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Article Summary: This is one of a series of articles based on presentations at a mini-symposium "Toward Plains Caddoan Origins: A Symposium" held at the Smithsonian Institution in November, 1976. This article seeks to reconcile the proper identification of group names mentioned in early written accounts by combining knowledge of the languages with the ethnological background.

## BANDS AND VILLAGES OF THE ARIKARA AND PAWNEE

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Among the many problems confronting those interested in the culture history of the Northern Caddoan peoples—and indeed most Plains tribes—is the proper identification of group names mentioned in the early accounts of explorers, traders, missionaries, and others. Reconciling these names with contemporary data can sometimes be exasperating and is, in many cases, seemingly impossible. In fact, it is doubtful that some of these recorded names will ever be satisfactorily explained, but many of the problems can be solved by combining a knowledge of the language(s) in question with the ethnological background.

Deducing the number of former social groups and the nature of their status is yet another problem. Early ethnohistorical sources cite widely varying numbers of Arikara and Pawnee villages during the late 17th and 18th centuries. Many of the same sources also designate Arikara subdivisions variously as villages, tribes, nations, and bands. Native tradition, as recorded during the present century and perforce based largely on memory, offers yet another set of data on former groups. The solution to the problems posed by these conflicting sources is important for historical reconstruction, but again it is doubtful that all of the questions can be answered.

The present paper has two purposes. The first is to assemble and correlate the extant lists of recorded names of Arikara and Pawnee bands and villages. By so doing, it is possible to identify the names of many, if not most, of the subdivisions of the Panian<sup>1</sup> groups in the 18th century. The other purpose is to compare the lists with ethnohistorical sources and contemporary ethnographic data to determine the number and nature of the former subdivisions. One can thereby draw certain

inferences about aspects of the former social organization of the groups today called the Arikara and the Pawnee.

### *Arikara*

The earliest historical references to the divisions and population of the Arikara come from several 18th century accounts, but unfortunately most of the information from that period is vague, scanty, and generally not based on actual observation. In the early part of that century the Arikara were apparently already living along the Missouri River in southern South Dakota.

One of the earliest certain references to the Arikara is on the 1701 map of Guillaume Delisle captioned *Carte des Environs du Missisipi*. On it the Arikara, designated the *Panigoucha*, are shown to have four large villages.

A slightly later, and more detailed, reference is that of Etienne Véniard de Bourgmont, who in 1714 ascended the Missouri as far as the Platte River in Nebraska. He enumerated 3 villages of *Aricaras* above the Niobrara and 40 villages of *Caricaras* still farther up the Missouri (de Villiers 1925:62). In form, the latter name is too close to the name Arikara itself to be of merely fortuitous resemblance; hence it seems that de Bourgmont was in fact indicating 43 Arikara villages. He was, however, undoubtedly distinguishing two separate groups, for the *Aricaras* were said to be engaged in the fur trade and to know the French, while the *Caricaras* were described as living farther north on both sides of the river and being very numerous. On the Delisle map of 1718 (Tucker 1945, plate xv) the same distinction is made, no doubt based on the information of de Bourgmont: the *Aricara* are placed on a northerly tributary immediately above the *R. du Rocher* and 40 villages of *Panis* are located northwest of them on the Missouri itself.

Five years after de Bourgmont's information, Bénard de la Harpe mentioned the Arikara (Smith 1959:531). When visiting the Wichita in 1719, the Wichita chiefs told him of 7 important Arikara villages 120 leagues to the north-northwest. The 7 were part of 45 Pawnee villages with whom the Wichita were allied.

In 1738, when Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye and his sons visited the Mandan along the Missouri

in what is now North Dakota, he was told that the villages of the *Panaux* were a day's journey away, and beyond them were the *Pananis* (Burpee 1927:335). Both groups were said to live in lodges built like those of the Mandan. The identification of these two names seems to be unmistakable. *Panaux* is probably Pawnee itself, and *Panani* is the Assiniboine term for the Arikara and perhaps the Pawnee as well.<sup>2</sup> Since both of these groups were residing in present day South Dakota, the information given La Vérendrye suggests two separate Panian groups. In 1743, five years after the elder La Vérendrye's visit, his two sons returned to the Mandan country and visited a people they called the *Gens de la Petite Cerise* in the vicinity of the later Fort Pierre in South Dakota. Although the identification of these people is not certain, they too are probably Arikara since Gilmore (1927:345) has recorded an Arikara band name called the Little Chokecherry (see discussion below) and the location of the Arikara in the mid eighteenth century was most likely in the area of present day Pierre.<sup>3</sup>

References to the Arikara do not appear again until late in the seventeenth century, after they had experienced a series of three devastating smallpox epidemics occurring during the 1770s and 1780s. In 1785, Governor General Miro mentioned seven villages of *Arricaras* or *Riis*<sup>4</sup> on the Missouri below the Cheyenne River (Nasatir 1930:536). Ten years later the French trader Jean Baptiste Truteau wintered with the Arikara and in his record gave more detailed information. He reported that prior to the smallpox epidemics the Arikara numbered 32 villages and 4,000 warriors, but that by 1795 they had been reduced to two villages on the west bank of the Missouri just below the Cheyenne (Beauregard 1912:28-31).

An event that until recently was scarcely noticed by historians occurred early in 1795. It was a visit by a group of Pawnee, Wichita, and Taovaya to San Antonio, at that time the seat of government for the Spanish province of Texas. The Pawnee were interested in securing the friendship of the Spanish, and in the course of their visit they furnished their European hosts with the names of 33 other Indian "nations" with whom the Pawnee had amicable relations. Troike, who identified the visiting Pawnee as Skiri, published the recorded list of these tribal names and attempted to identify each one (1964:380-393).

Although he did not recognize all of the names, Troike did suggest that five were Arikara groups. I have been able to identify two others as Arikara as well as positively identify Troike's five names (see discussion of village names below). Thus, this list gives the names of seven Arikara bands or independent groups known to the Skiri at the close of the 17th century.

