The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins

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Territory and Language

There are seven recognized Southern Athapaskan– or Apachean-speaking tribes: Chiricahua, Jicarilla, Kiowa-Apache, Lipan, Mescalero, Navajo, and Western Apache. The traditional territories associated with the Apacheans included a good deal of eastern Arizona, much of New Mexico, adjoining sections of Mexico, southeastern Colorado, western Oklahoma, the Oklahoma and Texas Panhandles, and western, central, and southern Texas. How much more extensive their territories are conceived to have been in the past depends upon one's view of claims that the Querechos, Vaqueros, Teyas, Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Cholomes, Jumanos, Cíbolos, Pelones, Padoucas, and various other groups named in early Spanish and French records were Apacheans and that the creators of the Fremont, Promontory, and Dismal River archeological cultures were likewise Apacheans (Forbes 1959a; Wedel 1961a; cf. Schroeder 1974b:50–56; "Southern Periphery: East," this vol.; synonymy below). The acceptance of such assertions would spread the aboriginal Apachean domain into Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Wyoming, and farther south in Mexico.

Hoijer (1971), mainly on lexicostatistical grounds, asserts that Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, and Lipan are closely related dialects of a single language (southwestern Apachean) and that Kiowa-Apache is a second Apachean language. Because distinctive features separate Jicarilla and Lipan from other southwestern Apachean dialects, Hoijer (1971:5) thinks that the ancestors of the Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua, and Mescalero were the first to move southward, "followed by but still in contact with the Jicarilla and Lipan." Since he accepts Mooney's (1898) dictum that the Kiowa-Apache were associated with the Kiowa from a very early period in the north and never had ties with the southwestern Apacheans, he suggests that the basic linguistic differentiation between southwestern Apachean and Kiowa-Apache occurred "before any considerable movement southward took place." However, Bittle (1971:2, 19–22, 25) has shown that the Kiowa-Apache tie with the Kiowa has always been tenuous, and it is becoming increasingly evident that Mooney never conducted any serious fieldwork among the Kiowa-Apache but depended on what Kiowa informants told him about them. Moreover, Mooney's reconstruction of early Kiowa history has been challenged (Lowie 1953; E.W. Voegelin 1933).

Lexicostatistical data show that Kiowa-Apache did indeed differentiate from Jicarilla and Lipan earlier than these latter two dialects separated from each other. Yet the gap in time is not so great as may be supposed; the divergence time of Jicarilla and Lipan is a little over 200 years (Hoijer 1956a; Hymes 1957). The Kiowa-Apache divergence from Lipan and Jicarilla, as indicated in the lexicostatistical work of Bittle (1961), occurred about 200 years earlier (429 and 401 years, respectively). The time difference may even be considerably narrower than available evidence can reveal. The federal government policy of consolidating southwestern Apacheans on a few reservations, begun in the 1870s, forced these six tribes into common speech communities and may, as Hoijer (1956a:226) has pointed out, "account in part for the generally low times of divergence." Kiowa-Apache and southwestern Apachean cultural correspondences are so numerous that it is difficult to believe that the separation took place too long ago or very far from the area in which the major differentiation of the Apacheans proceeded.

For Apachean prehistory see also "Historical Linguistics and Archeology" and "Southern Athapaskan Archeology," volume 9, and "Comparative Social Organization," and "Apachean Languages," this volume.

Culture: Uniformities and Variations

Mythology

Apachean mythology is marked by an account of two culture heroes, one associated with the sun or fire and the other with water, who vanquish a number of monsters that threaten man's survival. Another important myth common to all Apacheans describes a hidden-ball game played "in the beginning" between evil animals and the beneficent animals and birds to determine whether there should be perpetual darkness. Coyote is a participant whose loyalties fluctuate with the fortunes of the game, and characteristics of many birds and animals are explained by reference to events of the contest. All Apacheans likewise possessed remarkably sim-

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ilar trickster cycles in which Coyote was the protagonist (D. French 1942). Most of Coyote's behavior is reprehensible, but he occasionally performs a service, as when he secures fire from those who are hoarding it.

Myths and tales that are shared by only some of the Apacheans indicate alignments that dispute claims of their cultural distance and separate origin. For instance, the same account of the beginning of agriculture, involving a man who travels down a waterway in a hollow log and is aided by his pet turkey, appears among the Navajo, Western Apache, Jicarilla, and Lipan and is absent in the other three groups. The same four tribes have an account of emergence from an underworld. These and many other common concepts argue against early separation of the Navajo and Western Apache from the Jicarilla and Lipan (Goodwin 1939; Matthews 1897; McAllister 1949; Opler 1938a, 1940, 1942).

Social Organization

Apachean social organization was everywhere characterized by an extended family with matrilocal residence. Each nuclear family had a separate dwelling, but several of them ordinarily formed a cluster of homes occupied by persons related by blood and marriage who constituted the basic cooperative work unit. The women were lifetime members of this social group; the men, who entered it through marriage, were obligated to contribute to its support and defense. A respected elder of the group acted as its spokesman, and the unit was usually associated with his name.

A number of extended families who lived in the same general area and together exploited its resources comprised the local group. The local group was capable of supporting economic, ceremonial, and martial enterprises for which the extended family was too small. Since it brought unrelated families into a larger encampment or rancheria, marriages often occurred between members of the local group, though there was no rule of local group endogamy. Leadership and authority, weakly developed at best among Apacheans, reached its strongest expression in the local group; the most dynamic family headman was acknowledged as leader or "chief." Though an active and eloquent leader might exercise a good deal of influence, his main assets were the continued success of his policies and his ability to persuade. He enjoyed no coercive power, and any who lost faith in his direction were free to go elsewhere. The office was not hereditary, and often a leader who lost effectiveness through age or infirmity was succeeded by a nonrelative.

In most Apache tribes local groups that were in loose contact and could call upon one another for ambitious undertakings and emergencies constituted named bands. True bands have not been reported for the Navajo; possibly the need to remain close to pasturages, as the Navajo turned to sheepherding, interfered with the maintenance of extensive band territories. During the last half of the nineteenth century the Kiowa-Apache were apparently too few in number to require a division into bands (Bittle 1971:25; McAllister 1955:165–166), but there are hints in the literature of band organization among them at an earlier period (Thwaites 1904–1907, 16:105, 117). Mescalero bands have been discussed by Castetter and Opler (1936:6–8), Opler (1969:13), and Basehart (1971:35–48), though the last does not clearly distinguish between the band and local group. In any case, band organization among the Mescalero was weakly developed, and this is true also of the Lipan (Opler 1974). Among the other tribes band consciousness was relatively strong; it was particularly significant among the Chiricahua (Opler 1941:1–4, 463) and the Western Apache (Basso 1970:5, 1971:14; Goodwin 1942:5–62).

Because the population was thinly scattered over large territories and political control was concentrated at the local-group level, tribal cohesion was minimal among Apacheans. It amounted mainly to a recognition that one owed a modicum of hospitality to those of the same speech, dress, and customs.

There were also some social units that developed in response to local conditions or the influence of neighboring peoples. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946:62–63) described what they call "the outfit" for the Navajo, a body of kindred more numerous than the extended family but less comprehensive than a community or local group. Though bilateral kinship reckoning was the rule for the others, the Navajo and Western Apache, possibly inspired by Western Pueblo examples, developed strong matrilineal clans and linked clans or phratries. Among the Western Apache were found five subtribal groups that were something more than bands and something less than tribes; they were themselves divided into bands (Goodwin 1942:12–50). The Jicarilla bands are best described as moieties, for the two sides engaged in rivalry and were jointly responsible for certain ceremonial functions (Opler 1946:116–134). The influence of the northeastern Pueblos may be suspected in this Jicarilla development, for one of the prime functions of the bands was to pit their youths against one another in a relay race that greatly resembles a similar event that takes place annually at Taos, San Juan, and Isleta (Opler 1944, 1946:1–2, 116–134).

• BLOOD KIN In Apachean kinship usages there was emphasis upon the role of the grandparents, particularly on the maternal side, in instruction and disciplining. This became very formalized in the Jicarilla system but was present in principle everywhere. Siblings of the same sex were expected to be boon companions; great restraint in speech and behavior was observed between siblings of opposite sex. Cousins were either regarded as siblings (parallel cousins) or were addressed by separate terms (cross-cousins). A teasing-rivalry relation-

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ship between cross-cousins of the same sex prevailed in which the mate of the cross-cousin was often a foil. In the case of cross-cousins of the opposite sex, restraint was extreme and sometimes culminated in total avoidance. Among the tribes showing most Plains orientation (Kiowa-Apache, Jicarilla, Lipan) the supervisory function of the adult male in regard to his sister was marked. The mother's brother was everywhere a key figure in the fortunes of his nephew and niece. Among the Jicarilla, for instance, the maternal uncle engaged in rough play and rivalry, particularly with his nephew, designed to spur on his young relative to adult standards (Opler 1936b).

• MARRIAGE AND AFFINES In preliminaries to marriage among Apacheans the initiative was taken by the relatives of the boy. Presents were always given by the relatives of the boy to the kin of the girl; occasionally gifts of smaller magnitude were made by the girl's family in return. The corporate concern for the marriageable child was evident; kin who had taken an interest in the child were consulted about the marriage choice, and the presents received were divided among them. Though the arrangements were made by their elders, the feelings of the young principals were usually respected. Once an understanding between families was reached, the marriage took place with a minimum of formality: in six of the seven tribes the procedure consisted simply of building a new dwelling for the couple near the home of the bride's parents. Only the Navajo performed a marriage ceremony in addition: the bride and groom washed each other's hands, ate of a basket of corn mush, and listened to Blessingway songs at dawn (Leighton and Kluckhohn 1947:81–82).

The Apachean preference for matrilocal residence was only one strand in a web of conventions that bound a husband securely to his wife's extended family. An Apachean male was trained to feel that he should provide for his wife's parents and obey their instructions. He was obligated to be restrained in speech and action while in the company of his wife's close kin. According to tribe and the affinal relatives involved, these conventions of restraint ran the gamut from simple, self-imposed circumspection through "polite form" (indirect speech) to "avoidance" practices in which the principals were barred from coming into each other's presence. The Chiricahua had the most extensive system of affinal avoidances and polite forms. The Lipan practiced no total avoidances of affinities, though they showed them other tokens of respect. Avoidance and all other Apachean forms of respect relations implied economic, military, and moral assistance and continued even after the death of the mate who had been the link between the affinal relatives.

In all tribes but the Lipan, polygyny was practiced, though it was not particularly encouraged. Because of the difficulty of providing for more than one family, only a few wealthy and prominent men could afford it. Since the burden of satisfying the demands of duplicate sets of affinals could be a crushing one, sororal polygyny was favored.

Despite the seriousness of the marriage tie, a divorce was not difficult to obtain. A cruel or lazy husband might find himself driven from his wife's parents' encampment. Incompatibility and unfaithfulness were grounds for divorce. If it was the woman who misbehaved, her relatives could not complain if her husband departed. When the aggrieved man was a good provider, a woman might be disciplined by her own kin in an effort to retain him. Among the Jicarilla and the Kiowa-Apache a brother might curb an erring woman whose conduct jeopardized family economy, stability, and honor.

It was much more difficult for a man to secure his freedom when he became a widower; the degree of his obligation to a family rather than to the deceased individual then became apparent. He was expected to continue to help provide for his dead wife's relatives, to mourn for as long as a year, and to enter into a sororate marriage with an eligible sister or cousin of his deceased spouse. The levirate, too, was practiced by the Apacheans. In case of the husband's death, his wife, after an appropriate mourning period, could be asked to accept his unmarried brother or cousin as her mate. These usages were the Apachean manner of healing family scars left by death and of providing for surviving mates and children. The marriage of a widow or widower to an outsider without permission inevitably precipitated a feud between families. When a family had no eligible mate to offer the survivor, it ordinarily freed him and allowed him to make his own future marital arrangements.

Subsistence

The Apacheans were essentially hunters and gatherers, though sheep-raising and agriculture became very important for the Navajo in historic times. The Western Apache, Jicarilla, and Lipan also cultivated crops, but less intensively; the Chiricahua and Mescalero farmed very little (two of the three Chiricahua bands disclaim any cultivation), and the Kiowa-Apache not at all. Some think that the Apacheans were already agriculturists when they entered the Southwest and southern Plains. However, the uneven distribution and differential intensity of agriculture among the Apacheans, as well as the Southwestern cast of the associated ritual traits (such as prayersticks, cornmeal, rain ceremonies) that were part of the farming complex, especially among the Navajo and the Western Apache, raise questions about this.

Division of Labor

A sexual division of labor prevailed among the Apacheans, but its lines were not rigidly drawn. Gathering

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was usually women's work, but the men joined in the collection and roasting of the crowns of the agave (mescal) ("Western Apache," fig. 2, this vol.). Hunting was men's business (figs. 1–2), but the Lipan women participated in rabbit surrounds and antelope hunts. Women were expected to tan hides, but men might assist in the preparation of large and heavy skins. In general the care of children was in the hands of women, but the grandfather, the maternal uncle, and the father were often active in this task. The women sewed leather and made clothes, but the men were capable of repairing clothing when on hunting or raiding trips. Moreover, men sometimes participated in the manufacture of artifacts of hide designed for their own use, such as the quiver. Gathering fuel and cooking fell to the lot of women during ordinary camp life, but men were trained to take care of their own needs in these respects when they were alone. Except for the Navajo, house construction (the wickiup in the highlands and the tepee on the plains) was the women's task; the Navajo men took main responsibility for the building of the hogan, though the women helped in the plastering and some of the lighter work (Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn 1971:146, 427).

In general, men and women made, owned, and repaired the artifacts required in their work: women made baskets and household utensils; and men fashioned weapons (fig. 3), rope, and most of the gear for the horse. Ceremonial activities were not monopolized by the men; in those in which herbalism was important, female practitioners predominated. Female shamans were common and competed on even terms with their male counterparts among the Chiricahua and Mescalero; Navajo diviners were often women. Even in more traditional and less shamanistic ceremonies, such as the girls' puberty rite, female ceremonialists played an essential part. Though most singers of the Navajo chants were males, women, too, have served in this role (Rei-

top, Sharlot Hall Mus., Prescott, Ariz.: In-A 174p; bottom, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 21,525.

