perfect, delicate lines, gorgeous muted colors of the natural pigments, and even the golden veneer of the cactus-juice stabilizer, which added to their visual depth—like looking through water to see the river bottom." Greeves

continued, "I began to see into the negative space—its fluctuation between merely background and the definition of abstraction itself. What were these women painters saying? What rules were they following? What was their language of space, color, and line?"²⁰

Bold and striking, parfleche paintings were meant to be seen from a distance and, like so much horse culture-era artwork, in motion. "In the most effective and carefully balanced designs, the visual reversal of figure and background constantly changes according to the shifting perception of the viewer," writes Torrence.²¹

Parfleche painting shared a visual vocabulary possibly with basketry and twined pouches but definitely with hide painting. "Women across the Central and Northern Plains had shared this style" long before Europeans documented it, wrote art historian Jenny Tone-Pah-Hote (Kiowa) when describing a particular bison robe. "Though the exact meanings of these robes elude contemporary audiences, many scholars believe the design

symbolized the buffalo, central to the wellbeing of the historical Arapaho and all Plains tribes.... Women designed, made, and wore robes with this abstract configuration, visibly connecting themselves to the bison." She continues, "Box-and-border robes are expressive works of art, carrying symbolic meaning related to the bison and aspects of spiritual life that imbue these robes with significance transcending the aesthetic."²² Made from bison, carrying bison meat, many designs honored this life-giving animal.

"The ideas from the abstractions oftentimes came from the dream world, but they were also influenced by what and who the abstractions were for. The paintings on the outsides of these containers spoke to what was inside them; they spoke to the human being that they were created for; even the pigments themselves contained the life of the earth, plant, and animal worlds and interacted with the animal life the container was made from," wrote Greeves.²³ The Kiowa artist continues, "These women were not just following a prescribed design or pattern, they were deliberately working in the language of abstraction, and each artistic choice held significant personal and tribally specific meaning."²⁴

Parfleche artists created complex designs from deceptively simple elements: lines, dots, circles, quadrangles, frets, curves, crescents, and hourglass shapes. These might be filled with color, cross-hatching, or parallel lines. These highly symmetrical designs were bound by a strong border. "The commonest feature in the designs is a double line extending longitudinally through the middle of the flap," observed anthropologist Leslie Spier, who studied Nez Perce, Shoshone, Ute, and Paiute parfleches.²⁵ The Tsuu T'ina term for this central column on parfleche envelopes, *mi na wusa*, translates to "vertical column, spine."²⁶ This vertical axis also can represent a pathway, physically or metaphorically.

18. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 74.

19. Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*, 81.

20. Teri Greeves, "The Women Were Busy Abstracting the World," in *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, eds. Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2019), 99.

21. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 78.

22. Jenny Tone-Pah-Hote, PhD, "Robe," in *The Plains Indians: Artists of the Earth and Sky*, ed. Gaylord Torrence (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2014), 178.

23. Greeves, "The Women Were Busy Abstracting the World," 99.

24. Greeves, 101.

25. Leslie Spier, *An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1925), 100.

26. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 252.

Jhon Goes in Center, an Oglala Lakota jeweler, wrote that “the designs on parfleche containers and other accouterments that were in essence maps that depicted geographic features such as a river as the circle of life and the mountains that hold us to a spiritual connection within our homelands.”²⁷

Symbols might be shared between a tribe or a family or only be known to the maker. Alfred Kroeber studied Arapaho parfleches and observed that a single design carried multiple symbolic meanings. Conversely, a single concept could be represented by a range of different symbols. Placement and shape influenced meaning. “In painted designs a flat isosceles triangle often represents a hill; an acute isosceles triangle, a tent,” wrote Kroeber.²⁸ “An equilateral triangle with the point downward may represent a heart; with its point upward, a mountain.” He continued, “Crosses and diamonds often signify stars.”²⁹

“The Pawnee painted cosmic symbols on these containers—the moon and its rays, the sun, the dawn, and the stars,” wrote Gene Weltfish, anthropologist and historian. “These cosmic designs could be painted only by a person with the necessary religious qualifications.”³⁰ The Morning Star, or Venus, is portrayed as a four-pointed star by numerous tribes.

