

# Lakota Religious Traditions

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Entry tags: Lakota Religious Traditions, Native American (North American) Religions, Religion

The Lakota people are the westernmost members of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ (Seven Council Fires). Primarily a linguistic designation, Lakota people are made up of a variety of different thiyóšpaye (bands) and today reside on the Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge, Standing Rock, and Rosebud reservations in western North and South Dakota as well as in various off-reservation communities around the United States. The goal of this entry is to focus primarily on the practice of Lakota religious traditions from the beginning of the reservation era to the present (2018). Membership in this group is primarily determined by acceptance within the community, however colonial policies of blood quantum continue to be imposed by the United States federal government, alongside other American Indian communities, complicating who may or may not be considered a legitimate practitioner of Lakota religion by other Lakotas. Additionally, political membership within Lakota communities does not guarantee any given individual's personal practice of these traditions because various Christian denominations continue to be practiced in these on and off-reservation communities.



Date Range: 1889 CE - 2018 CE

Region: Lakota Reservations

Region tags: North America, United States of America

Current Lakota Reservations

## Status of Participants:

✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

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#### Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyb1OkRAVUs&t=368s>
- Source 1 Description: Lakota Emergence Narrative
- Source 2 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyb1OkRAVUs&t=368s>
- Source 2 Description: Arvol Looking Horse on the White Buffalo Calf Woman and Prophecy
- Source 3 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/user/sdwolakota>
- Source 3 Description: Wo Lakota Project videos on Lakota culture, oral tradition, religion, and more

#### Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

- Source 1 URL: [http://www.nativecairns.org/CAIRNS/Emergence\\_Narrative.html](http://www.nativecairns.org/CAIRNS/Emergence_Narrative.html)
- Source 1 Description: Lakota Emergence Narrative

## General Variables

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## Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: Prior to the enactment of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA), the practice of any American Indian religious tradition, Lakota or otherwise, was actively suppressed by the United States federal government. While this legislation sought to remedy interference of ceremonial traditions by federal agents, conflict still occurs in a number of ways. Firstly, despite the expansion of AIRFA in 1994 to protect access to sacred sites on federal lands, frequently within the confines of the National Parks and Forest Services, access to and ownership of the Black Hills in southwestern South Dakota is still a contentious subject. Originally allocated to the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Black Hills represent one of the most sacred locations in the Lakota landscape. The Black Hills exist as the birthplace of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ as, per oral tradition, the location of the emergence of their ancestors onto this earth took place at Wind Cave. Since the government seizure of the Black Hills in 1877, access and ownership serves as a point of contention between many Lakota individuals and the federal government. The United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of the members of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ in 1980, but instead of returning ownership of the Black Hills, \$102 million was set aside as compensation. This money continues to be held in trust because many argue that the Black Hills were never for sale and taking this money would be congruent with selling one of their most sacred places. This is just one location where access issues continue to cause conflict between Lakota religious practitioners and the federal government. One other example is Maŋhó Tŋhípila (Devil's Tower). Another example of conflict includes the continued destruction of Lakota ceremonial and burial locations. While the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) formally seeks to protect burial sites and return funerary objects and ancestral remains to American Indian communities, sites such as these continue to be destroyed. One key example includes sites that were in the proposed route for the Dakota Access Pipeline.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– No

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Does the religion have official political support

Answer 'yes' also in cases where the religious and political spheres are not distinguished from one another, but the religious group's activities are tied up with, and supported by, the functioning of the society at large.

– No

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– No

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also “oral scriptures” (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes



Are they written:

– Yes

*Notes:* Some of the oral tradition which serves as the basis for Lakota religious traditions has been recorded by various ethnographers and community members, however the majority of religious instruction and tradition is passed orally.



Are they oral:

– Yes



Is there a story (or a set of stories) associated with the origin of scripture:

– No

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– No

*Notes:* Although monumental architecture in the Western sense is nonexistent in Lakota religious practice, during *Wiwáŋyaŋg Wačhípi* (Sundance) a cottonwood tree is cut down and erected in the center of the dance arbor, adorned with various ceremonial accoutrements, and serves as the central

dance pole that dancers will be attached to during the ceremony.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

↳ Tombs:

– No

↳ Cemeteries:

– No

Notes: Cemeteries in the Western sense have been adopted by many Lakota people, however traditional burial practices still take place. These include the construction of scaffolding for the deceased individual as well as a number of ceremonial prescriptions.

↳ Temples:

– No

Notes: Large temples are not necessary for practitioners of Lakota religious traditions, however the sweat lodge itself is an important structure for the inípi ceremony.

↳ Altars:

– Yes

Notes: A variety of different altars have been and continue to be constructed by contemporary Lakota peoples. Altars can vary based on the type of ceremony being conducted and the individual conducting said ceremony (see Lebeau 2009).

↳ Devotional markers:

– Yes

Notes: The most common devotional marker used in many ceremonies and frequently seen in the landscape are tobacco ties. These cloth bundles filled with tobacco are crafted as an offering during various ceremonies. Cloth is usually red, yellow, white, black, blue, or green and is filled with čhaŋšášá (red willow bark), traditional tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*), or commercial tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*). They are often placed in trees and can also be used to designate ceremonial space when made as a garland.

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– No

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes [specify]: The two most common forms of religious architecture include the sweat lodge

and the Sundance arbor.

Is iconography present:

– Yes

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

– On persons

– At home

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

– No

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

↳ Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Yes

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

↳ How strict is pilgrimage:

– Optional (common)

## Beliefs

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### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

– Yes

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

– Yes

↳ Other spirit-body relationship:

– Yes [specify]: Ní and šičúŋ

Notes: Ní is described as the breath of life, a spiritual essence that is evidence of being alive. When an individual dies, this spiritual aspect leaves their body. All objects, animate and inanimate, also possess an immortal spiritual power known as šičúŋ.

#### Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

– Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “above” space:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “below” space:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

– No

↳ Afterlife located in “other” space:

– No

#### Reincarnation in this world:

– Yes

↳ In a human form:

– No



↳ In animal/plant form:

– No

↳ In form of an inanimate object(s):

– No

↳ In non-individual form (i.e. some form of corporate rebirth, tribe, lineage. etc.):

– No

↳ Reincarnation linked to notion of life-transcending causality (e.g. karma):

– No

↳ Other form of reincarnation in this world:

– Yes [specify]: An individual's *šičúŋ* is believed to be returned to the supernatural realm after death. Because of their immortal nature, *šičúŋ* of deceased spiritual leaders can be granted to living spiritual leaders to add to their personal spiritual power.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

↳ Cremation:

– No

↳ Mummification:

– No

↳ Interment:

– Yes

Notes: Burials in the reservation era largely resemble Western burial customs, but often include an extended wake period and community feeds.

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– No

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

– No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

– No

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– Yes

Notes: Traditional Lakota burial traditions include the construction of a scaffold on which the body of the deceased is placed, however these types of burials became less and less common during the reservation era.

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

↳ Secondary burial:

– No

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– No

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– Yes [specify]: Wakes can last up to a period of four days and include a community feed that takes place for those in attendance.

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– No

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

↳ Personal effects:

– Yes

↳ Valuable items:

– Yes

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

– No

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

– Yes

Notes: Objects deemed potentially useful for the journey to the spirit world are frequently interred with the deceased.

↳ Other valuable/precious items interred:

– No

↳ Other grave goods:

– Yes

Notes: Oftentimes, a plate of food will be interred with the deceased to provide sustenance for the individual's spirit on its journey.

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– No

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

↳ Other formal burial type:

– No

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– No

Notes: Many may argue that the spiritual concept of Wakǎŋ Tǎŋka exists as a supreme deity for Lakota religious practitioners, however abundant evidence exists to suggest that this is primarily a misunderstanding by early ethnographers and Christian missionaries.

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– Yes

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

↳ Human spirit's can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits know your basic character (personal essence):

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have other form(s) of knowledge regarding this world:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits can reward:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits can punish:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

"Indirect causal efficacy" refers to not being seen as consciously, directly and actively intervening in the human world, but their overall well being or general attitude has effects on, e.g., quality of harvest, success in war, health, etc.

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– Yes

↳ In dreams:

– Yes

↳ In trance possession:

– No

↳ Through divination processes:

– I don't know

↳ Only through specialists:

– No

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Communicate with living through other means:

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:  
– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:  
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can reward:  
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:  
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:  
"Indirect causal efficacy" refers to not being seen as consciously, directly and actively intervening in the human world, but their overall well being or general attitude has effects on, e.g., quality of harvest, success in war, health, etc.  
– No

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:  
– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:  
– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:  
– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:  
– I don't know

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:  
– No

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:  
– Yes



↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– No

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– No

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

Domain can refer to a general area of life or the environment (e.g., war, the ocean, child bearing, rivers, etc.), including multiple areas of specialization, or to specifically-defined physical spaces or regions.

– No

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– Yes [specify]: Most supernatural beings are understood as being organized into four categories further organized into four groups of categories (for a total of 16) referred to collectively as Wakháŋ Thájka.

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:

– Yes

↳ Food:

– No

↳ Sacred space(s):

– Yes

- ↳ Sacred object(s):
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about other:
  - I don't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:
  - I don't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:
  - No

↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:

– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– I don't know

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– I don't know

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– Yes

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– No

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– No

### **Messianism/Eschatology**

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

### **Norms and Moral Realism**

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– No

## Practices

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### Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Yes

*Notes:* A part of certain ceremonies, it is common for certain participants to fast before or during these rituals. Two of these include *Wiwáŋyang Wačhípi* (Sundance) and *hanǰbléčheyapi* ("vision quest").

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– Yes

*Notes:* Certain individuals participating in *Wiwáŋyang Wačhípi* (Sundance) are have their chests pierced and are tied to the dance pole in the center of the Sundance arbor. These individuals will dance until their piercings are pulled out resulting in chest wounds that are tended to using Lakota traditional ethnomedicine. Some practitioners may also have buffalo skulls attached to their backs in the same way which are then drug around the altar until they are pulled off. Still others may also be pierced in their arms with rawhide attached to eagle feathers that are then pulled out.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Yes

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Yes



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to small-scale rituals.

– I don't know

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:  
i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale “ceremonies” and “festivals.”

– Yes

↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

– I don't know

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

– I don't know

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

– No

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

– No

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

– No

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

↳ Tattoos/scarification:

– Yes

Notes: This scarification, a result of Wiwányang Wačhipi (Sundance) participation, is not required, but is common.

↳ Circumcision:  
– No

↳ Food taboos:  
– No

↳ Hair:  
– No

↳ Dress:  
– No

↳ Ornaments:  
– No

↳ Archaic ritual language:  
– No

↳ Other:  
– I don't know

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:  
– No

## Society and Institutions

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### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

This question refers to the wider society in which the religious group is located.

– Other [specify in comments]

Notes: A sovereign American Indian nation.

### Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:  
– No



Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– No

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– No

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

## **Education**

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– No

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– No

## **Bureaucracy**

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

## **Public Works**

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– No

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– No

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

## **Taxation**

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– No

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

## **Enforcement**

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

## Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

### Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– Yes



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

### Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Yes

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– No

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No