Fig. 1. Hunting. top, Western Apache hunter in posture and costume for stalking deer. He holds bow and arrows and is wearing a mask made from the head of a mule deer or blacktail deer. Photograph by D.F. Mitchell, probably early 1870s. bottom, Antelope head mask worn when hunting antelope, an animal even more difficult to approach than deer. A twig is bent into a circle and lashed with leather to the base of the mask, which rests on the hunter's shoulders. The features of the skinned-out head would be stuffed with grass; the horns are missing here. Length 26.5 cm, collected in Ariz. before 1876.

Smithsonian, NAA:2491-a.

Fig. 2. Young Apache hunters. One wears knitted socks, probably army-issue. Photograph by A. Frank Randall, 1888.

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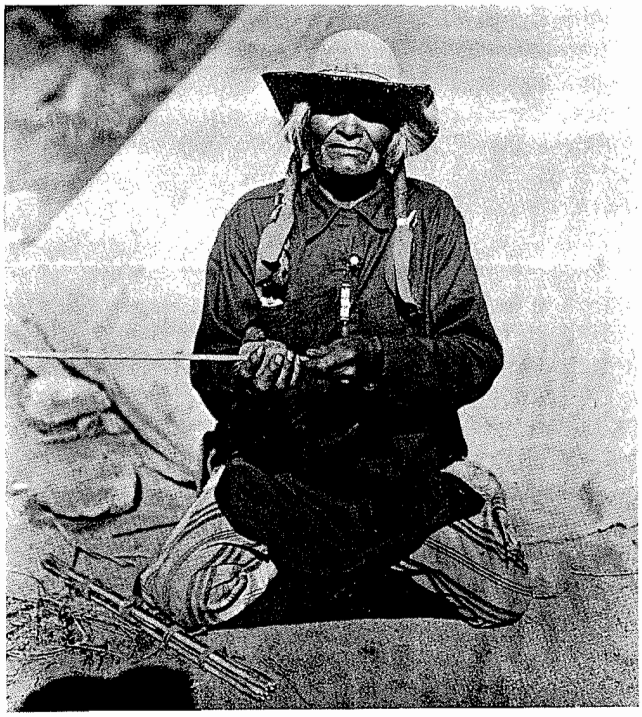
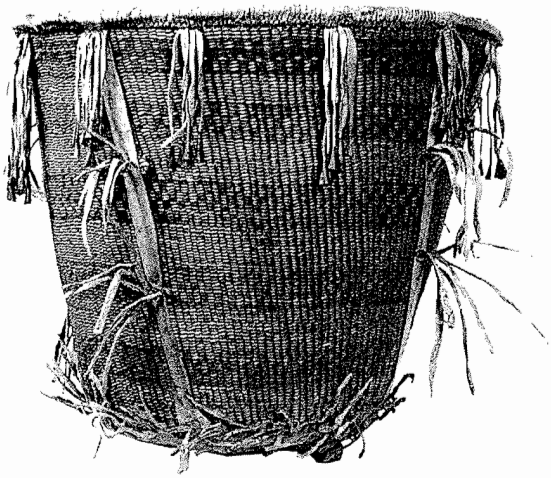


top, Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York: 14329; bottom, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 5527.

Fig. 3. Arrow making. top, Casa Maria, Jicarilla Apache, smoothing arrow shaft with grooved stone. Photograph by Pliny E. Goddard, 1909–1910. bottom, Rectangular stone with lengthwise groove used to smooth arrow shafts. Length 7.5 cm, collected by Edward Palmer in Ariz., 1868.



top, Smithsonian, NAA:76-6288; bottom, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 21.487.

Fig. 4. Transportation. top, White Mountain Apache woman on horseback; burden basket and pitch-covered, woven water carrier are attached to the saddle. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, copyright 1906. bottom, Twined burden basket with bands of red and blue on natural ground, decorated with leather fringe and cone-shaped tin pendants. A piece of rawhide on the bottom strengthens the basket. Such baskets were also carried on a woman's back, supported by a carrying strap. Height 38.5 cm, collected in Ariz., before 1876.

chard 1950, 1:xliv). McAllister (1955:130) reports that Kiowa-Apache women "might even possess 'worship bundles,' and one woman had the important 'buffalo medicine' curing power." Brant (1951:45, 1969:5), too, found evidence that Kiowa-Apache women were recipients of supernatural power.

Religion

Apachean religion was everywhere a combination of shamanism and priestcraft. For example, most Chiricahua and Mescalero rites were acquired through an individual vision experience; yet, with the permission of the power source, they could be taught to others. Furthermore, the girls' puberty ceremony of these tribes was learned by rote from active practitioners by those interested in perpetuating it (Opler 1941: 84–87, 210–211).

Standardized, nonshamanistic rituals, which included the girls' puberty rite (figs. 5–6), the chants of the

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Navajo, the "long-life ceremonies" of the Jicarilla, and the sacred-bundle ceremonies of the Kiowa-Apache, were more numerous in some tribes than in others. Yet everywhere they assumed considerable importance. Among the Jicarilla they were considered to be more efficacious than the shamanistic rites (which required less preparation and expense and were mainly used in emergencies), and among the Western Apache shamanism consisted principally in learning embellishments for established rites through personal experiences with supernatural power (Goodwin 1938:28–30; Opler 1936b:214–215).

Underlying all ceremonies, whether shamanistic or priestly, was the conception of supernatural power that pervaded the universe and could be utilized for human purposes by ritual procedures known to priests or learned in personal revelation by shamans. Most Apachean deities were personifications of natural forces. Witchcraft fears loomed large among the Apacheans, for power was susceptible to use for malicious purposes as well as for good. Prolonged sickness was often attributed to witchcraft, and Apachean ritual, in which curative rites predominated, was repeatedly interpreted as a contest between witchcraft and power used for beneficial ends. Sorcery was usually accomplished by the "shooting" of foreign substances, often bits of bone and hair of the dead, into the victim. The location and extraction of the "arrow" of the witch by sucking or other means was consequently a prominent feature of Apachean curing rites.

In Apachean religious ideology sickness and misfortune could also be caused by the anger of a deity or by failure to treat respectfully some personified natural force, such as Lightning. In addition, there were animals and birds—among them the owl, snake, bear, and coyote—that were intrinsically dangerous and that sickened people by sight, odor, or touch. Even to cross the trail of one of these creatures, to be frightened by it, or to rest where it had lain could have dire results, as a diagnostic ceremony might reveal. Witches were often suspected of instigating encounters with such contaminating beings. The owl and the coyote were favorite forms in which the spirits of dead sorcerers and restless ghosts of relatives appeared to unfortunate Apacheans. A common threat that ran through Apachean ideas about witchcraft was that sorcerers were prone to the equally heinous crime of incest; consequently anyone charged with incest was automatically treated as a witch and was in danger of being tortured, forced to confess, and executed (Basso 1969; Kluckhohn 1944; Opler 1941:242–257).

The generous use by the Apacheans of masked impersonators of the supernaturals, including clowns, strongly suggests Pueblo influence and considerable Apachean time-depth in the Southwest. The only Apachean group for which this trait has not been explicitly reported is the Kiowa-Apache, though it may have been present even among them (Battey 1968:127–129). The frequent employment of sandpaintings in Apachean ritual, especially among the Navajo, Western Apache, and Jicarilla, also suggests diffusion from Pueblo sources. In some instances the Pueblo stimulus for Apachean ritual features is obvious; the Jicarilla ceremonial relay race is a case in point (Opler 1944). The special internal relations of Apacheans in respect to ritual are of interest for clues to history, too. Some Navajo and Jicarilla ceremonies are so strikingly similar, in general conception and details, that it is difficult to accept theories of separate routes of dispersion and long separation for these two peoples (Opler 1943).

Raid and Warfare

The Apacheans made a sharp distinction, terminologically and behaviorally, between raid and warfare. A raid was undertaken to acquire enemy horses and booty. The object was to avoid encounters with the enemy. The ritual associated with the raid was directed toward enhancing successful concealment and thwarting pursuit. Those who led a raid were persons who felt that the possessions of the encampment, particularly horses, were in short supply. Of course, raiders, if discovered, had to be prepared to fight, but even then the emphasis was on successful escape with as much booty and as few casualties as possible rather than upon confrontation.

In contrast, a war party had as its purpose the avenging of Apachean casualties previously suffered. If the enemy were routed and his camps abandoned, booty was taken, but this was subordinated to revenge. It was the relatives of slain Apacheans who agitated for a war party and took a prominent part in it. The dance that preceded the expedition was usually a demonstration of what heroics warriors meant to perform. If the effort was successful, the dance and celebration that followed pantomimed the military accomplishments.

It was Apachean practice to prepare boys for the rigors of raid and war by a strenuous training process that involved running, wrestling, mock fights, and other tests of agility, strength, and stamina. A youth's first expeditions were usually raiding parties, and as a novice he was treated in a special manner, had certain restrictions on his conduct, and was the recipient of much instruction. Usually he was considered to be in a sacred status, and there was reluctance to expose him to danger. In most of the tribes, perhaps all (clear evidence on this point is lacking for the Lipan and Kiowa-Apache), the youth was taught a special raid and warfare vocabulary that he was obliged to use in place of ordinary terms for common objects during his first ventures (Basso 1971:264–267; Opler 1938a:244, 1936b:210, 1938b:14, 38, 42, 1946:141, 145–146; Opler and Hoijer 1940; Reichard 1950, 1:269, 270, 273, 374, 2:453, 454).

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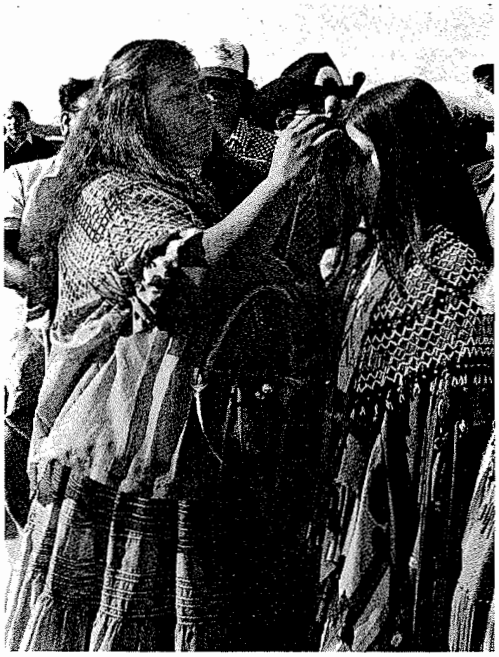

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Fig. 5. Girls' puberty ceremony (Sunrise Dance). A major ritual among the Western Apache, this ceremony symbolically invests young women with physical and psychological attributes needed to fulfill adult responsibilities. The girl is dressed to represent White Painted Woman (Changing Woman, White Shell Woman), a prominent figure in Apache mythology whom the girl "becomes" for a 4-day period. As proceedings begin, the girl, holding a decorated cane she will keep for use in old age, stands with a young companion before a pile of rugs and a tanned buckskin (this page, top left). The girl's "sponsor," a woman of exemplary character and reputation who belongs to a different matrilineal clan, replaces the companion and ties a piece of abalone shell in the girl's hair—another symbol of her identification with White Painted Woman (bottom left). The sponsor, dancing in place to a chant sung by a medicine man (hand cupped over mouth), watches as the girl assumes the kneeling posture in which White Painted Woman was made pregnant in mythological times by Sun, another important Western Apache deity (top right). Other participants in the ceremony, many of whom are female relatives of the girl and her sponsor, link arms and dance together (opposite page, top left). While she lies face-down, the girl's shoulders, back, and legs are massaged by her sponsor, an action that assures the girl of physical strength as an adult (top right). She is then instructed to run in each of the four directions, an act that is intended to provide her with quickness and endurance (this page, bottom right). Later, shortly before the ceremony ends, the girl and her sponsor are blessed with holy pollen by the girl's parents (opposite page, bottom left), and by all other participants who care to repeat the blessings. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of fruit and candy to all in attendance (bottom right). Photographs by Helga Teiwes at Bylas, Ariz., March 28, 1981. Caption by Keith H. Basso.