Dreams were powerful sources of imagery, and Lakota and Dakota women told Wissler “that such experiences were attributed to Double Woman, the feminine cultural heroine of that tribe.”³¹ Likewise, the spirit world shared designs with Arapaho through dreams. Whirlwind Woman, an immortal, created the earliest Arapaho designs and shared them with mortal women. “It was she who first instructed Arapaho women in all the phases of parfleche-making and planning,” wrote Torrence.³²

Tribes had symbolic systems in which certain colors represented cardinal directions and attributions associated with those directions. Anthropologist George

Dorsey recorded an interpretation of an Arapaho parfleche: “Six rows of colored designs represented the whole appearance of the earth (rough). Two white lines traversing two center designs denoted the paths of the sun and moon. White and blue lines at [the] edge of the parfleche mean the ‘Ocean’ and horizon. Blue paint, the sky; red paint, the earth; green paint, the glass; white field, water. This parfleche denotes the winter season.”³³

Kroeber wrote, “When as many as ten or a dozen symbols having reference to each other are combined, a story can almost be told by them. In this way the stiff embroideries on a moccasin or the geometric paintings on a bag may represent the hunting buffalo, the acquisition of supernatural power by a shaman, a landscape or map, a dream, personal experiences, or a myth.”³⁴

Over time, knowledge of this visual language faded. The slaughter of bison herds and confinement on reservations curtailed parfleche production in the late 19th century. Some tribes were still able to acquire hides through hunting, while others used domestic cowhides. Northern Arapaho continued to make parfleches until World War I, Blackfeet women continued until the 1920s, and Lakota artists continued into the 1930s. Tribes, such as the Crow, Shoshone, and Nez Perce, continued making parfleches into the 1940s. In the Plateau, early 20th-century wedding ceremonies included an exchange of goods in corn husk bags from the bride’s family and parfleches from the groom’s family. As symbols of earlier, better times, parfleches were hung from horses in Wild West shows and in Native horse parades. Fringed ceremonial parfleches were left empty as symbols of sacred power. Among Dakota and Lakota people, parfleches were distributed at giveaways.

Artists from a variety of tribes are dedicated to keeping this art form alive and evolving. Some of the leading parfleche makers today include brothers Juan and Shawn Espinosa (Oglala Lakota),



Lauren Good Day (Arikara /Hidatsa/Blackfeet/Cree), Mike Marshall (Sicangu Lakota), and Debra Box (Southern Ute).

De Stijl painters such as Mondrian were idealists. They wanted to strip down painting to its essential elements of pure geometry and primary colors. They sought art as a means toward spiritual harmony. They wanted to completely fuse form and function. If only these European men had studied the parfleches made by generations of American Indian and First Nations artists before them, they would have realized their utopian dreams had already been achieved.

“These paintings were inseparable from the worldview of their makers, formed from their collective experience and culture role as women,” wrote Torrence, “from the details of their daily lives and the richness and love of family life and tribal associations; from the invisible spirit forces that filled their world and the profound religions and traditions that sustained their inner, sacred lives; and from their intimate relationship with nature and the sweeping, monumental landscapes and incomparable light of the American West, which was their home.”³⁵

27. Jhon Goes In Center, “Native American and First Nations’ GIS,” *Native American Geography* (Redlands, CA: Environmental Systems Research Institute, 2000), web.

28. Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Decorative Symbolism of the Arapaho* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1901), 308–09.

29. Kroeber, *Decorative Symbolism of the Arapaho*, 308.

30. Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe: Pawnee Life and Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 214–15.

31. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 248.

32. Torrence, 247–48.

33. Torrence, 249.

34. Kroeber, *Decorative Symbolism of the Arapaho*, 309.

35. Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche*, 253–54.