When the French voyageur and trader Pierre-Antoine Tabeau began a two year residence among the Arikara in 1802, they were living in three closely situated villages, but he reported that before the smallpox epidemics there had been "eighteen fairly large villages, situated upon the Missouri at some distance from each other. . . ." The three contemporary villages were said to be composed of the remnants of "ten different tribes and of as many chiefs." Tabeau subsequently related that at an assembly he called there were 42 chiefs "of the first rank" in attendance. The latter figure would imply 42 former villages since a village had no more than one primary chief—although Tabeau had previously stated there had been only 18. Later, he listed the names of ten divisions, or "tribes," of the Arikara and gave the name of the chief of each one. All of these groups he distinguished from the "Loups [Skiri] and all the different Panis now on the river Platte. . ." (Abel 1939:123-125).

Another set of observations by Tabeau (Abel 1939:126) is particularly revealing. Each of the ten "tribes" of the Arikara had its own distinctive dialect, he said; and the three recently consolidated villages still maintained that dialectal diversity. In what was undoubtedly a fit of hyperbole, he even characterized individual households as seeming "like the tower of Babel and as if all speak without understanding." He further distinguished between two general manners of pronunciation which differed markedly: one was "hurried" and guttural, while the other was drawling and non-guttural. On the basis of Tabeau's comments, two conclusions are suggested. One is that the "tribes" were noticeably distinct dialectally and hence were probably former bands rather than simply villages. The other was that the two general types of speech patterns that he described probably reflected a major dialectal distinction. The characterizations that he gave for the two are accurate portrayals of the gross impressionistic difference one might make between contemporary Arikara and Pawnee speech: Arikara does indeed

TABLE 1. ARIKARA BAND/VILLAGE NAMES

Spanish 1790 List (7 nations)	Tabeau (1803-04) (10 villages)	Murie (1903) (8 + 2 bundles)*	Curtis (1909) (10 bands)	Gilmore (1920s) (12 villages)	Parks (1970s) (10 + 2 bundles)**
1. Astaray	Rhtarahé		Ĥtadhahé ‘Concave foot’		(AxtáRAhi) <sup>1</sup>
2. Aquajere	Sawa-haini	Awahiri			
3.	Waho-erha		Wahúkǰhá ‘Hill in Water’		
4.	Awahaux	Awaho ‘People Who Came Out of Ground Last and Left Behind’	Awáhu ‘Abandoned’	Awáhu ‘Left behind’	awá:hu ‘Left Behind’
5.	Toucatacaux	Tuchkatakú ‘Village Upon the Prairie’	Itukátaku ‘Village at foot of hill’	Tukátuk ‘Village at foot of hill’	tUhka:tákUx ‘Village Against a Hill’
6. Turucatuqu	Touno-catacaux				
7. Naucat	Laocata	Rahokata	Nhukát ‘River-bank’	Hokát ‘Stake at the shore’	NAhu:ká:tA ‘By the Water’
8.	Tchinantacaux	Chiriruttaku ‘An Opening Up on a Tree’	Chihnátáku ‘Ash on Hilltop’	Tšinina’ ták’ ‘Ash woods’	ĥiNIhnahtákUx ‘Ash Tree On a Hill’
9. Tucastinao	Toucoustahane	Tuchkatstaharu ‘Village on Buffalo Grass Land’	Itukstánu ‘Turf Village’	Tukstánu ‘Sod-house village’	tUhkAsthá:nu’ ‘Buffalo Sod Village’

10. Acarica	Narh-karicas	Nakariek 'Horn on Tree'		Nakarik'	na:karíkA (ha:karíkA) 'Tree Branch Sticking Out'
11.		Hokawirat 'From the East'	Hukawidhát 'East'	Hukáwirat 'East'	hu:ka:wirát 'Eastern'
12.			Wadhíliḱa	Waríhka 'Horn log'	warihká'
13.			Shitínishap̃isht	Nišap <sup>st</sup> 'Broken arrow'	šit <sup>i</sup> ni:šápIt 'They Broke the Arrow'
14.				Wítauh 'Long-hair people'	wi:ta'ú:xU 'Long Haired Man'
15.				Nakanústš 'Small cherries'	
16.				Sciriháuh 'Coyote fat'	
17. Alicara					

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\* Murie gave the names of seven bundles. There were two others, which he claimed were really parts of other bundles and did not name. Later he gave the name of another bundle, Rahokata.

\*\* Informants can name 10 bundles, but claim there were 12 originally.

<sup>1</sup> The name of one of the "Arikara districts" after land allotments in the late 19th century.

sound “guttural” and has elided and devoiced entire syllables, while Pawnee has no velar fricatives and might be characterized by an observer as comparatively “drawling.” What is important is that Tabeau seems to have found within the Arikara villages the remains of a group or groups more closely related to the Pawnee in speech—in fact, who may have been Pawnee groups—than were the other Arikara bands.

Lewis and Clark, who visited the Arikara in 1804 and 1805, recorded in their journals that the Arikara “are the remains of ten different tribes of Paneas [Pawnees],” each formerly separate but now, as a result of the smallpox and warfare with the Sioux, reduced in population and living in three villages (Thwaites 1904-05(1):173,188; (6):88; (7):316).<sup>5</sup> Like Tabeau, these explorers noted that each of the former tribes had had its own dialect which was still maintained and that “the Different Villages do not understand all the words of the others” (Thwaites 1904-05(1):188). They also gave the “primitive” name of the tribe (i.e., the one used by the Indians themselves) as *Star-rah-he* (Thwaites 1904-05(6):88). John Bradbury, too, remarked that their “primitive” name was *Starrahe* when he visited them in 1810 (Bradbury 1904:128).

*Modern References.* After Lewis and Clark, there are no other references to the former divisions of the Arikara until the beginning of the 20th century when modern ethnographic work began. During the last 75 years four lists of names have been recorded. These sets of names, together with those given in the Spanish document of 1790 and those by Tabeau, are presented in Table 1.