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In general, Apachean attitudes toward warfare contrasted with those of the Plains Indians. Little enthusiasm was shown for standing ground in a deteriorating fight. The Apachean strategy was to scatter when the situation seemed hopeless and to reassemble at a prearranged place. Except for the Kiowa-Apache there were no warrior societies: even here there were only two such societies, fewer than the number possessed by the surrounding Plains tribes. Moreover, Kiowa-Apache men were not eager to join the society that extolled brash war deeds (Brant 1951:51; McAllister 1955:150, 153). Counting coup on a fallen enemy was considered meritorious only by the Kiowa-Apache and the Lipan; all other Apacheans felt that to kill an enemy was the bravest possible act. The Apacheans had little interest in the acquisition of scalps or body parts of the enemy as trophies or embellishments for clothes, shields, or dwellings. Most groups claimed that what scalping they practiced was in retaliation for similar indignities constantly visited upon them. Apparently the Apachean fear of contamination from the dead was instrumental in shaping this attitude. For example, no Jicarilla who was not ritually prepared could take a scalp; he had to find some tribesman who could do so with impunity. If the Jicarillas had lost more men than had the enemy, any scalps taken had to be abandoned. For the homeward journey scalps were placed in the custody of persons who were ritually protected from attendant dangers, and the scalps were kept at a distance from the camping site. When the home encampment was reached,

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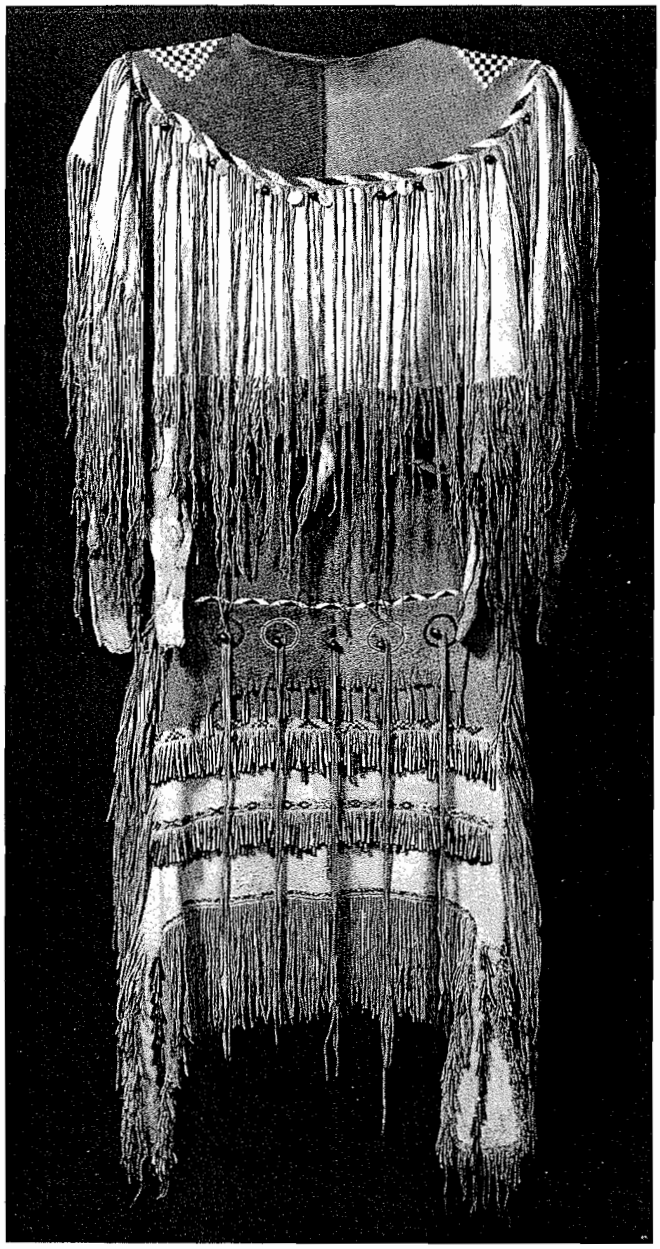
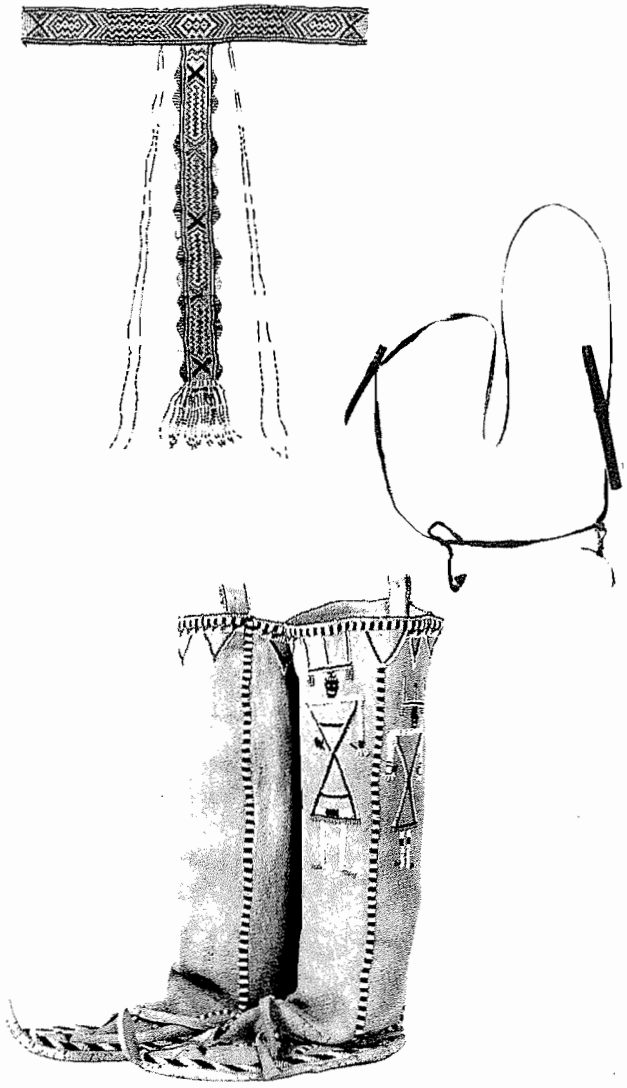
the scalps were given to elderly ceremonialists, who cared for them far from the settled area (Opler 1936b:211–213).

Eschatology

In a study of Navajo eschatology, Wyman, Hill, and Osanai (1942:42), noting "the parallels with the various Apache groups," declared, "they are numerous enough almost to warrant speaking of a Southern Athapascan eschatological pattern assemblage with minor Navajo, Chiricahua Apache, etc., variants." This view is supported by further data (Goodwin 1942:518–521; Opler 1941:14–15, 229–237, 301–305, 472–478, 1945, 1946c, 1960; Opler and Bittle 1961).

At the time of each individual's death, according to





left, Denver Art Mus., Col.: 1953.358; bottom right, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 270.013; U. of Ariz., Ariz. State Mus., Tucson: center right, 21,869, top right, 21,497.

Fig. 6. Girls' puberty ceremony clothing and accessories. Although not from the same costume, these pieces, in varied form, would be present together. left, Mescalero Apache 2-piece buckskin dress decorated with coloring, fringe, beadwork, cone-shaped tin pendants, bells, and shells. bottom right, Moccasins with yellow-colored buckskin uppers, rawhide soles, beaded trim, and figures representing masked dancers. The disc toe often appears on Chiricahua and Western Apache footwear. These buckskin garments, made of the finest materials, are now made only for ceremonial occasions. center right, White Mountain Apache scratcher, hollow tube, and part of a shell bracelet tied on a yellow cord. The girl had to use the stick rather than her nails to scratch herself and to use the tube to drink. When not in use these items were tied to her dress. top right, T-shaped necklace of black, yellow, red, blue, green, and white beads, probably inspired by doctrines of the Silas John cult. left, Width at shoulders 152.3 cm, rest to same scale. Collected: left, on Mescalero Reservation in 1953; bottom right, before 1910 probably at Ft. Sill, Okla.; center right, on White Mountain Reservation, 1936; top right, in Rice, Ariz., 1936.

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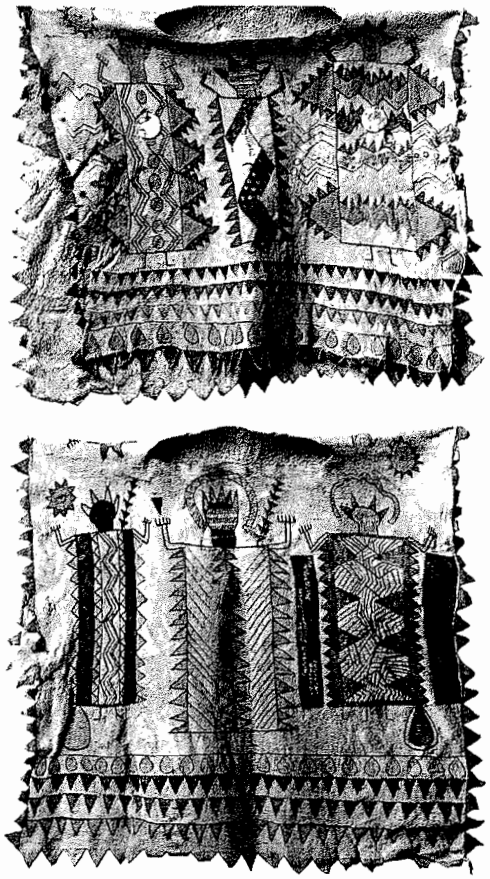

Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 21.520.
Fig. 7. Shaman's garment, a rectangular piece of buckskin, with hole cut for the head, edges notched, sides left open. The symbols painted in blue, red, and yellow on the front and back, together with the feathers and bead decoration, are associated with the owner's power source. Length about 45.0 cm, collected in Ariz., before 1876.

Apachean belief, a ghost was released that was capable of doing great injury to the living unless it promptly traveled to the afterworld and remained there. A dead kinsman appeared to the dying and led him on a four-day journey to the north to an underworld. The newly deceased often resisted leaving the surroundings familiar to him and severing bonds of kinship and association. How peaceably he departed depended on whether funerary practices had been properly performed. Even after entering the underworld a ghost might return to the land of the living to avenge some past injury. The visit of a ghost never failed to threaten, sicken, or destroy. Therefore, the protective measures considered appropriate at the time of death were immediately invoked and scrupulously followed.

As soon as a death occurred, close relatives went into mourning. Men wept, women wailed, and both sexes cut the ends of the hair and donned old clothing. One or two elderly relatives (death was particularly contaminating to the young) washed the body, combed the hair, and dressed the deceased in his finest clothes. Burial took place during the daytime and as soon as possible. The deceased was placed on his favorite horse with as many of his personal possessions as could be carried and taken far from the habitations of the people, into hilly or mountainous country, if possible. Because of the risk of contamination, the burial party was small. It proceeded silently, and tribesmen it encountered turned away. A crevice in the rocks that could be covered with earth, brush, and stones was sought as a grave. Some personal possessions were buried with the corpse; the rest were broken and left at the burial site. The horse was killed at the graveside, for the dead person needed his mount as well as his belongings in the afterworld. The burial party returned by a different route, and its members refrained from looking back toward the grave or discussing its location with others. Upon their return they discarded the clothes they had worn and thoroughly washed themselves. They and the other mourners burned sage, juniper, or some pungent plant considered to be "ghost medicine" and bathed themselves in the smoke. Ashes, too, were liberally used on their persons and around the camp to discourage any lingering or returning ghost.

While the burial was in progress, other relatives carried out requirements at home. Personal possessions of the dead that had not been taken to the grave were broken or burned. Even possessions of others that the dead person had lately used or handled a great deal were destroyed. Nothing that would constantly remind the living of their dead relative was retained, for to think of the dead was to attract the ghost. As a precaution, the name of the deceased was not uttered; if it was absolutely necessary to refer to him, a circumlocution was used. Since ghosts strove to return to their former homes, the encampment in which a death occurred was moved, even though sometimes the shift was to a nearby location and was more symbolic than substantial. The mourning relatives remained isolated for a time, shunning social events.

Ghosts almost always chose the night to strike. They often appeared in human guise in dreams or as black, amorphous objects. They made whistling noises to frighten their victims; therefore whistling at night was discouraged. The owl and the coyote were favorite vehicles through which ghosts approached their victims. Consequently the hooting of an owl or the presence of a coyote around the camps instilled terror. Fainting spells, persistent bad dreams, palpitation of the heart, hysteria, seizures, insanity, and paralysis affecting the face or upper body were usually diagnosed as ghost sickness and required curative ceremonies such as the owl ceremony of the Mescalero and Chiricahua or the Enemyway rite of the Navajo.

The acute fear of the dead and of ghosts was related to two main conceptions. The first was that the denizens of the underworld were "lonely" and sought new recruits. Therefore a ghost experience was the harbinger of one's own death or that of a close relative. The

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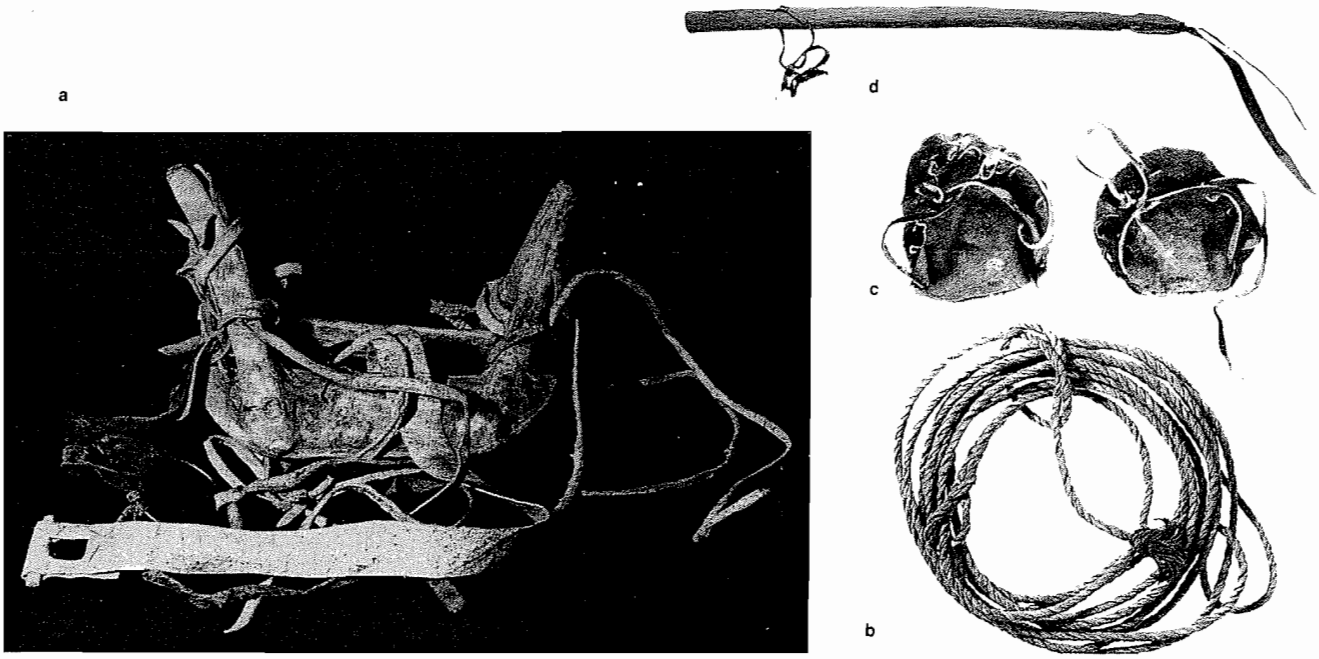

a, Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York: 50/8229; b, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 17,354; U. of Ariz., Ariz. State Mus., Tucson: c, 21,406; d, 21,374.

