Apache Art,

by

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D.F.G.
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Apaches, linguistic kinsmen of the Navajo, and a branch of the great Athabascan family, now reside in the Southwest, where they came at an indeterminate date, before the advent of the Spanish. They live at present on reservations in New Mexico and Arizona which comprise some of their old hunting grounds. New Mexico is now the home of the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Lipan tribes, designated generally as the Eastern Apaches. The Western Apaches, composed of the San Carlos, White Mountain, and Tonto, live in Arizona. The Jicarilla were probably in close contact with the Plains Indians, Taos, and other Eastern Pueblos. The Mescalero, being much farther south, had no close contact with the Pueblos but show Plains influence. The Chiricahuas are very similar to the Mescalero.

There are seventy-five distinct clans among the Western Apache; clans adopted after migration. The clans before migration were different. There is a relationship to Navajo clans and this is recognized by the Apaches.¹

According to Apache legend the Apaches came from the Navajo country. Due to some difficulty they separated from

¹Lecture by Granville Goodwin Ariz. Arch. & Hist. Society 1932
the Navajos and started south, breaking up into small bands. When they reached the San Juan these bands broke up into smaller groups and these settled in various places. These settlements were named for some particular feature (i.e. Red Water), and thus clan names were derived.\(^1\) It was, apparently, at this time that the Apaches were so named by the Zunis; Apache, meaning enemy.

These people offer many composite cultural traits of great interest to the ethnologist. Some elements of this culture may have been brought with them in their supposed migration from the north. Although distinct individual traits are distinguishable, some family instincts and traits seem to be followed. On the other hand, a great amount of borrowing has taken place and the Apaches are irrefutably influenced by the Pueblos, the Navajos, the Plains Indians, the Pimas, the Maricopas, and the Californian Indians. The early roving life of the Apaches has been largely responsible for this cultural borrowing. Although the Apache did not believe in marriage outside of the tribe, women of other tribes were often captured and compelled to live with them, and thus new cultural traits were introduced.

George Wharton James relates a tale, told to him by a medicine man, which illustrates at least one method of borrowing.

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\(^1\) Lecture by Granville Goodwin Ariz. Arch. & Hist. Society 1932
"On one occasion a great Navajo shaman was present and assisted his Apache brother in a healing ceremony of great importance. A noted and wealthy personage was very sick, and no expense was spared to restore him to health. The Apache medicine man sent for the Navajo and among the paraphernalia of the latter was this basket (A Paiute basket used by the Navajos in their wedding ceremony). The ceremonies over, the patient recovered, and when the Apache thanked his Navajo coadjutor and asked for the secret of his power, he was told among other things that the basket was 'heap good medicine'. From that day to this there are few Apache medicine men who do not count a Paiute basket as one of the indispensable articles of their craft."

This paper is not concerned with the evidences of cultural borrowing but with the individual artistic traits which distinguish the Apaches from other Indian tribes. We wish to show the distinctive elements of art as employed by the Apaches in the following manifestations: (1) Basketry, (2) Devil Dance Masks, (3) Sand Paintings, (4) Medicine Shirts, (5) Bead Work, (6) Violins, with an attempt to explain the symbolism and significance of the designs, and the legends which surround the symbolism.

Within this field, the fact that the Western Apaches differ considerably from the Eastern Apaches, and that there are also a great many differences among the tribal groups, will be taken into consideration. More detailed studies were made of the Western Apaches, due to their accessibility.

In attempting to analyze the elements of Apache art the following difficulties were encountered: (1) An inadequate

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literature; (2) a general lack of knowledge of the symbolism of designs by the Apaches themselves; (3) the pitfalls of over-zealous interpretation of symbolism.

An Inadequate Literature

Although the literature relating to the Apaches is at first glance voluminous, upon closer examination there is found a surprising paucity of relevant material. Most of the accounts deal with historically interesting phases of Apache life and touch with brevity, if at all, upon the cultural elements. More has been written about the more accessible Western Apache, while the Eastern Apache has been almost entirely neglected until lately. M. E. Opler (of Chicago) prepared his Ph. D. thesis on the Eastern Apache and when this is published there will be considerable new material on these tribes. At best, most of the "notes" on the Apache are incomplete.

Lack of Symbolism

The Apaches of today are, in most cases, unable or unwilling, to attribute any particular significance or symbolism to a specific design element. This was found to be especially true in basketry. Perhaps an explanation may be offered by the theory put forth by George Wharton James that, although
basketry designs of a people generally conform to certain patterns, each individual weaver develops her own set of symbols.¹ In the case of most of the baskets used as examples for this paper it was impossible to contact the weaver and thus designs seemed to be meaningless.

Over-Zealous Interpretation of Symbolism

In interpreting symbols certain well-worn paths seem to be generally followed and the investigator is ready with certain preconceived ideas. The earth-god, the sun-god, the moon-goddess, the war-god, and the goddess of fertility are a few examples of the preconceived notions which may be read into any set of symbols. In spite of the fact that the Indians themselves have, as a general rule, lost all sight of the significance of the designs, there is yet a recalcitrant desire on the part of the investigator to interpret with results which are usually unreliable.

¹ 24. p. 9.
II. BASKETRY

In basketry is exemplified all the artistic striving of the Apaches, from earlier stages to modern times.

While the advent of the Spaniards undoubtedly checked the free and spontaneous growth of the American aboriginal art, there is still enough remains among the basket-making peoples to enable us distinctly to trace their mental methods and reach reasonably accurate conclusions as to the processes of their art development. The processes of manufacture and ornamentation of basketry are doubtless little, if any, changed since Pre-Columbian times, so that in studying its historic and everyday manifestations we are having the mystic veil drawn aside in some measure, and taking glimpses of the native life of these people before advent of the Spaniards became a disturbing element. ¹

The nature of textile art is such that designs must necessarily follow certain rudimentary patterns. For example, the reproduction of a man, restricted by the mechanics of weaving, is always of geometric form. Thus, a similarity is shown in representation among the people who employ designs of the same category. The freedom of the potter is not allowed the basket-weaver, and thus, even naturalistic designs must, perforce, take on a conventional air. The particular delineation of a design is also limited by the type of weave employed. For this, the coiled methods seem to offer the best medium.

Among the Apaches two prevalent weaves are found, coiled and twined. Under these two divisions the materials, methods, uses, designs, and colors will be discussed.

¹23. pp. 119-120.
COILED BASKETS

There is some controversy as to which of the weaves originated first, but, according to evidence placed before us by the pre-historic baskets of the Southwest, coiled basketry was the first to be developed. This first coiled work was of an excellent type and Apache baskets somewhat resemble them. This developmental process seems to be true in the history of Apache basket-making. Many of the old Apache baskets are similar and are of the same type as those unearthed in the cliff-dwellings and the pueblo ruins.\(^1\) Possibly the inhabitants of these ancient settlements contributed in some fashion to the Apache. Perhaps the captive women carried with them a knowledge of coiling technic, which later developed among the Apaches into an art that far exceeded that of the Pueblo people. On the other hand, the technique may have been acquired from California which, today at least, is the center of the finest coiling of the most diverse kinds.\(^2\)

Coiled weaving is the best medium for ornamentation and consequently more difficult. Today the girls are instructed in the art of weaving at the age of six, but it is not until they reach the age of sixteen that they learn coiled weaving.