The first list was collected by James R. Murie, a Pawnee who at the turn of the century worked as a field collector and assistant to the anthropologist George A. Dorsey of the Field Museum. Murie visited the Arikara community on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota in 1903 and 1905. On one of those visits he recorded in a set of his unpublished notes (Murie 1905) that the Arikara had seven sacred bundles. He mentioned that there were, in addition, two others but that they were really parts of two of the seven main ones. He then gave the names of those seven together with the names of their keepers and priests. In another short paper among his notes (Murie 1905) he gave a description of a sacred bundle named *Rahokata*. This name was not among the former seven.

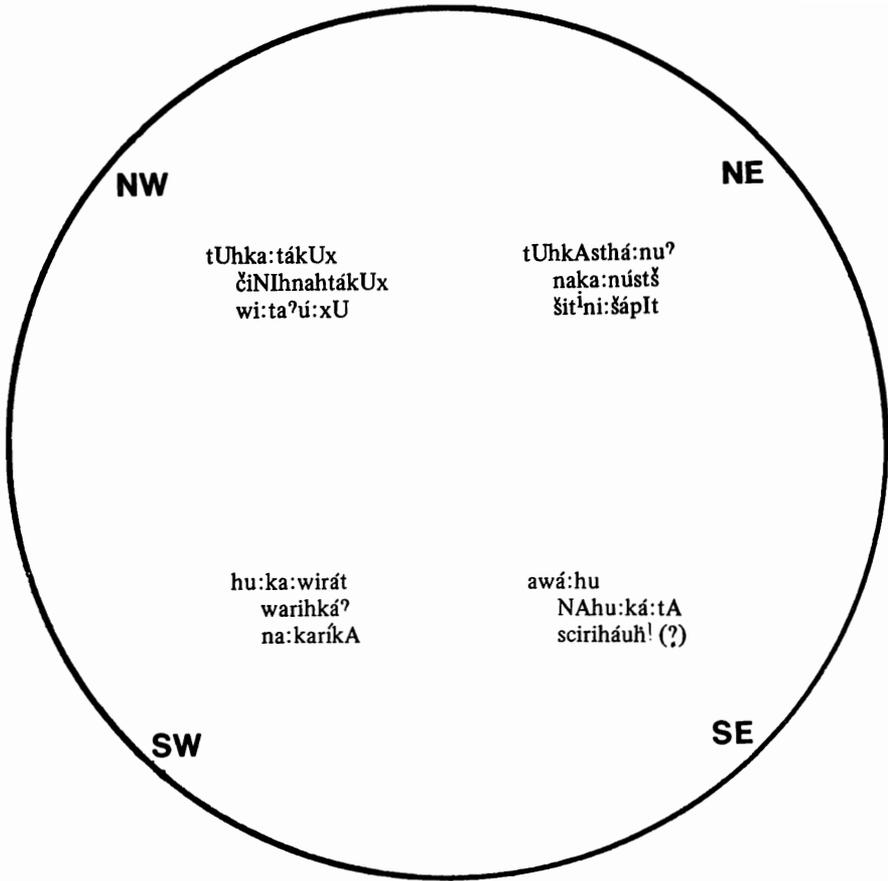
Whether it was one of the two derivative bundles or was in fact another major bundle is unclear. In any case, all of the bundle names that Murie recorded, including the latter *Rahokata*, correspond to those in other lists of Arikara bands or villages.

Shortly after the time of Murie's visits, Edward S. Curtis, the renowned photographer of the American Indian, collected ethnographic data among the Arikara to be included in his monumental 20 volume work *The American Indian* (1909). In his sketch of the tribe, he said the Arikara were composed of ten bands, which he listed. Each band was said to have had a head chief and three subordinate chiefs; in addition, there was a head chief for the entire tribe.

In the 1920s the ethnobotanist Melvin R. Gilmore undertook field work among the Arikara and published a number of short articles on various ethnographic topics based on his studies. In one article (Gilmore 1927:332-345), he gave a description of Arikara social organization. According to the scheme presented, the tribe was formerly organized into 12 villages, each of which governed its own internal affairs. For joint undertakings or matters of more general concern, these villages were organized into four divisions, each composed of three villages. One village in each division was the leader of that division, and the chief of that village was chief of the division. Over the tribe there was, in addition, a head chief who was supported by four subchiefs coming from the four divisions. During recent historical times, the head chief traditionally came from the *awá:hu* band.

Each group of villages, according to Gilmore, was associated with one of the semicardinal directions, and members of a given group always seated themselves in that quarter of the Medicine Lodge during tribal gatherings. The four groups, together with their assigned location in the Medicine Lodge are given in Figure 1. The leading village is given first and the subordinate villages are listed under it in the figure.

Gilmore also stated that there were 12 sacred bundles, each one possessed by one of the former villages. The bundle symbolically distinguished the village and was its sacred charter: it was a manifestation of the political and social unity of the village and the focus of its religious life. Physically it was a collection of various mnemonic objects, some associated with the history of the village and some used in ceremonies when the



*Figure 1. The four groupings of Arikara villages in the Medicine Lodge. (Based on Gilmore 1927: 344-345.)*

bundle was opened ritually. The names of the villages and their bundles were apparently the same, although Gilmore is not explicit on this point.

In my own field work among the Arikara during the 1970s, I have tried to elicit from elderly speakers the names in the various published lists discussed above. I have been told that there were formerly 12 groups among the Arikara, but that centuries ago several of these moved north, apparently into Canada, to hunt sinew and they have never been heard from since. Ten names are still remembered—not, however, as village names but as the names of sacred bundles. All of these correspond to names from other lists.

In addition to the names of the sacred bundles, one other name that occurs on several earlier lists as a band name survived into the early part of this century in a different way. After the land allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation in the 1880s, at least four districts developed in the segment of the reservation where the Arikara lived. (The Mandan and Hidatsa share the same reservation with the Arikara, and each tribe had its own segment.) The names of the four former districts were:

1. *AxtáRAhi* 'Moccasin Stitched Down the Ridge Of the Foot'; the eastern district.
  2. *xa:čipiri:nu* 'Young Dog'; located west of *AxtáRAhi*, along the Missouri River.
  3. *čitákA nihwá'A* 'Muskrat Eaters'; located along Six Mile Creek.
  4. *Wiso:wikUxihAt* 'Kicks the Stomach'; the western district.
- The latter three names do not seem to have any correspondence to former band and village names on other lists; but the first one, *AxtáRAhi*, is the "primitive" name of the Arikara mentioned by Lewis and Clark and by Bradbury, as well as one occurring on several lists of band names (see Table 1). It is also the Pawnee term for designating the Arikara. (In Pawnee, its form is *astaráhi*.)