Fig. 8. Equipment for the horse. a, Mescalero Apache saddle made of rawhide stretched over a wooden frame and based on Mexican examples. Packsaddles were made of 2 rolls of rawhide stuffed with grass, one on each side of the horse and tied together with leather thong. b, Rope made from 2 pieces of rawhide twisted together, used for bridles; c, White Mountain Apache horseshoes of rawhide with thong for lashing to horse's feet, often used to protect the feet of an animal going lame; d, White Mountain Apache quirt, with wooden handle, rawhide whip, and thong carrying strap. a, Length 38.0 cm, rest to same scale, collected by Pliny E. Goddard on the Mescalero Reservation, 1909; b collected on Wheeler Expedition in 1875; c and d collected by Grenville Goodwin in Bylas, Ariz., 1936.

second was that some ghosts returned out of malice because of friction in the past or a sin of commission or omission. There was an ideological link between fear of the ghost and of the witch: both were capable of persecuting those who had aroused their ire. Inevitably, then, ghosts were often described by Apacheans as the shades of those who had been witches, even though they might have successfully concealed this during their stay on earth. Consequently, if an individual with a fiery temper or an unsavory reputation died while one was at odds with him, it was cause for worry. Also, if an Apachean felt that a person who died had had reason to resent his behavior, he might be apprehensive. Since most Apachean interactions and obligations involved relatives by blood or marriage, it was inevitable that the majority of attacks of ghost sickness were attributed to the activitities of dead kinsmen (Opler 1936a).

The anxieties and extraordinary precautions concerning death, burial, and the visits of ghosts were greatly relaxed when it was an infant or a very old person who died. An infant could not have developed animosities, it was thought, and an aged person who had lived out his life fully was considered beyond rancor. It was the person who died with his promise and hopes unfulfilled who was to be feared.

The details of the death complex that have been enumerated thus far are pan-Apachean. Special features and emphasis shared by only some of the tribes are also of interest for determining whether consistent alignments within the Apachean fold existed. The Jicarilla and the Kiowa-Apache believed that in the course of life, because of frustrations, disappointments, and interpersonal conflicts, evil tendencies accumulated in the individual, became associated with the corpse at death, and furnished motive power to the ghost. They contrasted the ghost with a breathlike spirit that also persisted after death but that there was no need to fear. The Navajo, Western Apache, and Kiowa-Apache did not remove a corpse through the doorway of a dwelling, but through a hole broken in a side wall. Among the Navajo, the Kiowa-Apache, and the Lipan the reluctance of relatives to handle a corpse was so great that outsiders (in the case of the Navajo, captive slaves) were sought to bury the body. The Navajo sometimes practiced hogan burial; the Kiowa-Apache occasionally used the tepee in the same manner. Among the Lipan, the Kiowa-Apache, and the Western Apache mourners were comforted by nonrelatives from surrounding camps. The Navajo and Kiowa-Apache both believed that the ghost could return in the form of a whirlwind; consequently the Kiowa-Apache shielded the face of a baby from the sight of a whirlwind. Because the deceased's name was not supposed to be mentioned, the Western Apache and the Kiowa-Apache hesitated to name an infant until they were sure it would survive. The Lipan, Jicarilla, Western Apache, and Navajo pictured a separation of

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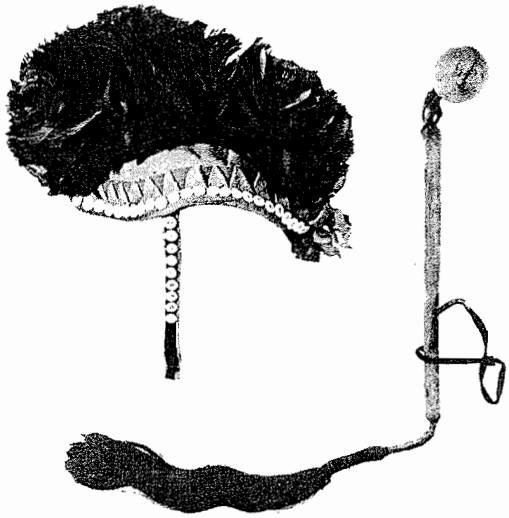

top, Mus. of N. Mex., Santa Fe: 56,138; bottom, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: left, 11,319; center, 21,532; right, 5517.

Fig. 9. Warriors. top, Mescalero Apache delegation led by 2 prominent chiefs, at the tercentenary celebration of Santa Fe in July 1883. Their tepees are in the background. Photograph by Ben Wittick. bottom, Weapons and accessories, made by each man; design and decoration were highly individual. left, White Mountain Apache rawhide shield, the front painted blue and black with a strip of red wool to which feathers are attached with a rawhide cord. Some hair remains on the back, and there are twisted rawhide handles. center, Buckskin hat topped with cut feathers and bordered with a strip of red wool, blue-painted rawhide in a saw-toothed design, and white buttons. The cloth chin-strap is also decorated with white buttons. Such hats were ordinarily worn only by shamans who carried out protective ceremonies before a war expedition. right, War club with horsehair tail. Between the head, which is rawhide stretched over a stone, and the handle, which has a wooden core, the rawhide is slashed and twisted to give flexibility and to prevent the handle from breaking on impact. A rawhide carrying strap is tied through the handle and designs are scratched on the head and handle. bottom left, Diameter 46.5 cm, rest same scale. Collected: left, by W.F.M. Arny in Ariz., 1872; center, in Ariz., before 1876; right, by Edward Palmer in Ariz., 1868.

the afterworld into two sections—a pleasant land for the good, and a cheerless, barren section for those who had been witches. In the view of the Lipan and Navajo the underworld to which the dead journeyed was the place from which the people originally emerged. Yet the Jicarilla and the Western Apache, who also had a myth of emergence, did not associate the land of the dead with the place of emergence. Not only were the Lipan, Mescalero, and Chiricahua without fear of an aged person who was at the point of death, but they sought a blessing from the dying elder so that their own lives might be prolonged. The Navajo, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Chiricahua were concerned about sickness from the ghosts of slain foes; the others expressed no such fear. According to the Chiricahua, Kiowa-Apache, Lipan, Mescalero, and Western Apache, the favorite vehicle

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utilized by the ghost for its return was the owl; for the Jicarilla it was the coyote, and for the Navajo it was either.

From this review of Apachean eschatology two conclusions emerge: that the beliefs and practices of all seven tribes are remarkably alike in respect to this subject area and that the correspondences in variations that do exist appear to be random. The alignments do not reveal sharp geographical cleavages of a kind that would suggest markedly different histories or prolonged separation; an Apachean tribe of the east is as likely to share some special features of eschatology with an Apachean tribe of the west as it is with any other. The inner unity can be gauged in another manner: even when a seemingly unique occurrence is found for a particular Apachean tribe, it is likely to be an extension or intensification of a basic Apachean concept. Thus, because of the vulnerability of children to the attacks of ghosts, the Kiowa-Apache placed a protective stick across the cradleboard at the chest when an infant had to be left unattended and erased footprints made in soft earth by a child who was learning to walk. Similarly, a Tantalus motif was introduced into the Jicarilla conception of the fate of witches after death, and the Navajo peopled the unpleasant portion of the underworld with suicides as well as with witches.

Influences from Non-Apacheans

The major departures of particular tribes from the basic Apachean culture pattern can largely be accounted for by geographical position and contact with non-Apachean peoples. Only the Navajo and the Western Apache have developed matrilineal clans; these are the tribes that had most interaction with the matrilineal Western Pueblos. The Jicarilla, who enjoyed close relations with Taos, Picuris, and San Juan over a long period, developed a moiety system that was doubtless inspired by northern Rio Grande Pueblo models. The Apacheans—the Navajo, Western Apache, and Jicarilla—who interacted most with the Pueblos were the ones who gave the greatest attention to agriculture. There is little doubt that Navajo loom weaving owes its elaboration, if not its origin, to Pueblo examples. In the realm of religion, the masked dancer cult—again most complex among the Navajo, Jicarilla, and Western Apache—is attributable to Pueblo influence. The Jicarilla ceremonial relay is a synthesis of a comparable event in three Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet it should be kept in mind that even where outside influence was pronounced, there was no slavish imitation. The basic ideas and the content were reworked to harmonize with Apachean conceptions and purposes. Moreover, influence did not flow solely from the outside to the Apacheans. Parsons (1939, 2:1039–1064) refers to a large number of Pueblo concepts and traits that may be of Apachean derivation.

There is frequent mention in the literature of "Plains Apache," but this is an ambiguous term that, if used at all, should be employed with caution. When appeal is made to it, the tribal unit or the part of it to which reference is made should be identified, and it should be specified whether geographical or tribal criteria, or both, are involved. This would be clarifying, since one section of an Apachean tribe was sometimes more Plains-like in certain respects than another. Thus, the eastern moiety of the Jicarilla used the tepee as a dwelling more consistently than did their tribesmen to the west, and the eastern band of the Chiricahua was more prone to employ the tepee and Plains-like garb than the other two Chiricahua bands.

Whether any of the Jicarilla can properly be termed "Plains Apache" is a question; although they hunted buffaloes on the Plains, they lacked many other traits characteristic of Plains life, such as warrior and women's societies, the camp circle, the Sun Dance, medicine bundles of tribal significance, heraldic tepees, shield groups, and graded war deeds. Nor have they participated in movements that swept the Plains in later times, such as the Ghost Dance and Peyote religion. Their important rituals, such as the adolescence ceremony, the masked dancer cult, and the ceremonial relay race, most certainly did not stem from the Plains. Their fear of the ghosts of enemies and the restrictions with which they surrounded the taking of enemy scalps were anything but Plains-like. Industries for which they have been long noted, such as the manufacture of baskets and pottery, also separate them from "typical" Plains representatives.

The Lipan showed more Plains orientation than did the Jicarilla. They depended on hide receptacles rather than on baskets and pots, made more use of the tepee, were less concerned about contamination from the dead enemy, and deemed it a virtue to be the first to strike a fallen foe. Yet they, too, lacked the Sun Dance, the camp circle, warrior and women's societies, heraldic tepees, shield groups, tribal medicine bundles, and other prime characteristics of Plains culture. Moreover, non-Plains elements such as an emergence legend, agriculture, masked supernatural impersonators, and an elaborate girls' puberty rite were present in their culture.

The Kiowa-Apache have the best claim, in view of their location and total culture, to be considered "Plains Apache." They depended on the buffalo, made much use of the horse travois, at times practiced scaffold burial, gashed the body and sometimes cut off a finger joint in mourning, counted coup, occasionally passed down heraldic tepees in inheritance, formed shield groups, and treasured tribal medicine bundles. They also possessed dancing societies for men, women, and children and in other ways exhibited a Plains bond that must be conceded some time-depth. Yet even here caution in interpretation must be exercised. The Kiowa-Apache

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societies were not so numerous or functionally important as those of their Plains neighbors, and their shield groups were weakly developed (McAllister 1955:166–168). Although they are credited with a Sun Dance and camp circle, it is more accurate to say that at the time of the Kiowa Sun Dance they were permitted to be present and were assigned a place in the Kiowa camp circle. On this occasion the Kiowa were in full control; there is no evidence that the Kiowa-Apache role was anything more than a subordinate one or that a Kiowa-Apache ever acted as a pledger of the Sun Dance (McAllister 1955:100). In spite of all the talk about "Plains Apache," general Apachean culture was probably more greatly enriched by Southwestern than by Plains contacts and currents of influence. The basic culture is neither Pueblo nor Plains but uniquely Apachean.

Migration and Dispersion

Ethnological material can give some conception of the central tendencies and variations in contemporary Apachean cultures and clues to the direction from which the ancestral peoples came and to the approximate length of time their spatial and cultural journeys must have taken. Yet such tentative conclusions need to be tested, amplified, and refined by evidence from linguistics, archeology, and history. Apachean specialists agree that the Apacheans came from the north, from the great hive of Athapaskan speakers in the Mackenzie Basin of Canada (Sapir 1936). There is less consensus regarding the amount of time involved in the southern movement, the route or routes followed by the early migrants, and whether more than one migration was involved.

Serious linguistic research was begun among the Apacheans in 1883 when Gatschet (1883, 1884a, 1884d) gathered vocabulary, phrase, and text material from Western Apache, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache informants. Russell (1898) contributed a Jicarilla vocabulary. Goddard collected San Carlos texts (1919), Mescalero and Lipan texts (1906, 1909), Jicarilla texts (1911), and White Mountain texts (1920a). A dictionary of Navajo was based on material gathered mainly by Father Berard Haile (Franciscan Fathers 1910). Thus, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth enough linguistic data accumulated to establish that the lexical variations and the sound shifts that differentiate the contemporary Apachean dialects and languages were already present. It seems reasonable, then, to take the year 1900 as a base line from which the temporal divergences revealed by lexicostatistics can be projected backward in time.

The greatest divergence time among the Apacheans, 601 years, exists between the Western Apache and the Kiowa-Apache (Bittle 1961). This indicates that until A.D. 1300 the Apacheans were a single group or a number of very closely related groups. Mooney (1898:247–248), Harrington (1940:520), and Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1971:19) have suggested a relatively recent tie between the Apacheans and the Sarcee, the most southern of the northern Athapaskan tribes. However, lexicostatistics show the smallest divergence time between the Sarcee and any Apachean tribe to be 928 years (Bittle 1961; Hoijer 1956a:228–229). Moreover, Brant (1953:197–199) has called attention to the concomitant cultural distance between the Sarcee and the Kiowa-Apache, the Apachean group most often mentioned in connection with Sarcee-Apachean ties. Thus the Apacheans enjoyed an independent existence for over 300 years before they began to differentiate among themselves linguistically and, presumably, spatially and culturally.