Whatever its particular origin the fact remains that the Apache women have attained a high perfection in the technique of coiling and the placement of design.

\(^1\)Ibid. 
\(^2\)Ibid.
MATERIALS & METHODS

The coils are round and composed of a three rod foundation, arranged in a triangular formation, or a two rod foundation, the two rods being placed side by side. If the body of the basket is of the two rod foundation type the last coil is composed of three rods. These rods are of willow or cottonwood twigs. The sewing material is of willow or of cottonwood. The black is made of the strips of the peeled pod of the devil's claw (martyna). When red is incorporated in the design it may be strips of manzanita bark or the roots of the yucca.

The willow or cottonwood splints are cut in the winter and are made up into bundles, bent into broad rings, and then are placed in a vessel and boiled moderately. This process tends to soften them so that they may be peeled with the fingers or the teeth. After these thick outer splints are peeled off they are washed thoroughly in cold water, dried in the sun, and then laid away for future use. The stripped twigs thus left are used in the coils.

The martyna grows similarly to a cucumber, sending out shoots which develop fruit. When this fruit reaches maturity (usually at the first frost) it becomes black. It is then that it is gathered. The pod is allowed to dry. When it is dry enough, the pods are split and strips are
made, washed, and laid away.

The type of yucca used for the red has a thick, pointed leaf, which tends to curve inward. When the plant reaches a certain stage in its growth, it sends out rootlets which become covered with a thick coating of tough red skin. This skin is stripped off of the rootlets and is split and dried. The red thus obtained is a very lasting red. The women dislike using red in their designs because it is so difficult to find.

The red made from manzanita bark is gathered in the fall when the bark has turned red. Strips are made and laid away for future use.

The bundle, or coil, is composed of two or three twigs of fairly uniform size which are padded with grasses to make an even bundle. The sewing material, or willow splints, is wrapped around the bundle and sewed into an element of the coil below, so that each coil is attached to the one above, making a compact basket.

SHAPE3

The shapes of baskets are largely determined by their function, plus an aesthetic feeling. Many baskets have shapes which are not at all ornamental but are purely functional, while others which are highly ornamental may also be functional.
It is generally accepted that the simpler the form, the earlier its use and the more primitive the people, while the more complex and specialized forms are products of the peoples more advanced in civilization.¹

The common shapes found in coiled basketry are flat and deep bowls, ollas, jars, plaques, and shapes that are copies of modern contrivances. A weaver finds that "tricky" shapes with lids, extraneous handles, and other unaesthetic combinations catch the eye of the inexperienced collector and sell readily, so that she is willing to sacrifice some art to commercialism.

The bowls, both flat and deep, were used as dishes until the advent of modern utensils upon the reservations. The food, such as corn-meal, was kept stored in these and they were used as receptacles for roots or berries gathered by the women. The ollas, ranging in size from six or seven inches to two and three feet, were used as large storage containers for acorns, corn, grass or other seeds. The jars had the same general purpose. The plaques are purely decorative and are sometimes used for gambling games. The modern shapes are made chiefly for commercial purposes.

¹23. p. 120.
DESIGNS & COLOR

Form has its relation to ornamentation in that the contour of the vessel controls its ornamentation to a large extent, dictating the positions of design and setting its limits; figures are in stripes, zones, rays, circles, ovals, or rectangles, according in no slight measure to the character of the spaces offered by details of contour.¹

Designs may be arbitrarily divided into four types; geometric, naturalistic, conventionalistic, and ideographic. It is generally conceded that the origin of geometric designs was purely accidental and due, in large measure, to the nature of the weaving. In preparing the splints some may have been of a slightly different color from others, and when these were worked into the fabric this difference would be noticed and the original effect thus produced would be duplicated.²

After the weaver saw what could be accomplished with the addition of colored splints she began to copy objects in nature which reminded her of certain things, or were connected with religion. She imitated them as closely as possible but her successors, in imitating her designs, grew away from the original until the design became so conventionalized that it bore no recognizable traits of the object it was to represent. This was the beginning of ideography, or symbolism. Ideography has been developed to such an extent that a small, apparently

120.
²8.
very geometric design may represent a whole religious idea or a period of migration.

Geometric designs follow certain well-defined lines of development due to the very nature of the media. At first they are simple and then gain complexity thru the ingenuity of the weaver. "The tendency of nearly all woven fabrics is to encourage, even to compel, the use of straight lines in the decorative designs applied."¹ The geometric designs found in the coiled basketry of the Apaches are frets, scrolls, checker-board designs, step designs, zigzags, bands, spirals, and triangles.

Naturalistic designs arise through a desire by the weaver to copy something in nature that has some special significance for her. Animals, plants, rain, water, clouds, mountains, and lightning are representative of this type of design. Although these designs are commenced as a natural representation, a digression soon takes place which changes them into conventional designs. As conventionalized elements they lose their original mono-significance and acquire diverse meanings. For example, the zigzag may represent lightning, ripples of streams, mountains, or waves, according to the individual taste of the weaver. The naturalistic designs, now modified by conventionalism, found in the coiled baskets are men, animals, centipedes, scorpions, eagles, butterflies, gila monsters, mountains, sun, sun, sun.

¹20.
valleys, lightning, water, meandering streams, stars, cacti, clouds, arrow points, spider webs, snakes, and the cross.

The conventionalistic designs, as has already been stated, are a composite result of geometric and naturalistic designs, modified by the limits of basketry. In fact, when a study of the designs is made it is difficult to arbitrarily divide the designs into certain types. Few of the naturalistic designs are definable in conventionalistic terms. The interpretation of the particular weaver is probably the sole means of determining to which class the design belongs, and even then it is debatable.

Ideographic designs are so classed because if a weaver is asked for an interpretation she may point out a small design and from it indicate a whole idea, or a series of ideas. These are, in reality, the highest stage of conventionalism.

Perhaps the best way to show the designs evidenced in coiled basketry of the Apache is to use a few chosen illustrations and discuss the design elements of each.

The various types of naturalistic designs, as found in a great number of baskets, are illustrated in Plate I. These designs are so classified and designated because of their resemblance to a general interpretation of such elements. However, the designs may have been placed upon the basket with an entirely different meaning.

Many of the baskets exhibit a queer combination of
naturalistic and geometric forms. Plate II is an example of such a basket. The naturalistic elements are a snake, an eagle standing on clouds, a deer, a man, a cross, and a gila monster. Although the eagle is familiar to and revered by the Indians of the Southwest, the juxtaposition of the eagle and the snake, as placed here, suggests an imitation of the famous Aztec symbol of Tenochtitlan. It is impossible to interpret the geometric design placed on each side. Perhaps it is purely a decorative element with no symbolism.