*The lists.* In Table 1 I have arranged the names in each of the lists from the earliest period to the present so that identical names are correlated. Unfortunately, no two lists are equivalent, but there is nevertheless a surprising agreement on the bulk of the names. Six of them (viz., numbers 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10) occur in all, or all but one, of the lists, and thus span a period of almost 200 years. One other designation (number 1)

also occurs in all of the early references as well as in one recent one. Thus, these seven names seem to have endured unambiguously as the designations of former Arikara groups.

Each of the names is discussed below. All but two (viz., 16 and 17) are given in a modern linguistic transcription together with a literal translation.<sup>6</sup> Note should be taken that the names in Tabeau's list are given in order of the size of the population of the former bands, the largest band being first.

1. *AxtáRAhi* 'Moccasin Stitched Down the Ridge Of the Foot.' This name occurs not only in the two earliest lists, but is also given as the "primitive" name of the Arikara by Lewis and Clark and by Bradbury. The band was said to be the most numerous by Tabeau (Abel 1939:124-125). Curtis also recorded the name; but Murie, Gilmore and I did not, although I have recorded it as a district name after the land allotments. One reason, however, for its omission by many sources during this century is that most village names and bundle names are the same and have thus survived. But some bands may very well have had several bundles (and villages) the names of which differed from the band. Thus *AxtáRAhi* was very likely a band name but not a bundle name. Since it is the Pawnee term for the Arikara and was reputedly the largest band, I suspect that the *AxtáRAhi* may in fact have been composed of more than one village and consequently have had as many village bundles. One previously mentioned hint points to this conclusion as well.

2. *awa:hini*' (a phonemically reconstructed form; no translation). This name, which is unrecognizable to contemporary Arikara speakers, occurs on three of the lists, only one of them from the early twentieth century. It undoubtedly represented a band, but it is curious that only Murie, among modern recorders, secured the name. It probably was a group that lost its identity relatively early.

3. *wa:hukAxa* 'Sides Of the Head Shaved.' This name occurs on two lists, one from the eighteenth century and one from the twentieth century. However, only Curtis recorded it during the modern period. It, too, was apparently a band name—again, a group that must have died out at an early period.

4. *awá:hu* 'Left Behind.' A name occurring on all but the 1790 Spanish list, this term was both a band and bundle name about which we can be reasonably confident. It was one of the most important bands during the historical period, since it provided the head chief of the tribe.

5. *tUhka:tákUx* 'Village On the Side Of a Hill.' This name, like the preceding one, occurs on all but the 1790 Spanish list. It also seems to have been both a band and bundle name.

6. *tu:nu:ka:tákUx* 'Village On a Creek Bank.' This name occurs only on the two eighteenth century lists and on one of the modern ones. Undoubtedly a former band, its bundle may have been lost long ago or perhaps it, too, may have had two or more bundles with different names.

7. *NAhu:ká:tA* 'By the Water.' This name appears on every list; consequently, it is clearly both a band and bundle name. It is, incidentally, the name of an old abandoned village mentioned by Lewis and Clark in 1804. They recorded the name as *La hoo catt*. It was on an island in the Missouri River (modern Ashley Island), and appeared to have been abandoned about five years earlier (Thwaites 1904-05(1):179).

8. *šINihtahtákUx* 'Ash Tree On a Hill.' On all but the 1790 Spanish list, this is also both a band and a bundle name.

9. *tUhkAsthá:nu'* 'Sod Village.' Like number 7, this name occurs on every list and so is to be considered a band and a bundle name.

10. *na:karikA*, *ha:karikA* [dialectal variants] 'Tree With a Branch Sticking Out.' Another name on all lists but Curtis', it too is clearly a former group as well as a bundle name.

11. *hu:ka:wirát* 'Eastern.' This name, like the two following ones, does not appear on the 18th century lists but is on all of the modern ones. It is a bundle name; consequently it was probably a village but not a band.

12. *warihká'* (no translation). It occurs on all of the modern lists except Murie's. It is a bundle name, but whether it was a band as well is questionable. Like number 11 above, it was probably a village.

13. *šitini:šápIt* 'They Broke the Arrow.' The comments about the preceding bundle (number 12) apply here as well.

14. *wi:ta'ú:xU* 'Long Haired Man.' This name occurs on only two lists, Gilmore's and my own. It was a bundle name; but it is doubtful that it was a former band. The bundle no longer survives.

15. *naka:nústš* 'Small Chokecherry.' Only Gilmore recorded this name. It not only occurs on no other list, but contemporary Arikara speakers do not recognize the term. Two other facts, however, suggest that it was probably a now forgotten village

name: (a) It is a linguistically sound form, composed of the stem *naka:nus* 'chokecherry' and the diminutive suffix - *tš*. (b) It also corresponds to the name of the people, the *Gens de la Petite Cerise*, encountered by the sons of La Vérendrye in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, South Dakota.

16. *sciriháuli* 'Coyote Fat.' This linguistically unrecognizable term was recorded only by Gilmore. I have been unable to verify it, and cannot fully analyze it etymologically. Several contemporary Arikara speakers have offered the opinion that the translation, 'Coyote Fat,' does not even sound like a probable bundle name.

17. *Alicara*. This name, appearing only on the 1790 Spanish list, is the name Arikara itself. Because of its singular occurrence it is puzzling. It may have been a band name—a band composed of several villages—and the name that was later generalized to designate all of the groups who combined after the smallpox epidemics to become the modern Arikara. I know of no other explanation for the name "Arikara" itself. The Arikara refer to themselves as *sáhniš* 'people; human beings.' Older tribal members today are familiar with the term *AxtáRAhi* and the Pawnee use of it for their tribe, but none with whom I have spoken knows whence the name Arikara may have come.