To demonstrate that the Apacheans were internally united though differentiated from others in the year 1300 still does not explain where they lived at this time horizon, what line or lines of migration they took from the Mackenzie Basin to their historic territories, or how, when, and where tribal separation proceeded. Because the Apacheans were basically mobile hunters and gatherers, especially during prehistoric and protohistoric times, archeological evidence concerning them is meager. Almost all firm Apachean archeological data pertain to the Navajo, who built sturdier homes than their linguistic congeners. Archeological investigations have located forked-stick hogans with a tripod base (an early house form that the Navajo continued to erect well into the historic period) in northwestern New Mexico that, on the basis of dendrochronology, have been assigned to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Dittert, Hester, and Eddy 1961:247; Hall 1944a:7, 1944:100; Hester 1962:63, 80, 82; Riley 1954:51, 52, 58; R.G. Vivian 1960:155–157; Vogt 1961:280; Young 1968). It is unrealistic to suppose that the oldest hogans that were built have resisted the ravages of time or even that the very oldest have been discovered. Since most Apacheans are known to have lived in dwellings less substantial than the Navajo hogan, there is no certainty that this was the earliest Apachean house type of the area; on comparative grounds it is possible to argue that the forked-stick hogan was a specialization developed after the Navajo had lived for some time in their traditional homeland.

Moreover, it is unnecessary to assume that the ancestors of the modern Navajo were the very first Apacheans to enter the San Juan River basin. Lexicostatistical computations have shown that the greatest divergence between Apacheans is not between the Kiowa-Apache and the Navajo, but between the Kiowa-Apache and the Western Apache. This suggests that the Western Apache, whose territories lay south and west of the Navajo, may well have preceded the Navajo into the

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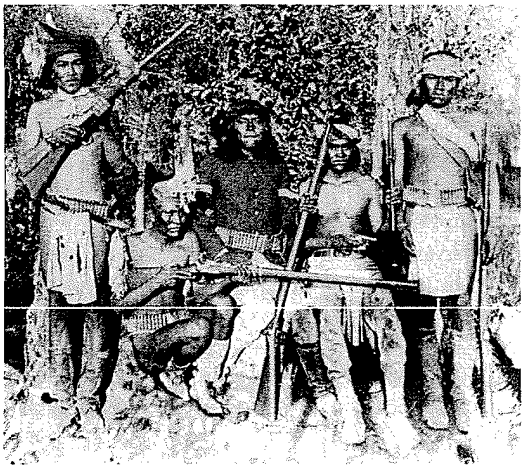
San Juan basin and later moved west and south to their historic territories, just as the Navajo subsequently did. This is the sequence suggested by Goodwin (1942:71–72) and Forbes (1966:336). Before the lexicostatistical data were available, D.A. Gunnerson (1956:346, 363) estimated that the Apacheans first reached the Southwest about 1525. It seems more reasonable to assume that the entry was made by 1400. By some this may even be considered too conservative. Forbes (1960:xiv–xxiii) is sharply critical of theories of a very recent southern migration of the Apacheans and holds that they were probably present in the Southwest by the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Two contrasting hypotheses concerning the route by which the Apacheans reached the Southwest have been presented. An intermontane route through Utah or Colorado and the Great Basin has had a number of adherents. Steward (1937a:86, 87, 1940:472–474) favored the intermontane explanation and suggested that the Promontory people who once occupied the caves of the Salt Lake Basin were southward-bound Apacheans. Huscher and Huscher (1942, 1943) are even more vigorous proponents of an intermontane route or, at the very least, of a movement west of the Continental Divide. On the basis of excavations and surveys carried out in western Colorado they concluded that the builders of circular stone structures who oriented the doors of their homes to the east, practiced a hunting economy, and made pointed-bottomed pottery were Apacheans whose ultimate destination was the Southwest. Huscher and Huscher have argued that the Apacheans were essentially mountain dwellers who usually sought the safety of the highlands at a time of danger even though they sometimes ventured into the plains. They point out the similarity between the intermontane approaches to the Southwest and the territory occupied by the Northern Athapaskans. The same observation, incidentally, has been made by Goodwin (1942:71). After a comprehensive review of Navajo archeology, Riley (1954:58), too, leaned toward a western path of migration, and the historian Worcester (1947:13) came to the same conclusion. In emphasizing the Great Basin character of Navajo material and economic culture, Hill (1938:190) and Farmer (1942:78–79) have also implied their acceptance of the western route concept.

A much different view of Apachean dispersion is held by a second group of investigators. They believed that the Querechos, Teyas, and Vaqueros, whom the Spanish explorers of the sixteenth century encountered on the southern Plains, were all Apacheans. They are also convinced that the creators of the Dismal River aspect of the Plains, 1675–1725, whose cultural remains have been excavated in Nebraska, eastern Colorado, and western Kansas, were Apacheans as well and that therefore the Apacheans must be considered to have inhabited the central Plains for a long period. Accordingly, they envisage an Apachean migration southward through the northwestern and central Plains close to the eastern edge of the mountains. The presence of the Apacheans in New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico is considered by them to have resulted from a fairly late movement westward from the Plains into the Southwest on the part of some of the Apacheans. Gunnerson (1956:72, 1960:252) even interprets the Promontory culture of Utah to be "an early protohistoric thrust by a buffalo-hunting Athabascan group into the Great Basin from the Plains." Aikens (1966:iii, 87, 1967:198, 199, 204–205) reverses the direction and sequence of events and,



left, U. of Ariz., Ariz. State Mus., Tucson: 18237; right, Smithsonian, NAA: 75-8318.

Fig. 10. Western Apache scouts. left, Dressed in uniforms issued by U.S. Army, probably at San Carlos, Ariz. Man on left wears tweezers on a bead necklace. Caps worn by scouts on right, which were believed to impart quickness and agility in combat, are adorned with turkey and quail feathers. right, Probably members of a Tonto band, stationed at Ft. Wingate, N. Mex. Cap of scout second from left shows distinctive style but serves functions similar to those of caps in photograph at left. left, Photographer unknown, probably 1883–1886; right, photograph by Charles Barthelmess, 1881–1886.

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on the grounds that Promontory and Fremont, which he considers to be variants of the same culture, precede Dismal River in time, concludes that Fremont-Promontory Apacheans moved eastward from the Great Basin to the Plains to initiate the Dismal River aspect. Despite such differences concerning details, these researchers, mainly archeologists who have concentrated on problems of the Plains, emphasize a Plains background for the Apacheans (Champe 1949; D.A. Gunnerson 1956, 1974; Gunnerson 1960, 1968, 1969; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971; Hester 1962; Wedel 1940, 1947, 1947a, 1950, 1953, 1953a, 1953b, 1961, 1961a, 1964).

In view of the fact that only one contemporary Apachean tribe, the Kiowa-Apache, shows any thoroughgoing Plains orientation, the thesis of long-continued Plains residence and influence requires careful examination. The term Querecho was at first used of any wandering people the Spaniards encountered on the southern or central Plains, much as Chichimeca was at one time employed as a generic label for the unsettled peoples of northern Mexico. It was only later, with the addition of qualifiers or descriptive adjectives (Mountain Querechos, Apache Vaqueros) that the designations began to take on anything approaching tribal significance. The description of the Querechos met east of Pecos by the Francisco Vásquez de Coronado expedition in 1541 is so general that most of the features mentioned (tepee, buffalo hunting, jerked meat, pemmican, use of the dog and the dog travois for transporting goods, sign language) would fit any plainsmen of the times. Whenever the traits described are more specific, they do not seem to be particularly Apachean. For instance, the Querechos are said to have drunk fresh animal blood as a regular staple of diet; identified Apacheans drank fresh blood only in special circumstances as a health measure (Opler 1969:105–106).

There is even less correspondence between some of the most important traits of the Dismal River aspect of the Plains and the practices and artifacts of Apacheans as they are known from the historical or ethnographic record. Gunnerson (1960:160, 246, 1968: 175) has repeatedly called pottery the "most diagnostic" artifact of the Dismal River aspect and has constantly referred to its uniformity throughout the Dismal River range. Dismal River pottery was abundant, the paste was gritty, it was tempered with fine sand or mica, it was lump modeled (or, at least, an anvil and paddle were used at some stage in shaping it), and simple stamping was the common surface treatment. In contrast, among most Apachean tribes no pottery or little pottery was manufactured (Hill 1937:7). Only the Jicarilla made any considerable amount, and there is no evidence that the Kiowa-Apache, the most "Plains-like" of the Apacheans, ever made any. What pottery Apacheans made was highly variable in size, shape, and tempering material. The Navajo shaped pointed-bottom pots; the Jicarilla did not. Most Apachean pottery was constructed by the coiled technique, but the Lipan claim to have modeled pots from the mass, and the Jicarilla, who coiled their larger vessels, molded small ones from the lump. There is no hint of the use of anvil and paddle or of simple stamping in Apachean pottery (Opler 1971).

Comparison of house forms is just as unsatisfactory. The Dismal River home had a five-post foundation and a diameter of about 25 feet (7.62 meters). It is obvious that a structure of this size was meant to house more than one nuclear family. On the other hand, each Apa-

Smithsonian, NAA: 74–11687.

Fig. 11. Issue day at Camp San Carlos, Ariz. Rations consisted mainly of flour, lard, and coffee. Occasionally, meat and cloth were also distributed. Photograph by Camillus S. Fly, probably early 1880s.

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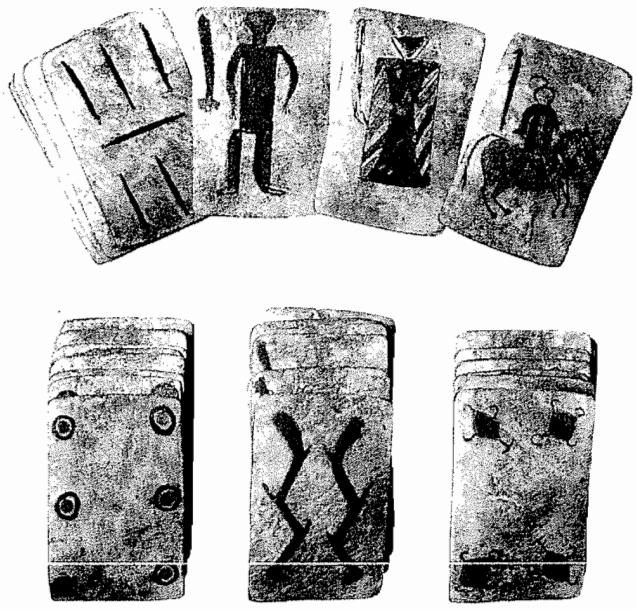
chean small family occupied a separate dwelling about one-third the size of the Dismal River home: the need for privacy was dictated in part by the complicated system of restraint relations prevalent among Apacheans. Furthermore, it was not feasible for them to build very large and substantial houses in view of their mobility and their death practices, which forced the abandonment of the dwelling and, indeed, of the whole campsite at a time of bereavement. With this in mind, it is difficult to accept the suggestion that even more massive structures, such as seven-room pueblitos in Scott County, western Kansas, and in northeastern New Mexico near Ocate were the handiwork of Dismal River Apacheans (Gunnerson 1960:250, 1969:25–30).

No remains of the horse have been found in Dismal River sites. Yet the Apacheans are known to have acquired horses shortly after the beginning of the seventeenth century, were using horses for food as well as for mounts by 1630, and were riding armored horses into battle by 1689 (Forbes 1959; Worcester 1941:5–6, 1944). Moreover, the bones of horses have been found in Navajo sites of approximate Dismal River date (Farmer 1942:67, 69, 74; R.G. Vivian 1960:153, 179, 220). There are a good many other reasons for doubting, on comparative cultural grounds, that Dismal River sites are Apachean. For example, Apacheans have an acute fear of the coyote, but the Dismal River people used beads of coyote bone. The flesh of the dog was a staple of Dismal River diet, but the Apacheans, with the exception of the Kiowa-Apache, who may have eaten dog meat during times of scarcity, abhorred the very idea of such food. Other non-Apachean traits found at Dismal River sites include a flageolet of bone and a bone eyed needle.



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 10,730.

Fig. 12. Rawhide playing cards, based on Spanish printed decks used for the game of *monte*. There are 40 cards in a deck divided into 4 suits of swords, coins, clubs, and cups, with 7 numbered cards and 3 figure cards—page, king, and mounted knight. Cards are cut with rounded corners to about the size of printed decks, and figures are painted on one side in blue, red, and black (Wayland 1962, 1972). Wagering on games was a favorite Apache pastime. Length of most 8.5 cm, collected in Ariz., by George Gibbs in 1871.

Since the Apacheans arrived in the Southwest in protohistoric times, the historical documentation concerning their whereabouts in the area is largely a function of the pace and direction of Spanish penetration. As soon as the Spaniards entered an area of the Southwest, they usually found evidence that Apacheans were nearby. In 1540 the expedition of Coronado moved north across southeastern Arizona and at a pass called Chichilticale met hunters and gatherers who lived in rancherias. These Indians undoubtedly were Apaches (Forbes 1960:8–9; Goodwin 1942:67) and most likely were Chiricahuas. So, too, were the "Mountain Querechos" about whom Antonio de Espejo and his followers learned in 1583 while exploring for mineral wealth near Acoma (Bolton 1916:182–183). Soon after the colonization of New Mexico in 1598, Juan de Oñate's first capital, San Gabriel, at the confluence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande, was repeatedly attacked by the Navajo. This was largely responsible for moving the capital to Santa Fe in 1610 (Worcester 1951:103–104). By 1638 Father Juan de Prada was complaining of Apaches who surrounded the Pueblos (Hackett 1923–1937, 3:106). Even before this Alonso de Benavides had preached to the Chiricahua Apache on the west side of the Rio Grande and the Mescalero Apache on the east side (Benavides 1945:80–85). No sooner was San Antonio founded in Texas in 1718 than the Lipan began to raid its horse herd (W.E. Dunn 1911:201, 204–205). Thus it is clear from historical sources as well as from the other criteria introduced that once the Apacheans reached the Southwest, their linguistic and political differentiation proceeded rather rapidly and that by the beginning of the eighteenth century they were distinct tribes, each occupying what it had come to consider to be its traditional territory.