A close relationship between Pima and Apache baskets is seen in a very familiar design, a modified swastika, and its variations that occurs frequently in both. Plate III shows one variation of this design. Upon being questioned, both Pimas and Apaches gave the information that this design represents the water supply in the center and the geometric lines leading out from this reservoir represent meandering streams. At times it may also be representative of a whirlwind.

Plate IV is a beautifully arranged little San Carlos basket composed of conventionalized figures. The general interpretation for the symbol in the center is that of the sun. The four outer figures may represent battle axes. A Coyotero Apache woman who wove a similar symbol on her basket interpreted it as such. The black border line is common enough to be a distinctive feature of Apache baskets.

Generally when color is utilized in a basket it is
overbalanced by the natural color of the splints. The San Carlos basket on Plate V shows the contrary. This is a very complicated design with two outstanding elements; the cross and the star. An interpretation is impossible to make save to mention a few meanings of the cross. It may represent a star, a place of battle, or a phallic sign.

A basket from the collection of Mr. John Rapkey, which is at least forty years old, displays an interesting placement of naturalistic designs. This basket, on Plate VI, shows four long figures (scorpions) radiating from the center, with animals, men, snakes, and lightning interspaced between them. The elements suspended from the rim seem to represent clouds hanging in the sky. Perhaps, here, the scorpion has been elevated to the position of a mythological figure.

Plate VII exhibits three design elements placed in studied regularity around the basket. The central figure may be a star, or it may be a sun symbol. The next element has been used by various weavers to indicate a fence. The outer element is a simple meander which may be purely geometric, or which may symbolize a stream. This basket was made by Mrs. Mike Nelson (Touha), and shows a characteristic typical of her baskets; whenever she used a star she always outlined it.

A very simplified, elemental design is displayed on Plate VII. The main figure is a star within a star, with, perhaps, a sun symbol in the very center. The other design
might possibly be a bird.

Most designs are finished with true regard to the limits imposed by the shape, but some baskets are found which would lead one to believe that the weaver intended to make a larger basket but got tired and stopped. Such a basket is the one illustrated on Plate IX. The center of the basket is the familiar sun symbol, while the rest of the elements are a peculiar combination of naturalistic and geometric designs. The spacing of the designs is well planned, but they fail to be completed at the termination of the basket. In two places the lower part of a man may be seen, placed above animals with odd disfigurements. One animal supports two tails, the other supports a kinked tail and scattered figures which have no apparent connotation. Undoubtedly the weaver had some very definite plan in mind, but it is difficult to determine what it was. As a consequence of this non-completion of design the basket has little beauty, even though it is an excellent piece of weaving.

As soon as the Apaches mastered the art of coiling and the introduction of black splints to form designs they turned to other materials at hand and began to use red, in combination with black and the natural color of the splints. Plate X exhibits a basket in which these three colors are employed. The central element is a sun symbol, probably showing rays. The outside design is the familiar one of mountains and valleys.

Some baskets display designs which seem to have been
placed as they are purely for their ornamental value. The weaver has apparently conceived a design which would most proportionally fill the space offered by the preconceived shape of the basket. Plate XI offers such an example.

Plate XII is an excellent basket of very close weave, with an interesting arrangement of design and color. The large element in the center is a sun symbol with figures which might represent clouds arising from the rays. Men appear in the space left. The combination of red and black is well proportioned and indicates an intimate knowledge of the use of colors.

An example of a highly conventionalized, ideographic design appears on Plate XIII. The only recognizable element is the cross, otherwise the designs seem to have no significance for anyone but the weaver.

The Mescalero baskets present a fairly sharp contrast to those woven by the Western Apaches. The materials used are different; yucca is used most extensively. It is used while still green, when bleached to a yellow, or when bleached white. Most of the coils have a five-rod foundation, giving a wider and flatter coil. The weave is cruder and the design is not executed with such nicety. The basket pictured on Plate XIV is a typical example of Mescalero work (Heard Museum). This is a large, shallow basket of rather rough weave and inferior star design. Although the star was
woven simultaneously with the basket, the other figures were added after the basket was completed. The purplish color here in evidence is typical of Mescalero baskets.

The Jicarillas employ coiled basketry only for the manufacture of water jars. These are covered with warm piñon pitch, both inside and out. The white color of the outside is maintained by constant rubbing with white clay.

Ollas of the large variety offer shapes which lend themselves to banding. Plate XV shows a large olla measuring thirty-three inches in height. This olla was woven by Mrs. Joseph Anna Bell (Syama) some years ago. Three bands of designs are repeated in regular order to form the body of the vessel. The first element is a conventionalized butterfly with outspread wings. The butterfly is very important to the Apache and is endowed with many medicinal qualities. The second band is composed of alternating men and animals, supposedly deer. The third element is the familiar mountain and valley design. The weave is excellent and the designs are carefully worked out. It took Syama a year to make this olla, and at the time she was an old woman.¹

Another olla of equal excellence is figured on Plate XVI. This was made by another famous San Carlos weaver, Mrs. Hanna Randall (Nanitl). The design for the most part is highly conventionalized, with probable mythological significance.

¹From collection of Mr. J. B. Kitch.
The naturalistic designs, the men, and the deer are found with the cross. A possible interpretation of this is that, here, the cross indicates the slaying of the deer by the men. This olla is not as large as Syama's, being twenty-six inches in height. The weave is just as fine and the splints were apparently chosen with careful regard to uniformity of size.¹

Plate XVII exhibits an olla which, while lacking the uniformity in presentation of design that the other two ollas possess, is interesting for its peculiarity of design. The design elements are placed, with disregard for balance, in a disturbing arrangement. The designs run from top to bottom, rather than around the olla, and this detracts from the symmetry of it. Such a peculiar arrangement of design indicates a definite purpose on the part of the weaver to carry out her symbolism, but for anyone else it has no signification.

TWINED BASKETS

The art of twining is not as perfected as that of coiling, which leads one to believe that twining and coiling were introduced from two different sources and that twining came much later. Twining has not been as highly developed as coiling due to various reasons. First, and most important, is the nature of the baskets made in this weave. They are solely

¹From the collection of Mr. J. B. Kitch.
utilitarian so that little attention is directed to ornamentation, beauty of shape, or carefulness of weave. Strength for large burdens and for the storage of water and foodstuffs is the motivating idea. All effort is concentrated on this point and so the baskets have only a small amount of aesthetic value.

**MATERIALS & METHODS**

Twined baskets are made of cottonwood or willow splints, and sometimes of yucca splints. The thin, rod-like foundation is of young willow or cottonwood withes. The rods are laid crosswise at the bottom of the basket, usually four in number, and the splints are interwoven. As the basket grows in size more rods are added, or as the water jar is restricted at the neck the rods are cut out. The tops of both the water jars and the burden baskets are finished with two coils to give added firmness.