*Discussion.* Two hundred years ago the Panian groups living in present South Dakota experienced a series of calamities that drastically reduced their population and forced the survivors of once separate groups into two or three combined villages. Precisely how many groups there were before the disasters and what the identities of these groups were are important questions for the culture history of the Northern Caddoan peoples. Unfortunately the data that bear directly on these questions are fragmentary and not sufficient to provide completely satisfying answers. Most of the early references to Arikara groups are vague statements of their location and the number of their villages; and with few exceptions, the information is based on second hand accounts. Only two lists of names of actual groups come from the early period—the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—after the tragic changes had already been wrought. The other lists of former groups come from the twentieth century. They are based on memories and on fragmentary cultural survivals—the latter the sacred bundles

that until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries still figured, albeit feebly, into the ceremonial life of the Arikara. Thus the recorded data at hand is by and large removed both spatially and temporally from the actual populations. Nevertheless, several conclusions are suggested by the review of those data presented above.

First, it seems that a distinction must be made between bands and villages. The 1790 Spanish list gives the names of "nations" with whom the Skiri were on amicable terms; included in the list were the three southern bands of the Pawnee (the Chawi, Kitkahahki and Pitahawirata) as well as other tribal groups on the Plains. The seven Arikara groups that were named seem, therefore, not to have been simply villages, but rather must have been autonomous bands like all of the others on the list. That they were independent groups is bolstered by Tabeau's statements. He recorded ten former divisions, each said to have its own dialect; and he said that there were formerly 18 villages. Lewis and Clark also spoke of 8 to 10 former "tribes." In contrast to these former "tribes" mentioned by the Spanish list, Tabeau, and Lewis and Clark, there are much larger figures given by various sources for the number of villages: de Bourgmont cited 43; Truteau, 32; and Tabeau, 18. Several sources, however, give smaller numbers: Delisle listed 4; B nard de la Harpe, 7; Miro, 7. The discrepancy may only be a terminological one, though, because the various figures fall into two clusters: the smaller, ranging from 7 to 10; and the larger, ranging from 18 to 45. Thus, if the preceding accounts are in fact reliable, one might conclude that there were some 7 to 10 distinct bands in the South Dakota area in the eighteenth century; and, further, that some of these bands had two or more villages, with the total number of villages ranging from 18 to perhaps as many as 43.

Evidence collected from elderly Arikara people during the twentieth century is inconclusive on the matter of bands and villages. Curtis refers to his ten listed groups as bands, but Gilmore refers to the 12 groups that he recorded as villages. Again, though, the difference may be only a terminological one, for Gilmore grouped what he called villages into divisions, each composed of a leading village and several subordinate ones. Thus the "divisions" may in fact reflect former bands, and the subordinate villages would then accurately reflect their

former status. The lists of names collected by Murie and Parks are the names of sacred bundles and were not distinguished by native Arikara as bands or villages. Although most of the names on the modern lists correspond to the band names of the 18th century lists, many do not. The latter—i.e., those names not corresponding to earlier ones—seem, instead, to have been village bundles. Hence, the modern lists may very well be a mixture of both former band and village/bundle names.

Several statements in the early sources hint at another conclusion: that there may have been at least two major Panian groups in the South Dakota area, and not just Arikara as such. De Bourgmont distinguished between 3 villages of *Aricaras* and 40 villages of *Caricaras*. Later, La Vérendrye reported two Panian groups: the *Panaux* and the *Palani*. Nearly a century later, Tabeau noticed two major dialectal contrasts among the inhabitants of the recently combined Arikara villages: some spoke “gutturally” and hurriedly, while others spoke in a drawling, “non-guttural” fashion. This speech contrast, as noted above, corresponds to an accurately perceived impressionistic difference between contemporary Arikara and Pawnee speech. All of these facts, then, strongly hint at some of the former groups being Arikara, and perhaps some others more closely related to the Arikara; and some groups being Pawnee like their kindred in Nebraska, or at least groups more closely related to the Pawnee to the south.

The idea that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there were at least two major Caddoan groups in South Dakota—the Arikara proper and Pawnee—was first suggested by George Hyde (1951:192-193). The data reviewed above support the notion and furthermore would help to explain the conflicting lists of recorded names. In any case, though, the data clearly point to the Panian area of southern South Dakota as one of social diversity—probably more diversity, in fact, than in Nebraska.

A final, more tenuous, conclusion is that along with the greater social diversity, there was perhaps a larger Panian population than has hitherto been reckoned for the South Dakota area. Mooney estimated the Arikara population at 3,000 (Ubelaker 1976:270), but this figure was for a date after which the tribe (or various bands) had already suffered at least two smallpox epidemics. Truteau said that the Arikara population before the epidemics counted 4,000 warriors

(Beauregard 1912:28). Even if exaggerated, his figure would imply a population in excess of 10,000 and possibly as high as 20,000. Unfortunately there are no other pre-epidemic estimates on which to base a figure. A comment by Tonti is the only other reference to the Arikara population: he had heard that in the early part of the eighteenth century they were more numerous than the Panimaha, who were presumably the Skiri (Delanglez 1939:232).

### *Skiri*

For the Skiri and the three southern bands of the Pawnee, just as for the Arikara, the early records are based on second hand accounts and are inconsistent when enumerating villages or subdivisions. Two designations occur for these people in the early literature: *Panimaha* and *Panis*. Generally the former name refers to the Skiri and the latter one to the south bands; but as Mildred Wedel has noted (1979, this issue), the distinction is frequently blurred, and consequently one cannot always be certain of the identity of the specific group designated by either term. Since the south bands are not distinguished by their contemporary names in the literature until the late 18th century, the distinction between *Panis* and *Panimaha* may in fact not always be a significant one in the earliest accounts.