Summary and Conclusions

While much ethnological, linguistic, archeological, and ethnohistorical research on the Apacheans is in progress, the available evidence can be summarized for what it provides concerning present knowledge. The glottochronological data (Bittle 1961; Hoijer 1956a; Hymes 1957) indicate that Apachean linguistic differentiation began in approximately A.D. 1300. It probably started with some divergence between Western Apache and

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Ariz. Histl. Soc. Lib., Tucson: Hannah Coll.
Fig. 13. Western Apache couple on a visit to Globe, Ariz., to purchase supplies. Photograph by Forman G. Hannah, about 1905–1918.

Kiowa-Apache shortly before the Apacheans entered the Southwest around A.D. 1400. On the grounds that some of the Apacheans, particularly the Western Apache and the Chiricahua, show so few Plains and so many Great Basin characteristics, it is probable that the route was intermontane. The fact that Kiowa-Apache culture has an underlying Apachean base but a Plains orientation suggests that this tribe separated from its linguistic kinsmen before Puebloan and Southwest influence upon the Apacheans became very pronounced (Bittle 1971:2; Brant 1949, 1951:77–117, 129–134, 1953, 1969:1–2). Still, the Kiowa-Apache must have lived for a century at the northeastern fringe of the early Apachean range in the Southwest, for the Kiowa-Apache language did not diverge from Jicarilla and Lipan until about A.D. 1500. At this time or shortly afterward the Kiowa-Apache must have committed themselves to the Plains and moved both north and south at subsequent periods as they entered into temporary alliances with the Kiowa and other tribes of the southern Plains. At the very time the Kiowa-Apache were moving eastward it is very likely that the ancestral Western Apache, soon to be followed by the Navajo, were drifting westward and southward. The Navajo movement west and south has been clearly verified by archeological research. By 1600 the Jicarilla and the Lipan were presumably no longer in contact with the Western Apache and the Navajo. Within the next century the Lipan and Jicarilla had differentiated from each other linguistically and culturally. The Jicarilla remained at the northeastern edge of Apachean territory in the Southwest and cautiously advanced toward the Plains, ultimately establishing themselves in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in lands roughly bounded by the Arkansas River on the north, Chama on the west, Estancia on the south, and the Canadian River on the east (Opler 1936b:202, 1946:1, 1971a:309–315). The Lipan migrated east and south into more decidedly Plains terrain and occupied central and south Texas, perhaps as early as the second half of the seventeenth century (Secoy 1953:22; Worcester 1944:227). The ancestral Chiricahua and Mescalero, in all likelihood not yet tribally distinct, moved south through the Rio Grande valley during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As they diverged, the Chiricahua established their range west of the river, in southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the adjoining section of Mexico. The Mescalero roamed the land to the east, to the Pecos River and beyond, and found their way into northwestern Texas as well. Because of their central position the Chiricahua-Mescalero group was able to maintain contact with most other Apacheans (with the exception of the early breakaway segment, the Kiowa-Apache) for a relatively long time and probably were the last Apacheans to realize separate tribal identities.

Synonymy*

The English word Apache is from Spanish *Apache*, which was first used by Juan de Oñate, on September 9, 1598, at San Juan Pueblo (Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:345). The most widely accepted source for this word is Zuni *ʔa·paču* 'Navajos', the plural of *paču* 'Navajo'; in Oñate's time no distinction was drawn between Apaches and Navajos (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:63; Dennis Tedlock, communication to editors 1977). Harrington (1940:513), and other authors before him, derive the word Apache from the Yavapai word 'axwáača 'Apaches', perhaps through confusion with *ʔpačə* ([ʔəpá·čə]) 'people'. Similar words are found in other Yuman languages. These hypotheses are weakened by the fact that at the time he used this name Oñate had not yet encountered either the Zunis or any of the Yuman peoples (Schroeder 1974a:232, 239). A third, rather improbable etymology derives Apache from *apache*, a rare spelling variant of the Spanish *mapache* 'raccoon' (Santamaría 1974:69). Evidence supporting this possibility is given in D.A. Gunnerson (1974:58–59). Early Spanish spelling variants and misprints include Apades, Apiches (from Oñate 1598) (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:67), and aphaches (Tamarón y Romeral 1937:350). A Spanish masculine *Apacho* and a feminine *Apacha* sometimes occur (Harrington 1940). Santamaría (1974:69) gives a feminine *Apachesa*. The first occurrences in a text orginally written in English are found in the accounts of Zebulon Montgomery Pike's expeditions: Appache, 1805–1807 (Coues 1895, 2:633). Other early English spelling variants are Appeche (Schermerhorn 1814:29) and Apa-

*This synonymy was written by Willem J. de Reuse.

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chies, 1846 (Schroeder 1974a:400); other variants are listed in Hodge (1907–1910, 1:67).

Oñate himself used the word as a cultural term, and although the first use of the term included Athapaskans, it also included other tribes that were linguistically unrelated to the Athapaskan Apache but confused with them or assumed to be sufficiently similar to them to justify the same name (Harrington 1940:513). Later, Bancroft (1874–1876, 1:476) stated that the Apache may sometimes include Comanches and Mohaves. When attributive terms were added to the word Apache to distinguish among the various groups, the identity of these non-Athapaskan Apaches becomes clearer. After 1605 and till the 1850s the Yavapai, and perhaps the Havasupai, were often called Apaches, Apaches Cruzados or Apaches Coninas (Schroeder 1974b:23, 28). Around 1860, the terms Garroteros Apaches, Hualapai Apaches, Tonto Apaches, Apache-Mohave, and Apache-Yuma appear, all of which refer to divisions of the Yavapai (Schroeder 1974b:401, 414, 415, 438). Schroeder (1974b:438–441) shows that up until 1863 the name Tonto or Tonto Apache was applied to Yumans only. The term Apache also originally included the Navajo (see the synonymy in "Navajo Prehistory and History to 1850," this vol.). Among all Apache tribes, the term used to designate themselves is the word for 'person, people'; see the synonymies in "Chiricahua Apache," "Mescalero Apache," "Jicarilla Apache," and "Western Apache" (this vol.) for the various phonemic spellings of this word.

The following paragraphs give the general word for Apache in non-Athapaskan American Indian languages.

The Taos word is *xiwana* (Amy Zaharlick, communication to editors 1981), also spelled xiwanæ (pl. xiwaną) (Harrington 1918:274), qĩwænæ (pl. qĩwæną) (Harrington 1918a); its etymology is unknown, but it is related to Picuris *xəwiane* (Amy Zaharlick, communication to editors 1981), or *yewʿenę*. Picuris has also the following nickname for Apache: *hʿǫʔemǫ́ xʿəʔene* 'cedar seed' (George L. Trager in Parsons 1939:214).

The Rio Grande Tewa word is *sáve*, of obscure etymology (Harrington 1916:573). It is used for every kind of Apachean.

The Sandia word is Apa´tche tai´nin 'gente de Apaches' (Gatschet 1899:38), and the Isleta word is *apáchide* (pl. *apáchin*); one Isleta informant stated that this is a loanword from Zuni (William Leap, communication to editors 1977). Terms given by nineteenth-century authors are p'o´nin 'an Apache man' (Gatschet 1879–1885:4) and Tāt-li-em-a-nūn 'Apaches and Navajos' (Gibbs 1868).

The Keresan terms are Cochiti Kirauash (Bandelier 1890–1892, 2:116–117), Santo Domingo tcháska or cháhshm (Gatschet 1890:32), Santa Ana *čʰišé·*, Zia ʿChi´-she (Stevenson 1894:15), Laguna Chïshyë´ (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:67), and Acoma *čʰíšé* (Miller 1965:210). The four last forms are clearly the same word and may be derived from the Navajo word for the Chiricahua, *chíshí*. Acoma also has a loanword, *apâ·čʰi*, from Spanish or from English (Miller 1965:210).

The Jemez name for Apachean is *kʸǽlǽ*, plural *kʸǽlǽcoš* (Joe S. Sando, communication to editors 1978). The Pecos term is Tágukerésh (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:67), which may be identical with the Jemez name for the Jicarilla.

Zuni does not seem to have a truly general word for Apache; most often *wilacʔu·kwe* (Newman 1958:51) is given with the meaning 'Apache', but this seems to refer specifically to the White Mountain Apache; the word specifically referring to the San Carlos Apache can apparently also be used as a general word (Harrington 1913); see the synonymy in "Western Apache" (this vol.). The Third Mesa Hopi term is *yótseʔe* (pl. *yótseʔemi*) (Voegelin and Voegelin 1957:49); Gatschet (1899) has Utchi and glosses it 'cactus people'.

Hopi-Tewa has the expected general Tewa term *sá·be*, and *yucʼe·ʔe*, apparently a Hopi loanword (Paul V. Kroskrity, communication to editors 1977). Mooney (1892–1898) gives yuq-yé 'grass beds'.

The Havasupai term is *hʷá·ʔa*, pl. *hʷa·če* (Leanne Hinton, communication to editors 1981), and perhaps İgihúa-a (Gatschet 1877–1892, 3:98). Yavapai has 'axwá, plural 'axwáatca (Harrington 1940:513); the loanword from Spanish can occur before this term: a´patche-áhua 'an Apache' (Gatschet 1883a:6). The same word in Mojave, a-hŭ-á-cha (Lt. Mowry) is glossed 'Mescalero Apache' but perhaps used as the general term as well; other terms are *kuhwa·lʸt* (cf. *hwa·lʸ* 'pine, wood') and *ʔahʷé* 'enemy' (Pamela Munro, communications to editors 1974, 1981). Quechan has *ʔapáč*, apparently a loanword, which covers all the Apacheans (Abraham Halpern, communication to editors 1981). The Pima and Papago general term is *ʔó·b* (Mathiot 1973:466) or *ʔó·bĭ* (Philip Greenfeld, communication to editors 1981), which also has the broader meaning of 'enemy' (Saxton and Saxton 1969:34, 67). Maricopa uses *yavʔi·pay* for the Apache and, with various modifiers, for the Yavapai; there is also *yavʔi·pay xʷet* (Lynn Gordon, communication to editors 1981).

The Indians of northern Mexico generally have a term that is borrowed from the Spanish word for Apache (Harrington 1940): Tubar has the plural A-pa-tci´m (Hewitt 1893), and Seri has *ʔáppaats* (Moser and Moser 1976:295).

Navajo makes sharp distinctions among the White Mountain, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Jicarilla Apache groups but does not seem to have a general term for 'Apache'. Only Harrington (1940) gives *Shgalí Dineʼé* as a general term used for Athapaskans, distinct from the Navajo *Mashgalí* 'Mescalero Apaches' and used to distinguish the Athapaskans from the Plains and Pueblo tribes.

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Some Numic terms are Ute (from Spanish Fork Canyon, Utah) A-vwa´-tsu (Powell 1873–1874:54); Southern Ute *ʔaváa-cI* 'Apache person' (Givón 1979:98), which both might be loanwords; and Panamint ai-a´-ta (Henshaw 1883:184).

The Comanche generic term for 'Apache' is also the specific name for Kiowa-Apache; Gatschet (1884e:112) has Tá-ashi, tashihi^{n}, and Mooney (1898:245) has Tashĭn.

Other terms from the Plains are Tonkawa Apátche (Gatschet 1884e:4), and Pawnee *katahka* 'Apache; alien tribe; to be inside out'; 'Apache woman' is *ckatahka*. This last word should not be confused with *cka·-ta·ka* 'white face' as was done in Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1971:15) (Douglas R. Parks, communication to editors 1972). Caddo has *ʔíšikwitaʔ* (Wallace L. Chafe, communication to editors 1973), a borrowing of the Comanche term for 'Mescalero Apache'. As in the case of Comanche, the Kiowa generic term for Apache is also the specific term for Kiowa-Apache: *tʰɔ̀gûy* (Laurel Watkins, communication to editors 1979). It is glossed as 'lazy, indolent' (Gatschet 1884e:184), or 'poor outside' (Harrington 1939–1945). Another name that also seems to apply both specifically to the Kiowa-Apaches and to Apaches generically is k̓ʸaapææ-towp 'the ones that whet a knife' (Harrington 1939–1945), also given as Kawăpa´tu 'whetting knife' (Gatschet 1884e) and K'á-pätop 'knife-whetters, or whetstone people' (Mooney 1898:245). The last reference notes that this name became obsolete about 1892 in consequence of the death of a Kiowa chief named K'á-pä´te.

Mooney (1896a:1081) gives for Kiowa-Apache Arapaho Tha'kahinĕ´na 'knife-whetting men' and Cheyenne Mûtsiănätä´niuw´ 'whetstone people', but it is safe to assume that like the Kiowa word with the same meaning these words also mean 'Apachean' in general, because for one thing the 'knife whetting' sign of the sign-language is used for 'Apache', 'Lipan', and 'Navajo'. The English-Cheyenne student dictionary (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976) gives 'Apache' as *motsė-héone-tane*, pl. *motsė-héone-taneoʔo*, with the literal translation 'occupied-camp person'. This is a better transcription than Mooney's, but his gloss is presumably the correct one.

Lakhota (Teton Dakota) has a term *čʰíčakiže* 'squeak by striking against wood' that is said to refer to the Arapahos (Boas and Deloria 1941:8) and to the Apache (Buechel 1970:103).

Obsolete Group Names

The following names are discussed here because they are no longer in use and cannot be made to correspond neatly with the modern division of the Apache into four tribes. These are obsolete names for groups or tribes that are assumed, with various degrees of certainty, to have been Apachean, or at least to have included some Apacheans. They are discussed in rough chronological order. The older Plains Apaches are included here, because at least part of the modern southwestern Apaches are descended from them. Those Plains Apache names that are clearly identifiable with the modern Lipan Apaches or Kiowa-Apaches only are treated in volume 13.