**SHAPES**

The shapes of the twined baskets are governed largely by their use. The most common ones are the *tus*, or water jar and the burden basket. The *tus* varies in size and is often large enough to contain five gallons. It has a globular body with a narrow neck and a wide, flaring mouth. There are two shapes of burden baskets. One is a conical shape of fairly
large size which seems to have been developed first. The other is the shape which is seen so often today. It has fairly straight sides, and a slightly curved bottom and is constructed to carry sizable loads.

USES

The tus is used for the transportation of water. It is made waterproof by the application of warm p?on pitch to the inside and outside. Loop handles, added to the sides, facilitate carrying. The burden basket is used for the carrying of wood and other heavy articles. It is used almost entirely by the women, who support extraordinary loads upon their backs.

DESIGN & COLOR

The tus is undecorated save for the dark brown color due to the addition of pitch. Red ochre or ground juniper leaves are sometimes added to the pitch. The burden baskets are decorated in band designs of simple geometric form. Some of them have both woven and painted elements. Leather is also used, as are tin bells, for ornamentation. A leather bottom is sewed on to insure the strength of the basket and fringe is left for decoration. Tin bells are added to the fringe, or are sewed onto the sides of the basket.

Plate XVIII shows the variety of designs found on burden baskets. Although the black and natural color combination is
a favorite among the San Carlos and White Mountain Apache, red is often introduced. The Mescalero Apache use many colors, both in woven and painted design and the weaving is rough and cruder.

Two typical burden baskets are shown on Plate XIX. In figure A, the black and red employed in the design are naturally colored splints of the martynia and manzanita. This basket comes from San Carlos. In figure B, the triangles are painted on the basket, while the other designs are woven. This is an Eastern Apache basket.
Basketry is an art developed unrestrictedly by the women, with shapes and ornamentation that are a matter of personal taste. The designs are chosen, not for some universal significance, but rather for the symbolism they may have for the weaver. On the other hand, Devil Dance Masks are manufactured by a restricted group, the Devil Dance Priests. The designs and shapes are not chosen by the individual priest, but definite and established modes are followed, with but slight modification. Religious symbols are steadfast and unchanging and not determined by the individual. As religion evolves and takes definite form certain symbols gain priority, and thus are figured in the paraphernalia of religious ceremony.

For the purpose of better understanding the use of the symbols on the Devil Dance Masks there follows, in generalized form, the principal myths which abound in Apache religion.

Summarily, the myths of origin, creation, and migration are:

The stories begin with an existence in the lowermost series of underworlds, of which there are four. These worlds are crowded, dark, and very uncomfortable. The creatures who inhabit them have anthropomorphic features, but still
retain some animal features, such as webbed feet. An upward search for other worlds is begun. The roof of the lowest world is finally pierced by a bird; the humming-bird in the San Carlos version.¹

In the course of flight from the third world to the fourth world a flood occurs, as a motive for haste. In the San Carlos version the humming-bird again leads the way to safety by piercing the sky and finding people above. The woodpecker and the turkey are the last to emerge. The Jicarillas relate that they escaped by means of four mountains which sprang up, and by a ladder placed on top of these.² Another version is that the sun builds four mounds for the people to mount and they make ladders of feathers.³

Somewhere in the upward climb man was formed by an act of creation. The creation was accomplished by means of rubbing epidermis from the sun or whirlwind. After creation of the people the emergence into the final world is accomplished. Upon the earth's surface man goes through a series of wanderings and migrations. Early in the history of the migrations, dissentions occur between men and women and they separate. While the women are living alone sexual irregularities arise, and from these are produced monsters of a gigantic size, which prey upon the race of men. The White Mountain Apache have a
cannibal owl of such origin.\textsuperscript{1}

After awhile the women ask to rejoin their husbands and the people move on, finally stopping at the present abiding places.

The myths are not at all clear as to how the various gods were created. It seems to be taken for granted that they were always in existence, except for the twin gods of war. While the women are separated from the men, certain women become goddesses and wives of the sun. The sun impregnates one of these women with his rays, and the elder god of war is the result. A second woman is impregnated by the water from a waterfall and the younger god of war is the result of this union. The White Mountain Apache describe the elder god of war as having webbed feet.\textsuperscript{2} The San Carlos give him a formless head and feet without toes.\textsuperscript{3}

There are definite myths, with variations, as to the origin of the world. All agree that the earth stands on four legs. Four variations of this myth are as follows:

The earth stands on four legs. Its origin was as follows: Once upon a time, a spider was suspended by his tiny cord. His chest became dirty. He rubbed off the dirt with his tiny fist and rolled a tiny ball with it. This ball began to grow and continued to grow until it became this mighty earth.\textsuperscript{4} (White Mountain Apache)

The sacred regions are at the four corners of the earth. At each is located a happy hunting ground, and the dead may go to whichever place they choose. Four men made the

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid. p. 137.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid. p. 109.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid. p. 116.
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid. p. 321.
earth and are now standing at the four corners holding it up. They are four of the gods to whom the Apaches pray. \(^1\) (Cibicu)

In the San Carlos myth the Sun rubs cuticle from his breast. He makes of one portion a humming-bird; of the other portion, the earth. \(^2\) Another San Carlos varient says that the black whirlwind makes the earth from the cuticle of his breast. \(^3\)

A myth, related to me by John Robinson, a Devil Dance Priest at Bylas, is as follows:—

The first people to inhabit the world were beings who resembled the masks now worn by the chedens (Devil Dancers). They had human bodies and the faces of the masks. They lived in holes in the earth and used to emerge at intervals to wander over the land. Finally the great Creator God made them all disappear down into these holes and then he created man. Although these beings have disappeared from our sight, they are still visible to the gods, and the gods tell us how to represent them. Whenever the water comes rushing down a stream, or rain falls, or the wind sighs in the trees, it is the voice of these people. When we give our Devil Dance we are propitiating them, because if they are not satisfied they will cause destruction.

This propitiation, coaxing, and attempt to pacify these people is clearly seen in the Devil Dance ceremony. So deep is the feeling of the priests that they readily believe that they become chedens as soon as the headdress is donned. They lose their identity as men and become god-like beings. The onlookers, entering into the spirit of the ceremony, also firmly believe this.