One of the earliest references is that of Robert Cavalier de La Salle. When in the Illinois country in the 1680s, he evidently was told of 19 villages that he called the *Panimaha* (Wedel 1979). No other Pawnee group was mentioned, so one can only wonder if he was referring to the Skiri only or to other Pawnee groups as well.

Between 1703 and 1723 the number of villages recorded for either the *Panimaha* or *Panis* is between 8 and 11. De Bourgmont, for example, said that in 1714 the *Panimaha* were composed of 9 villages (de Villiers 1925:59). Nearly a decade later, La Renaudière noted in a *mémoire* on mines along the Missouri (dated August 23, 1723) that there were 8 villages of *Panis* along the Elkhorn River (Margry 1876-1887(6):394). These *Panis* were probably Skiri.

An exception to the smaller numbers of villages is the Delisle map of 1718, *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours de Mississipi* (Tucker 1942, plate xv). On it are 12 villages of *Panimaha* and 12 villages of *Panis*, as well as 40 villages of *Panis prairies* and

four *Aricara* villages. The latter two groups, the Prairie Pawnee and the Arikara, are placed north of the *Panimaha* and are presumably in the region of present South Dakota. Hence Delisle apparently meant 12 Skiri villages and 12 villages for what would seem to be the south bands. His source for these figures, however, is unexplained.

Inconsistent though the reports of the number of *Panimaha* and *Panis* villages are from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is a consistency in their being referred to as villages. There are no instances, insofar as I am aware, of any references to these villages as separate bands or to the Skiri (i.e., the *Panimaha*) as being composed of bands or there being any dialectal diversity among the villages. By the end of the 18th century, the Skiri had been reduced to a single village. Each of the three south bands was also living in its own single village. When Lewis and Clark reported on them at the beginning of the 19th century (Thwaites 1904-05(6):86-89), they referred to the Skiri and each of the south bands (except for the Pitahawirata, who were not mentioned at all) as separate groups or tribes, but made no mention of any former diversity within each division as they did for the Arikara.

*Lists of Names.*-Although there are various references to the number of Skiri villages in the early literature, there are no lists of village names from that period. Records of names do not appear until the first quarter of the 20th century, long after the former villages had combined into a single one. As with the Arikara, the identity and memory of the villages was only sustained by the survival of the sacred bundles and the identification that the bundles inspired among Skiri families.

There are four lists of village names. James Murie provided most of them, which occur in two of his own publications (Murie 1914:550; 1980) as well as two of those by George A. Dorsey (1904:10-13; 1906:72). In 1924, Melvin Gilmore also obtained a list from Murie but supplemented by another informant.

Since the lists come from information gathered at, and shortly after, the turn of the century, they present some troublesome inconsistencies in names which were due to a confusion of the names for villages and for bundles as well as for bundles which seemingly had alternate names. In most cases the name of the village and its bundle were the same; but in

several instances they apparently differed. Further, one finds throughout Murie's writings several names for bundles: sometimes he designates them by what seem to be their names, but at other times he refers to them by the names of the ear of corn contained in the bundles. In spite of these terminological problems, however, the consensus of native testimony in the early 1900s was that the Skiri formerly had 18 villages. Four of those villages subsequently joined into a single one—viz., Old Village, which had four coordinate sacred bundles—and thereby reduced the number to 15. Later, according to tradition, all but 2 of the 15 villages joined into a political and religious confederation (Murie 1914:550-551; 1979).

Table 2 is a comparative listing of the village names given in four publications and one unpublished manuscript. It correlates the variously recorded names, thereby throwing the identities and differences into relief. The first column, which combines Murie's two lists (Murie 1914:550; 1980), is probably the most accurate list and the one against which the others should be compared. Three villages in his list had more than one sacred bundle; the bundle names are given under the village name. It should also be noted that the Pawnee transcriptions in Murie's list have been revised into a modern, linguistically accurate orthography (see Parks 1976:13-17).

*Discussion.* For the Skiri the early French references to the number of villages vary, but all of those from the first quarter of the eighteenth century fall within a range of 8 to 12. At a somewhat earlier period there is only the figure attributed to La Salle, who reported 19.

The number of village names based on native tradition at the turn of the 20th century ranges between 13 and 18. Dorsey (1906:72) gave the low figure of 13; but in an earlier publication (1904:xviii) he had said there were formerly 19 villages, and thus he also provided the highest recent figure. These numbers, as noted, differed because of a confusion of bundle and village names and dying native traditions. Murie, however, explained the seemingly inconsistent numbers in his latest publication (1980), in which he placed the number of villages at 15, of which 13 were confederated. His account also projects an earlier number of 18, which was reduced when four villages combined into one.

Whether Murie's latest account of former Skiri villages is

TABLE 2. SKIRI VILLAGE NAMES (Notes to Table 2 on Page 234)

Murie (1914; 1980) (15 villages)	Dorsey (1904) (17 villages named, 1 or 2 others alluded to)	Dorsey (1906) (13 villages)	Gilmore (1924) (18 villages)
<i>turi:kaku</i> 'Center Village'	Turkaku 'Center Village'	Center Village	Tuhrikakuh 'Center Village'
<i>kitkahahpakuhtu</i> 'Old Village'		Four Band Village	Kitkahapahuhtu 'Old Village'
a) Yellow Star, or Yellow Dwelling, bundle	Akarakáta [ <i>akarahkata</i> ] 'Yellow Dwelling'		Karah-kata 'Yellow Dwelling Village'
b) Red Star, or Red Lodge Pole, bundle	Skauwahákitáwíu [ <i>ckawahákitawiu?</i> ] 'Leading Fortune Woman' <sup>1</sup>		
c) White Star, or White Dwelling, bundle; also Mother Born Again	Aturátatariwata [ <i>atira tataríwa.ta?</i> ] 'Mother Born Again'		
d) Big Black Meteoric Star, or Black Dwelling, bundle; also Sphere on Top	Liwidutchok [ <i>riwiru:caku</i> ] 'Round on Top'		
<i>tuhicpi: 'at</i> 'Village Stretching out in Bottomlands'	Tuhitspiat 'Village in Bottom'	Village in the Bottom	Tuhitpiat 'Stretching in Bottomlands Village' <sup>2</sup>
a) <i>tuhicpi: 'at</i> bundle			
b) <i>cahikspa:ruksti</i> , or Wonderful Being, bundle <sup>3</sup>	Tcaihixpáruxti 'Wonderful Man'		Tšahíks Paruksti 'Wonderful-Men Village'
<i>tuhkíckita</i> 'Village on a River Branch'	Tuhkitskita 'Village on Creek'		Tuhkitskita 'Branch Village'
<i>tuhwa:hukasa</i> 'Village Stretching across a Hill'	Tuhwahúkasa 'Village Standing Over Hill'	Village on the Hill	Tuhwahukasa 'Village Straight across a Hill'