Chichimeca. Chichimeca is a Nahuatl term of uncertain meaning that was used by the Spaniards in the Spanish forms Chichimecas or Chichimecos as a generic label for the unsettled peoples of northern Mexico and the southwest. An example of Chichimecos that certainly includes Apaches is found in Diego Pérez de Luxán's account of the Espejo expedition (Hammond and Rey 1966:189).

Querecho. Querechos was first used for a nomadic people encountered by the Francisco Vásquez de Coronado expedition (Hammond and Rey 1940:261–262), but the description of the Querechos is so general that most of the features mentioned would fit any Plains Indians of the time (Opler 1969:105–106). Later, in 1583, Querecho is also used for Apache groups living in the mountains west of the Rio Grande near Acoma (Bolton 1916:183).

The Oñate documents in some places appear to distinguish between the Querechos or Vaqueros and the Apaches (Schroeder 1974a:238; cf. D.A. Gunnerson 1974:8); by the 1630s the term Apache had spread and completely replaced Querecho (Schroeder 1974a:32).

Querecho is probably derived from the Pecos equivalent of Jemez *kʸǽlæ̀cos̆* (pl.) 'Navajo, Apache' (Harrington 1916:573, phonemicized). Variant spellings of Querecho are: Quereches, Guereches (Harrington 1916:573), and Corechos (Hammond and Rey 1929:97).

Teya. Teyas was the name of another nomadic people first encountered on the plains by the Coronado expedition (Hammond and Rey 1940:258, 261–262); apparently it does not appear in later sources. Schroeder (1974a:99–101) presented evidence showing that the Teyas must have been a Caddoan group, whereas D.A. Gunnerson (1974:18) argued for the identification of the Teyas as Apacheans. Harrington's (1916:573) conjecture of a connection with a Jemez (and presumably also Pecos) word meaning 'east Navajo, east Athapaskan' involves phonetic difficulties.

Vaquero. Vaqueros was probably first used as a synonym of Querecho by Obregón (Hammond and Rey 1928:303) in 1584 in his secondhand accounts of the Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado–Agustín Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:37). Vaquero, 'cowboy' in modern Spanish (Santamaría 1974:1106), came to be applied to the nomadic plains tribes because of their dependency on the buffalo, which were called *vacas* 'cows' by the early Spanish explorers. According to D.A. Gunnerson (1974:80), the Vaqueros probably included both non-Apachean groups and the

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Apachean groups later called Cuartelejos and Palomas. Schroeder (1974a:479) states that the bulk of the Vaqueros became the Lipan, some of whom probably joined the Mescaleros. In the seventeenth century the term Vaquero gradually gave way to Vaquero Apache or Apache. Oñate was the first one to recognize the identity of the Apaches and the Vaqueros and adopted the term Apaches for them in 1601 (Schroeder 1974a:239); Zárate Salmerón (1899–1900:45, 180) still used Vaqueros and Apaches Vaqueros; Benavides (1630:70) only has Apaches Vaqueros. A notable spelling variant is Baqueros (Scholes 1944:339).

Manso. Mansos was a term employed for Apaches who were friendly to the Spaniards and Mexicans and used especially for a small group of Apache continually friendly with Mexicans and Papagos who lived in an area south of Tucson (Goodwin 1942:572). Manso also was used, first by Oñate in 1598, to refer to a group around El Paso. They were called *mansos* 'tame, peaceful ones' by the Spaniards because it was one of the first words these Indians used to greet them (Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:315). The first descriptions of the Mansos never give any evidence that they were Apacheans, and the denomination Apaches Mansos may well be due to the fact that they became close allies of the Apaches (Schroeder 1974a:217–221; D.A. Gunnerson 1974:102). Zárate Salmerón (1899–1900:183) and Benavides (1630:9) give Gorretas 'caps', as an equivalent of Mansos, because their haircut gave the impression that they were wearing caps (Benavides 1954:10).

Apaches de Quinía. The earliest mention of this group was made by Zárate Salmerón, about 1629, who referred to "the lands of the great Captain Quinia" (1899–1900:47). Benavides (1630:53) mentioned the "Rancherías del Capitan Quinîa" and later stated that the Apaches of Quinía were governed by an Indian called Quinía (1945:89). Their identity is obscure, but they might have been a division of the Navajos (Schroeder 1974a:247); the Apaches of Quinía were never referred to after Benavides's time.

Apaches del Perrillo. Benavides (1630:14) probably was the first to use this name in print. Spanish *perrillo* 'little dog' was the name of a spring in the Jornada del Muerto that was discovered by a small dog during the Oñate expedition in 1598 (Hodge in Benavides 1945:307). There seems to be a general agreement on the fact that the Apaches del Perrillo may have been partly composed of bands later identified as Mescalero Apache (Schroeder 1974a:480–481).

Sierra Blanca. In the course of history, this name, meaning in Spanish 'white mountain' or 'white mountain range', has been applied to three different Apachean groups: the Sierra Blanca Apaches that were the lineal descendants of the Apaches del Perrillo (Schroeder 1974a:483), who were first reported in the Sierra Blanca mountains of New Mexico in 1653 (Scholes 1940:281) and may have become known as Faraones after the Pueblo rebellion of 1680–1692 (Schroeder 1974a:488, 506); the Sierra Blanca who lived north of the Raton River in southeastern Colorado at the beginning of the eighteenth century and were identical with the Carlanas (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:11; Schroeder 1974a:498); and the Sierra Blanca Apaches who are the White Mountain Apaches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Eighteenth-Century Groups. In the late eighteenth century two lists of Apache bands with both their Spanish and Apache names were compiled. Hugo de O'Conor, writing in the 1770s, listed the Chiricagui (in Apache Segilande), Gileños (Setocendé), Mimbrereños (Chiquendé), Mezcaleros (Zetosendé), Faraones (Selcaisanendé), Rancheria of Pasqual (Culcahende), Rancheria of El Ligero (Chahugindé), Rancheria of Alonso (Yncagende), Rancheria of Capitán Vigotes (Sigilande), and Natagé (Zetocendé). The rancherias presumably included the Apaches elsewhere called Llaneros and Lipan; in another place the Lipan are mentioned by name as being accustomed to join the Mezcaleros. O'Conor specifies the Apaches west of the Rio Grande as "the Apaches of the west that inhabit the mountains of Chiricagui, Gila, and Los Mimbres," obviously the first three groups on his list, but he seems to have been unfamiliar with the northern Apachean groups, notably the Navajo (Brugge 1961a:60–62). The second list was that compiled by Antonio Cordero in 1796 (Matson and Schroeder 1957:336): Tontos (Vinni ettinen-ne), Chiricaguis (Segatajen-ne), Gileños (Tjuiccujen-ne), Mimbreños (Iccujen-ne), Faraones (Yntajen-ne), Mescaleros (Sejen-ne), Llaneros (Cuelcajen-ne), Lipanes (Lipajen-ne), and Navajós (Yutajen-ne).

Apaches de Gila. This term was probably first mentioned by Benavides (1630:53) with the spelling Apaches de Xila. The name Gila most often refers to the Gila river, but sometimes it refers to the Sierra de Gila or Gila Mountains. The largest part of the Gila Apaches were probably the forerunners of the Mogollon Apaches; some southern Gila Apaches of New Mexico may have evolved after the 1690s into the group called Chiricahua (Schroeder 1974b:17, 48–49). The name was extremely vague: in the eighteenth century, the Apaches of southeastern Arizona and western New Mexico were called Apaches or Apaches de Gila, rather than by different names; at that time, only the Navajos and other Apachean groups east of the Rio Grande were distinguished by specific names. Only after 1772 did the Spaniards begin to make distinctions among the various groups located west of the Rio Grande (Schroeder 1974b:21, 73–75). When specific groups were named, the Spaniards sometimes used the term Apaches de Gila for the Western Apaches encountered along the Gila river, east of the San Carlos drainage, in the Gila mountains (Schroeder 1974b:529), although these were usually called

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Coyoteros. The Spaniards almost never confused the Gila Apaches with the Western Apaches as a whole, and the Central Chiricahua Apaches were always kept distinct from them (Schroeder 1974b:121, 135). In the early American period, the term Gila Apache was usually replaced by Mogollon or Coppermine Apache, but it was sometimes retained and sometimes applied to the Mimbres (Schroeder 1974b:192). In the middle of the nineteenth century, there was again considerable confusion as to which groups were Gila Apaches. The name is often used as a cover term for the Coyoteros, Mogollones, Tontos, and Mimbreños; but sometimes it contains the Pinaleños, Chiricahuas, and the (Yavapai) Garroteros as well (Schroeder 1974b:185–189). The following remarks can be made on the synonyms and variant spellings of the term. Before the late 1700s the Spanish name is Apaches de Gila or Apaches de la Sierra de Gila (Schroeder 1974b:18, 21). In the late 1700s the terms Apaches Gileños and Gileños appear (Schroeder 1974b:18, 247); Francisco Garcés uses Yabipais Gileños in 1775–1776 (Coues 1900, 2:452). Orozco y Berra (1864:59) uses both Xileños and Gileños. The Spaniards also used the term Gileños to refer to the Pimas Gileños, who were the Pimas living on the Gila River (ten Kate 1885:24); other spellings are Pimas Cileños and Xileños (Coues 1900, 1:27, 85; synonymy in "Pima and Papago: Introduction," this vol.). Synonyms and garbled spellings occurring in English texts are: Gilenas (Bender 1974a:10), Gilans, Apaches of the Gila (Coues 1895, 2:748), Gilanians, Gila Apache (Goodwin 1942:571), and Gilleños (Worcester 1949:240).

Two Apache names for the Gila Apaches are found in Spanish reports: O'Conor, 1771–1776, has Setocendé but uses spelling variants of the same name for the Mescaleros, Zetosendé, and for the Natagés, Zetocendé (Brugge 1961a:55–60). Cordero, 1796, has Tjuiccujen-ne (Orozco y Berra 1864:369; Matson and Schroeder 1957:336).

Salineros. This is a Spanish word referring to several groups connected in some way with salt or with salines. In one case, they may have been a group of Gila Apaches who lived in the Gallo-Mangas mountain area south of the Zuni salt lakes (Schroeder 1974a:281–282). The first occurrence of the name (Benavides 1630:77) apparently refers to a different group living near the Manzano Salines, in Torrance County, New Mexico (Benavides 1954:57). Another group of Salineros, perhaps identical with the preceding one, were Natagés living on the Rio Salado (the Pecos) in 1745 (Schroeder 1974a:519).

Cuartelejo. El Cuartelejo was a place-name applied to a Plains Apache group of western Kansas, for the first time at about 1650: 'people of El Cuartelejo, on the frontier of Quivira' (Hackett 1923–1937, 3:263–264). Spanish *cuartel* means 'quarters, barracks', and *cuartelejo* is its depreciative (Harrington 1940:511). In the 1600s *cuartelejo* was used to refer to an area containing semisedentary, hut-dwelling Apacheans (Tyler and Taylor 1958:306). By 1719 the Apaches of El Cuartelejo began to merge with other Plains Apache tribes (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:12). The last contemporary reference to El Cuartelejo in Apache territory is from 1727 (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:12). Spelling variants of the term used as a tribal name include Apaches de Quartelejo, 1696 (Forbes 1960:268); apaches de quartelejos, Barriero's map of about 1728 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:171); Quartelêxos, 1736, and cuartelejos, 1742 (Harrington 1939–1945).

Palomas. The Palomas are a Plains Apache tribe that lived northeast of El Cuartelejo; the northernmost of the Palomas may have been the Kiowa-Apaches (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:13). In 1719 the Palomas had been driven out of their territory by the Pawnees and went to live with the Cuartelejos as refugees (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:12) and lost their identity as a group separate from Plains Apache tribes about 1754 (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:13). *Paloma* means 'dove' in Spanish, but the origin of Paloma as a tribal name is unknown (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:12). A synonym is apaches Palomas, on Barriero's map of about 1728 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:171). Calchufines (Thomas 1935:130), or Escalchufines (Thomas 1935:257), of unknown etymology, is generally considered to be a rarer equivalent of Palomas.

Carlanas. This is the name of a Plains Apache division also known as Sierra Blanca that lived in the Raton Mesa area of southeastern Colorado. By 1726 they had apparently gone to live with the Cuartelejos and Palomas and absorbed them. In and after 1730 the Carlanas, Palomas, and Cuartelejos began to live with the Jicarillas, perhaps sometimes even being identified as Jicarillas (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:11, 12, 13). Later names for part of the Carlanas are Lipiyanes or Llaneros (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:xiv, 277); after 1750, only Jicarilla was used as a term for Apaches north of Pecos Pueblo (Schroeder 1974a:379). Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1971:13) suggest that the Carlanas, Palomas, and Cuartelejos had become the Plains (Llanero) band of the modern Jicarilla, whereas Schroeder (1974a:379) thinks that the Jicarilla division called Dáchizh-ó-zhǐn by Mooney (1897b) may be the former Carlanas. However, there is evidence that the term was still used under the form Carlanes in 1812, apparently as a synonym for the much more widespread Jicarilla (Carroll and Haggard 1942:128, 246). The etymology of the name Carlana is unknown. This group was apparently so called after the name of one of their chiefs (Thomas 1935:114–116). A synonym is apaches Carlanes, on Barriero's map of about 1728 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:171).

Apaches de Siete Ríos. This was a group living in an area called Los Siete Ríos 'seven rivers', between the Guadalupe Mountains and the Pecos River (Schroeder

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1974a:482). The name is mentioned for the first time in 1659 (Scholes 1937:396). The Apaches de Siete Ríos were also called Faraones up to 1726, when these two names were replaced by Natagés (Schroeder 1974a:506). A synonym is Apaches de los Siete Rios, 1710; the name was still found on European maps long after the name had disappeared on documents. Examples are Sept. Rivieres, 1755, 1789; 7 Rivieren, 1785, Sette Fiumi, 1798 (Schroeder 1974a:486).