Mr. Reagan describes the ceremony as he witnessed it at

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\(^1\) Ibid.  
\(^2\) ibid. p. 27.  
\(^3\) ibid.
Fort Apache:

This dance takes its name from the idea that the evil one is the cause of sickness and that by dancing and singing he will be driven away. The dance is weird, grotesque, picturesque, and spectacular. The singers gather in the early evening and begin to sing, first in a low tone, but as night approaches the noise and din of chanting increases in volume and intensity. While they are singing, the devil dancers (cheden) prepare themselves for the dance. Seven torches were seen approaching the central fire from the outer darkness at about ten-thirty. The singers, seated around the pottery drum, at once begin to sing with more spirit. The ghosts (devils) approached and retrograded backwards into the darkness, time after time. Finally, a nude dancer looking like pictures of the devil and wearing horns, ran at great speed through the throng of singers and sightseers, whirling a bull-roarer. He ran away from the crowd and then the singers coaxed him back with their loud singing. Then the seven devil dancers all came. The other six had enormous headdresses made of cloth masks and yucca lath crests; though different, each represented the spreading tail of some bird. The naked bodies of each of the six actors were adorned with garlands of evergreen. Their white breechcloths and gee-strings, red-tinged mocassins with circled, turned-up toes, the reddish brown bodies dancing around the central fire presented a never-to-be forgotten sight.

The leader carried a triple medicine cross decorated with feathers. As they danced they pretended to offer this cross to the singers who would reach for it, only to have it withdrawn. Then the singers sang louder, but coaxingly, that the cross might be given to them. The 'devils' then went around among the seated peoples 'quarters' and compelled the men to join the singing group.1

In the Devil Dances that I have witnessed (San Carlos and Fort Apache dancers), there have been four chedens and one clown. The clown is distinguished from the rest by his headdress. It is usually a white cross with a white mask and his body is painted white with a black cross drawn on his chest.

127. p. 327.
The main purpose of this clown seems to be to taunt the other dancers, to use the bull-roarer and to afford amusement for the crowd.

In many dances the chedens do not take part seriously. Although their primary function seems to be to drive away evil spirits they often have contests to see who can get the most laughs from the onlookers. In this case each dancer separates himself from the other four and performs in the center of the circle made by the audience. He gyrates, falls, leaps, and exerts every muscle in attempting to accomplish dance steps which will amuse the crowd. Such a performance may last all night, with the dancers taking turns.

A more serious part is played by the chedens when they dance in the Puberty Ceremony of the girls. This ceremony is given with all the elaborateness and expense of a society girl's debut. Devil Dancers must take part in the ceremony, or it cannot be given. As is often the case, it is postponed until the relatives have enough money to pay for the Devil Dancers. Their purpose in the ceremony is to safeguard and protect the girl from all evil influences at this time and in her future life. Even here, the seriousness is tempered with fun and the audience is vastly amused. Although the chedens are so necessary to the Puberty Ceremony, they appear only infrequently. They dance for an hour, leave and go wandering in the hills where they can be heard chanting and then return to dance again.
The probable origin of this dance is undetermined. It is considered by some to be a revival of an old war dance. The Apaches often call it the "Wild Dance". At present it seems to have lost its original place and is used in all ceremonies.

The Devil Dance headdresses will be discussed in detail as to (1) Materials, (2) Shapes, (3) Designs.

MATERIALS

The headdresses are made of yucca lathes which are whittled to a thickness of about one-fourth of an inch. The stalk of the yucca is the source of the material. The laths are held together by leather thongs, strings, or by connecting pieces of yucca. The semicircular piece, which acts as a frame for the cloth mask, is made of a small willow, or cottonwood limb, bent into shape while still green.

SHAPES

The usual shape is spreading, or fan-like. These seem to represent symbols of the sun, rather than the "spreading tails of some birds". The end of the laths are pointed, or are made into small circles. The shapes are difficult to describe, because, although they resemble each other in a general way, no two are alike. A clearer conception may be had by consulting 127, p. 327.
the illustrations presented here.

DESIGNS

The designs may be divided into two types; (1) the designs used by the true priests of the Devil Dance clan, and (2) the designs used by the priests who make the headdresses and take part in the dance, but who are not true Devil Dance priests.

The designs used by the true priests are shown on Plates XX, XXI, and XXII. Four representations of each design are shown to indicate that these symbols have directional meanings according to their color. Each cardinal point has its distinctive color; South is blue, North is white, West is yellow, and East is represented by black. As there are four gods, each at a cardinal point, the color of the symbol indicates from which god it comes, or which god is being appealed to.

John Robinson, the only true Devil Dance priest in the San Carlos region, drew the designs shown on Plates XX, XXI, and XXII. His explanation of each follows: Figure A, Plate XX is the symbol for the voice of the sky. The cross points to the direction from which the voice came. This symbol may also be used to mean the beginning of life. Figure B, Plate XX is the design used to represent the voice of the lightning, or the reverberations that are heard after the clap of thunder. John Robinson was most emphatic in stating that this was not a snake, nor was it intended to represent one. He gave an
ingenious explanation for the forked tail:

The forks of the tail work in the same way that the antennae of a radio do. The sound is caught by them and is amplified, and thus we are able to hear it.

Figure A, Plate XXI is the symbol of the sun. The petal-like figures which radiate from the central disk represent the rays of the sun. The cross in the center of the disk again represents the beginning of life. Long ago these symbols were made of turquoise and were worn as pendants by the medicine men and priests. Henry Delto, the interpreter, added an aside, that this was worn, revered, and used much as the rosary is today. Figure 3, Plate XXI is a symbol representing lightning. The four dots found at the tail are representative of the fire-balls sometimes observed at the end of forked lightning.

Figure A, Plate XXII is a complicated symbol. The diamond represents the sky, and the dots indicate light shining bright in the sky. The four appendages are feathers. The feathers are prayers offered up to the gods. The birds are the only beings who can get near the gods and, therefore, if prayers are attached to bird feathers (usually eagle feathers) they will be wafted to the gods. Figure B, Plate XXII represents the humming-bird, the leader of the Apaches into the outer world. The color of the bird indicates the direction it is from, or the direction it is going to. This bird acts as a messenger between the gods and the Apaches.
When John Robinson had finished interpreting these symbols, he added, as further explanation:

Just as in the Christian religion you are forced to believe in things which you cannot see, so it is in the Apache religion. All of the symbols that I use on my headdresses are of things that I cannot see, but in which I believe. All of the things are as the Creator God sees them when he looks down. The Creator God instructs the priests in the way these things are to be drawn, and these things I learned from my father when I was a small boy.

Plate XXIII is a headdress made by John Robinson many years ago. It is decorated with two symbols representing the voice of the lightning, which by their coloring represent the South and the East. The cross situated between the two heads of the symbols is the center of an incomplete sun symbol; the cross showing the beginning of life. Its yellow color denotes the west. The mask is decorated with other designs which have no apparent symbolism and are used merely for decorative purposes.¹

Another old headdress made by John Robinson is shown on Plate XXIV. The voice of the lightning symbol is from the west, as is the humming bird. Surrounding the humming bird is a modified sun symbol. The blue disks are modified symbols of the voice of the sky with the cross left out. Here, too, other designs are added to give symmetry.²

On Plate XXV is another headdress made by John Robinson. The voice of the lightning is from the south, and so is the

¹ Arizona State Museum.
² Ibid.
humming bird. The cross is the central part of the sun symbol, but the exterior disk and rays are excluded. The circles which decorate the top of the mask carry out the directional colors of south and west.¹

The adaptations and conventionalizations that the designs undergo, when they are used by the men who are not true priests, are illustrated on Plate XXVI. The modifications of the sun symbol, and of the sky symbol, are shown. In the case of the sun symbol the rays are modified and changed, but they still remain rays. The cross and the interior dots are excluded. The sky symbol has become extremely simplified. Except in one case, the prayer feathers are left off entirely. The cross and the dots of light are also omitted. As can be seen, even the colors differ somewhat, and the four true directional colors are not always used.