a) *tuhwa:hukasa* bundle

b) Morning Star bundle<sup>4</sup>

<i>tuhu:caku</i> 'Village in a Ravine'	Tohóchuck 'Village in Ravine'	Village in the Ravine	Tuhučaku 'Ravine Village'
<i>tuhwara:kaku</i> 'Village in Thick Timber'		Village on the Wooded Hill	Tuhwarakaku 'Thick Timber Village'
<i>arikarahkucu</i> 'Big Elk'	Aríkararíkuts [ <i>arikara:rikucu</i> ]/ 'Big Elks'	Big Elk Village	Arikarakuču 'Big Antlered Elk Standing Village'
<i>arikara:riki</i> 'Small Standing Elk'	Arikaraíkis 'Standing Elks'	Little Elk Village	Arikarkih 'Small Antlered Elk Standing Village'
<i>akahpaksawa</i> 'Skulls Painted on a Tipi'	Akapaxsáwa 'Skulls Painted on Tipi'	Buffalo Skull Painted Village	Akapañšawa 'Skull Painted on Tipi Village'
<i>ctikska:tit</i> 'Black Ear of Corn'	Stiskáatit 'Black Corn Woman'	Fools the Wolves Village; also Black Ear of Corn <sup>5</sup>	Stin-katit 'Black Ear of Corn Village'
<i>cti:sarikusu</i> 'Fish Hawk'		(Fish Hawk) <sup>6</sup>	Skisarikus 'Fish Hawk Village'
<i>tu:rawiu</i> 'Part of a Village'	Turáwíu 'Half on Hill Village'	One Half Village	Turawi 'Part of a Village'
<i>ckirira:ra</i> 'Wolves Standing in Water' <sup>7</sup>	Skirirara 'Wolves Standing in Water'	Wolves Standing in Water Village	Skididala 'Coyotes Standing in Water Village'
<i>pahuksta:tu</i> 'Squash Vine'		Pumpkin Vine	Pahukstata 'Pumpkin Vine Village'
	Háricahahákata [ <i>haripahahakata</i> ] 'Red Calf'		Kirrit-tara kata 'Sunflower Village'

correct or not in detail, the process that he implied is undoubtedly valid: i.e., over a long period of time there must have been regroupings within the larger scheme of villages, so that as some villages became too small they joined with others. The Skiri population, like that of the other Panian groups, fell drastically in the 18th century, and many groups had no choice but to combine with others as their numbers dwindled below a point that enabled them to maintain their independence. Viewed in this light, the various figures given by the French as well as by recent native tradition are not significantly inconsistent, because the number of villages must certainly have varied over a period of a half century or more—particularly at a time when native life on the Plains was experiencing a major upheaval.

### *South Bands*

For the three southern Pawnee bands—the Chawi, Kitkahahki, and Pitahawirata—the situation contrasts with that of the Arikara and Skiri: judging from the historical record and native tradition, these groups were apparently not composed of numerous villages.

James Murie wrote (1914:549) that the Pitahawirata band once formed two villages: the Pitahawirata and the *kawara:kis*. Lesser and Weltfish reported (1932:7) that elderly Pawnee told them that “while these two groups [the Pitahawirata and the Kawarakis] did not live apart, but formed one village, they did speak different dialects. . .and also had independent bundles

### NOTES TO TABLE 2

1. This name is enigmatic. It seems to be the name of one of the two ears of corn in the bundle; such names were frequently used for bundles. However, Murie (1980) gives the two corn names as Female White Fortune and Female Leader of Cornstalks.

2. Gilmore says that the *tuhicpi:’at* bundle is also known as the *haripahahakata* (Yellow Calf Skin) bundle. He speaks of this as one of the four leading bundles in Old Village; this is contradictory with Murie’s list.

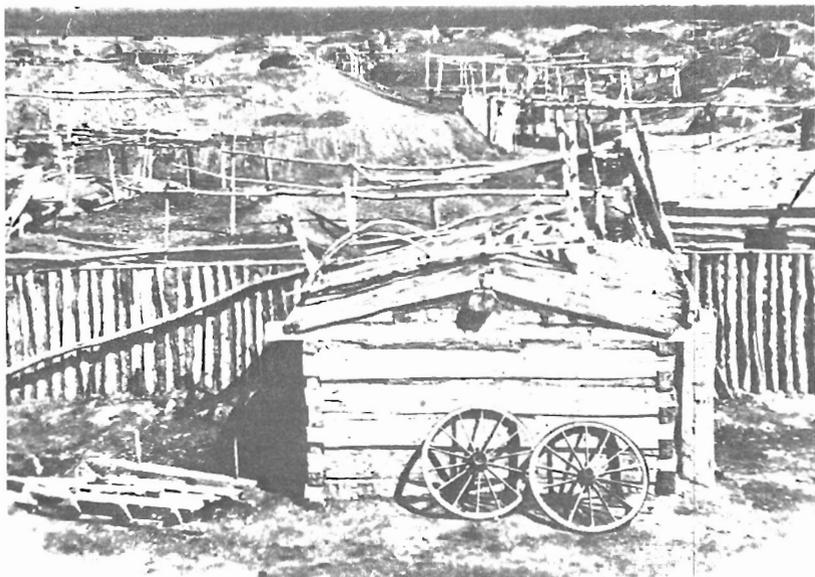
3. This bundle and the North Star bundle were tribal bundles, rather than village bundles, and belonged to no particular village (Murie 1914:551).