Faraones. This group was probably first mentioned in 1675 as "Apaches called Paraonez" (Forbes 1960:171). The name is derived from Spanish *Faraón* 'Pharaoh', because these Indians were according to Torquemada, 1723, "the barbarians who did not know God or respect God, like the other Pharaoh" (Schroeder 1974b:491). The Faraones have not been firmly identified with a modern Apache tribe, but it seems likely that they merged with the Mescaleros (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:10, 21). Cordero, 1796, states that the Jicarillas are a branch of the Faraones, which is doubtful, as he is the only one to say so (Orozco y Berra 1864:369). According to Reeve (1958:207), the name was used about 1692 for Apaches living south of Zuni, on the west side of the Rio Grande, and also for Apaches living on the east side of the Rio Grande, so it did not have a specific meaning for a particular geographical group at that date. In the course of time, the name became restricted to the eastern group and other names came into use for the bands west of the Rio Grande. By 1720 and up to 1726, it was applied to all the Apaches between the Pecos River and the Rio Grande, and from the Santa Fe region south to the Conchos River in Mexico (Thomas 1935:166; Schroeder 1974a:506). From 1726 on, the name Natagé replaced Faraón in the southern part of the area. The name Faraón disappeared from contemporary use and was replaced by Mescalero in 1814 but continued to be noted on maps up to 1858 (Schroeder 1974a:506). Variant spellings include Pharaones, 1736 (Harrington 1939–1945), taraones, 1742 (Harrington 1939–1945), apaches faraones, 1765 (Tamarón y Romeral 1937:354), Taracones, 1799 (Schroeder 1974a:541), Apaches Faraone (Coues 1895, 2:632). Orozco y Berra (1864:59) gives a list of supposedly Faraón subdivisions, most of which are actually other Apachean tribes, non-Apachean Southwestern tribes, and non-Apachean Plains tribes; some of them are rare unidentifiable names. One of these, cuampes, was already considered a division of the Faraones in 1748 (Schroeder 1974a:386).

Apaches de Chilmo. These Apaches lived west of the Rio Grande, north of the Mansos and south of Acoma and were probably forerunners of the Warm Spring Apaches (Schroeder 1974b). They were considered separate from the Gila Apaches (Schroeder 1974a:291). The name is apparently derived from their chief's name El Chilmo; it seems to appear in 1667 and to disappear by about 1705 (Schroeder 1974b:21–23; Reeve 1958:223). The synonym Chilmos was used in 1702 (Schroeder 1974a:320).

Apaches del Acho. This name was first used under the form Apaches of the Achos nation by Gov. Antonio de Otermín in the 1680s (Hackett 1942:98). Their identity has never been established, but they should not be confused with the Acha of the 1540s mentioned by Pedro de Castañeda (Schroeder 1974a:271). When first mentioned, they lived in an area near or east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains (Schroeder 1974a:319). Reeve (1957:51) considers them Jicarillas, whereas Schroeder (1974a:320–322, 363, 495) shows that they would have been a western faction of the Lipan Apaches. The name Achos appears for the last time in contemporary documents in 1706 (Ulibarrí in Thomas 1940:5). In a later document (1746–1748) the spelling Hachos is used (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:17).

Cancy. Cancy is a French name that was used for several Plains Apache tribes. It is usually applied to the Kiowa-Apache and the Lipan, but it may also have been used for the Faraones (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:19) or for the Conejeros (Schroeder 1974a:113). This name is a French rendering of Caddo *k̓án?ci?* 'Kiowa-Apache', literally 'little duck' (Wallace L. Chafe, communication to editors 1973); Mooney (1898:245) gives Kántsi as a Caddo collective name for the Apache tribes but claims it means 'liars'. The term seems to have been first used, as Cantcy, by Joutel in 1687 (Margry 1876–1886, 3:409). Spelling variants are canecy, from Beaurain and La Harpe, 1719 (Margry 1876–1886, 6:289–290), Canze, from Casañas, 1691 (Schroeder 1974a:173), canchy or Connessi from Bienville, 1700 (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:19 where other variants are given), Cannecy (Schroeder 1974a:114). Maybe the Cancers of Valverde, 1719, are also Cancy (Schroeder 1974a:360).

Apaches Colorados. This name was apparently first used by Diego de Vargas in 1694 (Forbes 1960:254). It might refer to the Vaqueros living on the Canadian River, which was known to the Spaniards as Río Colorado (Schroeder 1974a:280). It should not be confused with an identical name that possibly referred to some Gila Apaches located somewhere southwest of Acoma (Schroeder 1974a:281).

Apaches del Mechón. This term was used by Diego de Vargas in 1694 (Forbes 1960:254). As *mechón* means 'large lock of hair' in Spanish, the name almost certainly refers to a peculiar kind of hairstyle. Schroeder (1974a:286, 1974b:80) speculates that they may have been a group of Gila Apaches or perhaps Navajos.

Apaches Conejeros. Also spelled Conexeros, this is another name given by Diego de Vargas in 1695 (Forbes 1960:262) and means 'rabbit eaters' or 'rabbit hunters'. Schroeder has assumed they were the Cancy (1974a:113),

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a Jicarilla division (1974a:380), or a Lipan division (1974a:495).

Chilpaines. Although at least part of this Plains Apache group may be the ancestors of the Lipans, it has been tentatively identified with many other groups or parts of groups. Schroeder states that Chilpaines (Chipaynes) is a synonym for Trementinas and for Lemitas (Limitas) and that these three names refer to one and the same division of the Lipan Apaches who lived on the Canadian River around 1700 (Schroeder 1974a:343, 344). The Chilpaines then joined the Jicarillas and lived with them as an identifiable group up to the late 1750s, when the name disappeared (Schroeder 1974a:379, 436). Schroeder (1974a:380) also states that some Chilpaines could have joined the Mescaleros in the 1740s and the late 1760s. Evidence for this may be the fact that the Chilpaines were called Sejines in their own language (Schroeder 1974a:343–344), which matches the Mescalero self-denomination Sejen-ne given by Cordero, 1796 (Orozco y Berra 1864:369). However, this term has also been considered a synonym for Faraón in 1715 (Thomas 1935:80, 98) and a name for a subordinate group of the Carlanas in 1745 (Schroeder 1974a:378).

The etymology of the name Chilpaines is unknown, and whether it is nothing but a variant of the term Lipan is still an open question. The first occurrence seems to date from Diego de Vargas, 1695 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:120) and is Apaches de los Chipaynes. Other spelling variants are: Chipaynes, Cipaynes, 1715 (Thomas 1935:80); Cipayno (Thomas 1935:98); Chilpanines, 1754 (Thomas 1940:135); and Chilpaines (Orozco y Berra 1864:59).

Apaches de Trementina. This term was first recorded in 1702 (J.M. Espinosa 1942:337). Schroeder (1974a:336) believes that they were Chilpaines or Lipans and shows that they were separate from the Faraones (1974a:496). The origin of the name is unknown, but *trementina* is Spanish for 'turpentine', which is evidence that this name has nothing to do with an unidentified branch of Apaches of Arizona called Tremblers, first noted in 1848, "who acquired their name for their emotions at meeting the whites" (Hodge 1907–1910, 2:814). Goodwin (1942:572) states that this term was applied once to the San Carlos or the White Mountain Apaches. Synonyms for the Apaches de Trementina were Trementinas, 1715 (Thomas 1935:82), 1748 (Villaseñor y Sánchez 1748, 2:412) and a misspelling Nementinas, 1706 (Thomas 1935:60–75).

Lemitas. The first occurrence of this name dates from 1706 (Thomas 1935:60–75). What Schroeder states about the identity of the Lemitas is identical to what he states about the Trementinas. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Variant spellings are Apaches Lemitas, Barriero's map of about 1728 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:171), and Limitas, 1715 (Thomas 1935:80).

Penxayes. Penxayes was used in 1706 to refer to a Plains Apache tribe that might have been part of the Carlanas (Thomas 1935:60–75) or one that was closely associated with them (Schroeder 1974a:495).

Flechas de Palo. Flechas de Palo, Spanish for 'wooden arrows' was used in 1706 as the name for another Plains Apache division that might have been part of the Carlanas or associated with them. As the term is not mentioned in 1719, Schroeder (1974a:363–364) has speculated that this division had been absorbed by the Carlanas or perhaps by the Cuartelejos by that time.

Pelones. Pelones 'hairless ones' in Spanish, was a Plains Apache group name that also first appears in 1706 (Schroeder 1974a:343). They were said in 1745 to have lived on the Red River and to be identical with the Ypandis (the Lipans) (W.E. Dunn 1911:266–268). D.A. Gunnerson (1974:255) thinks that they were perhaps Carlanas. The Pelones from the Lower Rio Grande referred to in Hodge (1907–1910, 2:223) are probably an unrelated group.

Nifora. Niforas was a cover term used by the Papagos, Pimas, and Maricopas for any captive taken from enemy tribes and sold to the Mexicans of Sonora (Goodwin 1942:572). It has also been considered a Pima Gileño name for the Yabipais (Coues 1900, 2:446). The term is apparently first used in 1716 (Schroeder 1974b:340). Spelling variants include Nichoras (Pfefferkorn 1949:29); Nijoras, 1811; Nijotes, and Nixoras (Goodwin 1942:572). See the synonymy in "Yavapai" (this vol.).

Padouca. Padouca was a cover term used by the French to designate several Plains tribes. The French were aware of the fact that at least some of the Padoucas were Apaches. In eighteenth-century French usage, Padouca seems to have finally replaced all other terms for Apacheans (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:20). The Apachean Padoucas encountered by the French on the Plains were probably Cuartelejo Apaches (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:121). The etymology of the name is unknown, but it is said to be of Siouan origin. One of the earliest occurrences of it seems to be on the Vermale map of 1717: "Païs des Appaches ou Padoucas orientaux" (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971:20). Later in the eighteenth century Padouca is applied to the Comanche, who replaced the Plains Apaches in many areas.

Yabipai. Yabipais, which is the same word as Yavapai, was used by Francisco Garcés as a term of Mohave origin synonymous with the Spanish word Apache as used at that time and with the same broad reference (Coues 1900, 2:446, 457). The term is used in the same way in Orozco y Berra's classification: *familia Apache ó yavipai* (1864:40).

Llanero. Llaneros, Spanish for 'plains dwellers', was probably never the name for an entity but rather the name of several groups that congregated seasonally in the High Plains for the buffalo hunt (Schroeder

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1974a:539). Before the name Llaneros came into use these Indians were simply called Apaches de los Llanos 'Apaches of the plains', 1702 (J.M. Espinosa 1942:337). The number and names of tribes covered by this term has changed in the course of history. In 1777 Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco stated that Carlanas, Natagés, and Lipans were included (Bolton 1950:249). For Cordero, 1796, the Llaneros included the Natagés, the Lipiyanes, and the Llaneros proper (Orozco y Berra 1864:381–382; Matson and Schroeder 1957:355). D.A. Gunnerson remarks that the Natagés were allies of the Llaneros rather than part of them, but that it is possible that the Llaneros absorbed the Natagés (1974:277); she also suggests that the Llaneros were part of the Carlanas and were also called Lipiyanes (1974:xiv, 253, 277). The term Llaneros is in the 1980s applied to a Jicarilla division, and there has also been a Mescalero division with the same name. The Apache name of the Llaneros given by Cordero, 1796, is Cuelcajen-ne (Orozco y Berra 1864:369), which corresponds exactly to the self-denominations of these Jicarilla and Mescalero divisions.

Lipiyán. Lipiyanes, of unknown etymology, is probably an Athapaskan word. The identity of this group was discussed in the preceding section; historical documents disagree as to whether it is just a synonym for Llaneros or a synonym for Natagés. The singular was Lipiyán, 1787, and a spelling Lipillanes, 1798, also occurs (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:266, 282).

Natagé. Natagés came to be used around 1726 to replace progressively the denominations Siete Ríos Apache, Sierra Blanca Apache, and Faraón of southeastern New Mexico (Schroeder 1974a:211, 506). By 1745, the Natagés were said to consist of two groups, the Mescaleros, in the El Paso and Organ Mountain region, and the Salineros, in the Rio Salado area; but these probably referred to the same group encountered in different locations (W.E. Dunn 1911:266–267). In 1749 and up to the late 1700s, the names Natagés and Mescaleros were used interchangeably; then Mescalero gradually replaced Natagé (Schroeder 1974a:512, 514, 525). Its last mention in contemporary documents dates from 1791, but it was still mentioned on maps in 1820 (Schroeder 1974a:513). The name, probably Apache in origin, may be related to Nataina 'mescal people', a division of the Mescaleros (Mooney in Hodge 1907–1910, 2:34), or it may be borrowed from the Lipan name for the Mescaleros, nátahĕ´ (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:846). Spelling variants and synonyms are Natagees, 1726, perhaps the first occurrence (Hackett 1931–1941, 3:236); Apaches del Natagè, Barriero's map of about 1728 (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:171); a misspelling of this is Apaches del Natafé (G.P. Villagrá 1900:94); Natagêes, 1736 (Harrington 1939–1945); Yabipais Natagé (Coues 1900, 2:452); Natageses; Natajes (D.A. Gunnerson 1974:232, 253).

Chafalotes. Chafalotes refers to a little documented group of southern New Mexico, first mentioned in 1775 (Thomas 1932:156). They were presumably called after Chief Chafalote, who was said to be a Gila Apache.

Calvo. Calvos, also spelled Calbos, is derived from one of the chiefs of this group, Captain Calvo, 'the bald one' in Spanish, also known as Brazo de Hierro 'iron arm' and Picaxande. The Calvos are mentioned in 1791, and Schroeder (1974a:537–539) feels that the facts suggest that they were Mescaleros who ranged east into the Staked Plains to join with the Lipans during the buffalo hunting season. Several other obscure Apache groups of little historical interest can be found in Hodge (1907–1910). Examples are the Alacranes and the Colina (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:34–35, 322).

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