The headdress figured on Plate XXVII was worn by a San Carlos Apache. The circular design may be a very simple sun symbol, or the symbol representative of the voice of the sky. The red is a color that was probably introduced quite recently in Devil Dance headdresses, although red is found in the designs painted on Medicine Shirts of some antiquity.

The mask shown on Plate XXVIII is in the Heard Museum, and came from Fort Apache. The sun symbol is easily recognized,

¹Arizona State Museum.
but the other designs seem to be of the purely geometric type found on so many headdresses of this category.

Plate XXIX is a reproduction of a headdress from San Carlos, showing two modified features. The diamonds are clearly the sky symbol, with feathers, dots, and crosses omitted. Two directions might be represented by the color scheme, namely, east and south. The orange color is another innovation for which there is no explanation.

The Fort Apache mask figured on Plate XXX exhibits designs which are a close approach to those of John Robinson. The sun symbol is found at the ends of three cross pieces, with well represented rays. The sky symbol depicted in the middle of the headdress shows two prayer feathers. The cross is modified into a smaller diamond. The use of the red and orange is inexplicable.

The sun symbol of the mask displayed on Plate XXXI is well represented. As all of them are yellow, the direction indicated is west. The semi-circular design of purple, orange, and yellow is a rainbow, a figure often found in the sand paintings. Two simple sky symbols of the south are also pictured.

The headdress, from San Carlos, pictured on Plate XXXII shows intricacy of construction. The sun symbol and the sky symbol are figured prominently. The yellow color, distinctive
of the west, is used here entirely, except for the black rays and the orange center.

Sometimes the masks have shapes which depart from the usual form. An example of this is shown on Plate XXXIII. The only familiar design utilized here is the sky symbol of the west.
IV. SAND PAINTINGS

As Devil Dance headdresses are governed in their designs by adherence to certain religious rules, only slightly modified by personal interpretation, so are sand paintings a manifestation governed by formulae which are changed only to a minor degree.

Curtis, in 1907, wrote that the dry paintings of the Apache are almost gone now.¹ The information concerning them is not plentiful and Reagan's detailed descriptions are the only ones available.

The sand paintings are used in extreme cases of illness with elaborate ceremonies. "The rites in connection with them, however, are, is some points at least, singularly similar to the Navajo ceremonies; as the coal purification, the seating of the patient on the picture, and the basket drum."² The painting is destroyed promptly after it is used. After it is destroyed the spectators gather the sacred dust. The whole ceremony has a single purpose; which is to drive away the evil spirits that cause the sickness.

Mr. Reagan's description of one of these sand paintings gives a clear picture of its form and the component parts.

¹7. p. 31.
²31. p. 334.
This was a gunelpieya medicine disk performance. The disk was prepared in the daytime and used before the close of day, as such disks must be made, used, and destroyed in one day. It was a sand drawing on the ground some sixteen feet in diameter and was composed of rings surrounding a three-foot circular center. The center contained two major drawings, the darker was a representation of the sun (called choogon-no-i). It occupied the South position. This and the second major drawing, a figure of the moon, occupied positions in a north and south line. Around these was drawn a rainbow making a complete circle in the form of an ellipse, except at the east where an open space was left. The colors of the rainbow, beginning with the inner side, were white, black, green, and red. Standing on the rainbow was a circle of chedens, fourteen in number. The four southeast ones were black; a single cheden colored with rainbow ribbons was followed on the southwest and west by four red colored devil(cheden) dancers. The chedens in the north segment were colored green; those on the east white, except the one next to and just north of the open space, which was shown in back view, and was all black. In the west and in the north segment was a cheden of the rainbow type. Around the chedens was another rainbow. Standing on it was a duplication of the chedens above, except that they were double in number. One cheden in each circle had a peculiar drawing over his head. This drawing in each circle occupied the northeast position. Around this outer circle of chedens was drawn another rainbow. This completed the disk which contained fifty objects in all. Each cheden was two feet in height and the rainbow circles were about a foot in width. The last figure north of the open space in the last cheden circle was a drawing of a goat.¹

The materials used for this sand painting were: ground-up limestone for white; charcoal for black; ground-up sandstone for red; and ground-up cedar leaves for green.²

After days of ceremonies over patients who steadily grow worse, the medicine men have recourse to one last

²Ibid. p. 340.
ceremony. In the morning a sand painting is prepared as an integral part of this ceremony. This disk differs from the one just described, in that only one god is represented; this is the Father of the Day, or Sun Father.

This drawing is also some sixteen feet in diameter. Only the head of the sun god is shown. It has a crown for a hat and a necklace of suspended 'medicine squares'. The nose, the neck, or the body are not represented. The mouth is very peculiar. "The lips are in the form of a square, set naturally with the face. They are parted, showing the odd-shaped mouth. This is shaped like a diamond, or a square drawn so that each of its respective corners bisects a side of the square that forms the lips." A pipe is suspended from the left side of the mouth, and a bolt of lightning is drawn on the stem. From each corner of the lips a funnel-shaped wisp of the sun's rays extend.

Another sand painting observed by Mr. Reagan also used the sun disk as its bordering element. It was about sixteen feet in diameter, with rings of black, except for the last one which was only a mark. The disk was covered with paintings of the rainbow, beasts, and chedens which were colored white, red, black, and green.

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1 27. p. 340.
2 Ibid. p. 341.
3 Ibid. p. 341.
4 Ibid. p. 333.
In their sand paintings the Apaches always strive for realism, rather than symbolism. The only figure which is represented in a symbolic way seems to be the sun. Goddard thinks that the Apache believe the more animals they represent the better, and says they would wish to include "all the animals which are on the earth."¹

¹12. p. 266.
V. MEDICINE SHIRTS

A curative agent, used in conjunction with the sand paintings, is the medicine shirt. A piece of buckskin is carefully tanned, and the designs are painted on it. The term 'shirt' is perhaps misleading, because they are not always worn as shirts. Often they are just carried on the person of the medicine man. These shirts are imbued with medicinal qualities and act much in the same way as a talisman, or amulet. When the shirt is not in use it is kept wrapped up in a secret place. Wrapped with it may be pieces of turquoise, shells, hoddentin (sacred pollen), feathers, quartz, or other articles which also have medicinal qualities, and add to the medicine of the shirt. If the medicine man, hired by the patient, possesses a shirt the patient is allowed to wear it on his person.