4. The Morning Star bundle was also a tribal bundle; its owner happened to live in Village Stretching Across a Hill.

5. Dorsey and Murie (1940:78) give Black Ear of Corn as an alternate name for a bundle called Fools the Wolves, belonging to a village of the same name.

6. Dorsey and Murie (1940:78) give Fish Hawk as the name of a bundle belonging to Village In the Woods (actually Village In Thick Timber), not listed by Dorsey.

7. Dorsey and Murie (1940:76) translate this as Coyote-in-Water Village.



*Arikara village with earthlodges, Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory.  
Photo by Stanley J. Morrow.*

and ritual and ceremonial performances.” This testimony, needless to say, seems to corroborate Murie, since among the Skiri and Arikara each village or band possessed, and was identified by, its sacred bundle. Furthermore, dialectal differences—which native statements indicated—do not usually develop within a single village but generally require geographical isolation.

There are no lists of names for, or traditions of, more than one village for either the Chawi or Kitkahahki. Murie (1914:549-550), however, did note that the Chawi were known to have had three sacred bundles. The Kitkahahki probably had more than one, but he said that the bundles had “passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated.” Although these bundles would seem to imply as many former villages, Murie stated that both the Chawi and Kitkahahki had always constituted one village each. If the sacred bundles were, in spite of Murie’s information, relics of former village diversity, they would indicate no more than several villages for either band and in no case would they suggest the large number that the Skiri had.

*Conclusions*

From the beginning of the 19th century, five Panian groups have been recognized: the Arikara; the Skiri; and the three south bands of the Pawnee, the Chawi, Kitkahahki, and Pitahawirata. At an earlier period each group had been politically independent; but by the treaty of 1825 at Fort Atkinson, all of the bands but the Arikara (who were a northern isolate) were treated as a single tribal entity, the Pawnee. Both the preceding survey of early European references to subdivisions of the Panian groups as well as more recently collected native traditions indicate a more complex situation for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The standard interpretation of Northern Caddoan culture history has treated the Arikara as a small northerly offshoot of the larger Pawnee groups in the south. Early historical references and native tradition, however, indicate otherwise. The area of South Dakota in which the Arikara lived in the 18th century was undoubtedly socially more diverse than 20th century writers have allowed. The evidence reviewed above consistently indicates 7 to 10 bands, each speaking its own dialect and each apparently politically autonomous. The total number of villages seems to have been even greater: the figures range from 18 to as many as 45. The population, too, seems to have been significantly greater than previous estimates: it was possibly as much as 10,000 and perhaps even larger. Furthermore, based on Tabeau's statement of a major dialectal contrast within the surviving Arikara community in 1802, it appears that there was a major social and linguistic contrast: some groups were more properly Arikara, while others were more like the Panian groups to the south.

The Skiri population in Nebraska, in contrast, was seemingly more homogeneous during the same period. Instead of independent bands, the subdivisions of the Skiri were villages, all but two of which were confederated. There was apparently no significant dialectal diversity within the Skiri community. Although some speech differences may very well have existed, they escaped the attention of contemporary observers and have not been preserved by native tradition. The sources cite a varying number of villages, ranging from 8 to 19, and consequently point to a sizable population. The total number of people, though, was perhaps much less than that of the groups to the north.

The three south bands, the Pawnee proper, were each autonomous. Their names do not appear in the historical record until the late seventeenth century, when they each had a single village. Murie attributed two former villages to the Pitahawirata, but stated that the Chawi and Kitkahahki had always lived in only one village each. However, the fact that the latter two bands had several sacred bundles suggests that they too may have formerly had as many villages. The available evidence, though, does not indicate for them the large number of villages that there were among the northern groups. Furthermore, these bands apparently have always spoken a single dialect, a fact that does not suggest a great antiquity to their separate status.

One must conclude, then, that the area occupied by the Arikara and Skiri groups—i.e., the region roughly between the Loup and Cheyenne Rivers—was the primary locus of the Panian groups in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It contained the greatest social and linguistic diversity and probably the largest population as well. The south bands, closely related to one another, would seem to be groups who remained behind as the main body of the Panians moved north, or who perhaps moved back south after an earlier migration to the north.

### NOTES

1. In this paper I shall use "Panian" as a cover term to include the Arikara, Skiri, and all of the other bands of Pawnee; i.e., all of the Pawnee groups north of the Wichita. I prefer this term to the use of the name Pawnee, since I want to distinguish between the contemporary Pawnee tribe and the larger number of formerly autonomous groups that developed from Proto-Panian, the *Ursprache* of these bands.

2. In Teton Sioux (Buechel 1970:429, 453) there are two terms for the Pawnee: *palani* and *sčili*. In Santee (Riggs 1889:403,432) the same terms are used, with only a sound change in the former term: *padani*, *sčili*. In the "n" dialect, spoken by the Assiniboine and perhaps also the Yanktonai, the former term would be *panani*. In the Sioux spoken in North Dakota today, the Arikara are referred to as *padani*, *panani*, *palani*, depending on the dialect.

3. It is perhaps relevant to note that the Mandan name for Fort Pierre is *arikara ta wį'ti*, literally 'Arikara village' (Hollow 1965:59).

4. A common alternate designation for the Arikara is Ree, which is apparently a shortened form of Arikaree, itself a variant of Arikara.

5. Lewis and Clark are inconsistent in the actual number of former "tribes" that they cite: in several places the number is given as 10, but elsewhere it is 8 or 9 (see the references cited in the text above). Just what these contradictory numbers indicate—whether uncertainty of the recorders, differing testimony, etc.—is not clear.

6. The Arikara words are cited in the orthography that I use for the language. Consonantal and vocalic symbols have their commonly used linguistic values. Vowels

and consonants written with capital letters indicate that those sounds are devoiced, or whispered, in their pronunciation. A colon after a vowel indicates that the vowel is long. The raised comma is a glottal stop.

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