The designs on these shirts are most interesting and are perhaps the freest expression of art to be found among the Apache. Although each shirt is different, not only in form and composition and in the symbols employed, a generalized list of symbols may be given. The sun, moon, stars, rainbow, lightning, snakes, clouds, rain, hail, tarantula, centipede, feathers, and one or more gods.¹

¹5. p. 593.
The colors utilized in the designs are different from any colors that have been so far used in any of the painted decorations. Perhaps due to the surface of the buckskin the colors become pastel in shade.

Plate XXXIV illustrates a medicine shirt that was in reality used as a shirt. There is a slit for the head but otherwise the garment is formless. The individual designs here depicted are three gods, two large and one small god, two centipedes, a snake, and two sun symbols. The shirt is bordered by a cloud design. Suspended from the arm of one god is a string of feathers. The faces of the two larger gods are distinctly reminiscent of the symbol for the moon god. The centipede seems to be elevated to the position of a god in the Apache pantheon.

Another medicine shirt, figured on Plate XXXV, is only a piece of leather, and has no slit for the head. Two gods figure prominently in the design, one the sun god, the other the moon god. The two designs near the center of the 'shirt' are also representative of the sun and moon respectively. Rainbows, a cross with prayer feathers attached, a lone feather, two tarantulas, and lightning symbols compose the rest of the decoration. It is of interest to note the blankets worn by the gods and the ornamentation of fringe and bells. The noses and the mouth are left out of the faces.

15. Plate VI.
Ibid. Plate VII.
A most elaborate and complicated medicine shirt is pictured on Plate XXXVI. Some of the symbols are crosses, a god, six sun symbols, clouds, rain, hail, stars, feathers, and a headdress. Contrary to the usual form, these designs are very conventionalized, rather than naturalistic. The designs are not placed with any regard to symmetry and the general effect is a hodge-podge one.¹

Mr. Reagan observed a medicine singing in which the medicine man wore a shirt of buckskin. It was profusely decorated with feathers and clam shells on each of the four edges. In front there were two god designs, one on each side and about four inches below the shoulders. One was a representation of the sun god with rays eight inches long projecting from it; the other was a moon mask god design with the typical feather-crested head. The lower part of the shirt was decorated with a snake design. The central figure of the back was a god design and on either side, in a perpendicular line, were three crescent moons. Just below the arms was a butterfly design.² (The butterfly supposedly has great medicinal qualities.)

At another ceremony Mr. Reagan saw a medicine shirt that was suspended above the bed of a patient. On the left side there were five feathers and five clam shells, each of which

¹ Plate VIII.
² 227. p. 322.
suspended from a god design. The first one was a terrible monster, with crayfish claws. The second one was a representation of the sun god. The others were so covered with feathers that Mr. Reagan could not make them out. Next came a perpendicular row of four figures; a huge spider, the crescent 'dark' moon, the crescent 'light' moon, and the sacred butterfly, from the top to the bottom respectively. In the center were suspended four feathers and four clam shells. The right side was identical to the left side in arrangement of feathers and shells. Only the first god was exposed and this was the moon god. The margin of the shirt was decorated with a rainbow and a snake.¹

¹27. p. 325.
VI. BEAD WORK

Bead Work is an art of relatively recent development among the Apaches. It was not until they came into contact with the traders and their colored beads, that the women began to use these beads for decorative purposes. At present, bead work has gained great precedence over other types of artistic manifestations, due to the fact that a piece may be rapidly completed and still fulfill the longing for aesthetic expression.

MATERIALS & METHODS

The beads used are entirely machine made. The Apaches have never made beads which could be used in weaving. The beads range in size from very minute ones to beads which are one-eighth of an inch thick and one-quarter of an inch in diameter. A simple loom is constructed of a piece of wood with two vertical ends. The strings are placed on one end and secured with nails. The beads are then strung on in the desired pattern.

OBJECTS

The most common objects are belts, watch fobs, hat bands, envelope purses, head bands, and collars. These are completely
composed of beads. Other objects are decorated with beads, such as buckskin dresses, shirts, mocassins, and awl holders. None of the elaborate beading of the Sioux is done by the Apaches.

USES

Most of the objects are every-day ones of practical use, such as belts, hat bands, and purses. The women carry the large envelope purses under their skirts with all of their precious belongings in them. Some of the objects, however, are used in ceremonies. The elaborate collars are worn by the girls who take part in the Puberty ceremony. Often buckskin dresses, decorated with beads, are also worn in this ceremony.

DESIGNS

The designs have little significance, because they are without symbolism and lack any intrinsic Apache characteristics. For the most part, the designs are copied from things which appeal to the weaver. One woman at Fort Apache became intensely interested in copying the designs from a sherd of prehistoric pottery.

In general, the designs are geometric and ones that are executed easily with beads. Squares, triangles, diamonds,
chevrons, horizontal and vertical lines, zigzags, and crosses are the most common elements. The collars, which are used in the Puberty Ceremony, are often decorated with a conventionalized or curvilinear design.

Figure A, Plate XXXVII is a portion of a rather elaborate belt. The particular design elements are well executed and complicated effects are produced by narrow outlining of figures and the use of many colors. The diamond, the triangle, the chevron, and the star are the principal elements. The rest of the belt was an exact reproduction of this part.

Figure B, Plate XXXVII is part of a head band which has simple squares alternating with vertical lines. Only two colors are used but the combination of the two is very striking.

Figure C, Plate XXXVII is one half of a watch fob in which only three colors are used. These colors are alternated in the triangle and band designs, so that the design is interesting for itself and the composition.

Figure A, Plate XXXVIII shows the most common color combination; blue and white is a favorite. The design elements are simple and purely geometric, showing a modern influence. Figure B, Plate XXXVIII is of the same color combination with diamonds as the decorative element.

Figure C, Plate XXXVIII is an elaborate belt with pendant tassels. The main body of the belt is simply decorated with yellow triangles on a white background. The two outside tassels bear only line decorations, while the middle one has a zigzag design.
VII. VIOLING

The musical instruments of the Apaches are mostly very primitive and bear little decoration. The exception to this general rule is found in the violins. These are elaborately decorated and carefully made. Their only resemblance to a true violin is that music is made by drawing a bow over strings. Otherwise, the shape is alien to that of any other violin.

MATERIALS & METHODS

The body of the violin is made from the stalk of the aguave plant. During the spring the aguave sends up a long stalk which bears a blossom. Later this stalk dies and it becomes dry and very hard. The part used for the violin is cut close to the plant to obtain the greatest diameter. The stalk is then split and the pithy center is removed, except for a capping left at the ends. The two halves are then placed together to form a hollow cylinder and are secured by three strands of wire. The strings are of horse-hair and may be tightened or loosened for tone much in the same way that a regular violin is operated. The bow is made of willow that is bent to shape. The bow-string is also of horse-hair
and is bound to the bow with strings of gut. The designs are painted on with poster-paints and water colors.

DESIGNS

As the manufacture of these violins has been done practically by one Indian, the designs are all very similar and vary but little. The colors employed are orange, green, blue, yellow, red, purple and white. The designs are arranged in a wide band at the top and the bottom, with a wide middle band and two narrower bands between.

Plate XL is a typical violin with the usual designs. The band at the top is a composite one representing clouds, rain, and the sun. The suns hang pendant from the rain designs. The next band, a narrower one, is a small edition of the same design. Only the elaborate rayed sun design is left out. The central band is a series of white diamonds which are outlined with bands of various colors. The final design thus produced is one of mountains and valleys. From each mountain a prayer feather is suspended. The next narrow band is composed entirely of gayly colored sun symbols which have red rays. The band decorating the base is identical to the one at the top.
VIII. CONCLUSION

There exists a central core of characteristic Apache development, although there has been much cultural borrowing. In the time that has elapsed since the Apaches entered this area the evidences relating to cultural borrowing have been lost. But, there remains the indelible evidences of the designs themselves to point out possible diffusions.

In attempting to point out the true Apache characteristics it has been found that, due to this lack of definite evidences of cultural borrowing, the results obtained fall short of being precise. We must allow, also, for some errors arising from the interpretation of symbols, and the general lack of an adequate literature. The fact that the Apaches themselves have lost much of their knowledge about the designs and seem to rather automatically use them is an important one.

With all of these hindrances to satisfactory conclusion, duly noted, it is still possible to arrive at rather definite ideas concerning the true Apache characteristics.

The Apaches have presumably come into the Southwest with a meagre culture comparable to that of the remote Northern Athabascan nomadic tribes to which they belong. The Apaches have borrowed extensively from the people they came into
contact with, and yet they have retained some of the cultural features brought with them and have developed new cultural features which are indubitably their own. The girls' puberty ceremony, sweat baths, and beliefs and practices associated with death are so close to the ceremonial procedure of the Northern Athabascans that their origin cannot be doubted.

On the other hand, the cultural borrowing which has taken place has given rise to distinctive Apache characteristics. Because the Apaches were once close associates of the Navajos, much has been diffused through them. Sand Paintings and Devil Dance masks show this infusion. It is probable that only the central idea, especially the ceremonialism, was retained and that then, an individual development arose. Although much of the ritual in connection with the sand paintings is 'singularly similar' to the Navajo, an individual development is expressed in the naturalistic designs which are used in the paintings. Symbolism or conventionalism is rarely involved, except in the case of the sun symbol. The gods depicted are truly Apache, although in the dim past they were probably infused from the Navajo gods. The sun symbol is reminiscent of a similar painting employed by the Zuni for initiation ceremonies. It also resembles the sun symbol used by the Utes, but is given the Apache treatment so that it can be in most cases identified as their own.

Undoubtedly the idea for masked dances came from several
different sources, and the result is a completely Apache headdress. In their various wanderings the Apaches came into close contact with the Pueblos and the Plains People, and much borrowing went on. The original idea was probably gained from the Navajo, but was later modified by these contacts with the Pueblo and the Plains People. The masks used today by the Apaches cannot be compared closely with any other existing masks. Their shapes and the designs are truly Apache and have been developed over a great period of time. This development is even evident today and a schism has occurred. The old way of decorating the masks is slowly giving way to the new, which is much simpler and more conventionalized. This has arisen through the fact that the old symbols of religion are slowly being lost and but a chosen few retain them.

Basketry is one of the primary cultural phases of a sedentary group, but it is a rare occurrence in a nomadic group; that is, weaving in a high stage of development. Possibly the Apaches brought with them a crude type of weaving in their trek from the north. The nomadism continued even after they reached the Southwest, but basketry was developed because of contacts which were made. Of more importance than this crude type of weaving which may have been brought with them, is the evidence of the borrowing of the art from a neighbor and then developing it into a characteristic art.
The debt the Apaches owe to the Plains People cannot be overlooked, but it must not be overly stressed. In the case of basketry it is unlikely that the Plains People exerted any influence in the earlier stages. Most of these tribes are nomadic and without any great development of weaving. On the other hand, evidence closely points to the Pueblo People as a probable source of coiled basketry. When the Apaches took over the art they carefully developed it into one of their own. They adapted the best weaving materials that were available, namely, willow, cottonwood, martynia, yucca, and manzanita. At first the women probably copied the designs they saw, but soon their native ingenuity came to the fore and true Apache designs were developed and woven with an Apache technique. Later, as the migrations became wider and more numerous, the Apaches came into contact with the California Indians, and the Indians residing in central Arizona. New ideas and improvements on technique were gained from the Palomas and the Pimas. The mark left by the Palomas is not as definite as the one left by the Pimas. One particular design was adopted from the Pimas and remains to this day, modified by a few Apache characteristics. This design is the swastika, symbol of the whirlwind, or the central water supply. Even though adoption and modification has taken place, the original symbolism has not been lost because both tribes agree on the interpretation.

A marked similarity is seen between Arapaho and Apache
baskets. The technique is very similar as well as the designs. The occurrence of well developed basketry among the Plains Indians is so rare that it would lead one to believe that the borrowing here has been from the Apaches with possible later interchanges of ideas.

Although the sources of coiled basketry designs and technique have been highly diversified, the resultant art is a unified and characteristic one.

Twining undoubtedly came from a different source at a somewhat later time. It is impossible to trace this source definitely, except to state that it was probably the Pueblos, who use twining almost exclusively. This weave, although it was modified to the particular uses of the Apache, never reached a very high stage of development. It is used mainly for baskets with practical purposes and strength, rather than for those where beauty is emphasized.

Thus, it can be seen, that although much cultural borrowing took place, from many wide spread sources, there has been an unification and molding together, until there has been developed a central core of characteristic Apache art.
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*Indicates Title Cited in this Paper.

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PLATE I

Mountains and valleys  Butterfly

Man  Animal  Eagle  Snake  Gila Monster  Cactus

Spider web  Arrow points  Mountains  Meandering stream

Sun symbol  Cross

rain  Star
PLATE III

SAN CARLOS BOWL
PLATE V
PLATE VI

SCORPION BOWL
PLATE VII

TOUHA'S BOWL
PLATE XVIII

DESIGNS ON TWINED BASKETS
PLATE XXI

Figure A

Figure B

JOHN ROBINSON'S DESIGNS
PLATE XXII

Figure A

Figure B

John Robinson's Designs
PLATE XXVI

MODIFICATIONS OF THE SUN
AND SKY SYMBOLS
WHITE MOUNTAIN MASK
WHITE MOUNTAIN MASK
PLATE XXXVII

Figure A

Figure B

Figure C

BEAD DESIGNS
PLATE XXXVIII

DEAD DESIGNS

Figure A

Figure B

Figure C