A SUMMARY OF JICARILLA APACHE CULTURE[1]

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GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

THE country which the Jicarilla Apache claim as formerly their own includes the central and eastern portions of northern New Mexico and the adjoining portion of southern Colorado. These Apache recognized the Arkansas River as their northern boundary, the Canadian River as their eastern limit, the region around the present site of Mora as the southern outpost, and a line extending north and south from where Chama now stands as their boundary to the west. That part of their territory to which they confined their actual home sites lay between the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh degrees north latitude, extending no farther east than the present site of Springer and to Tierra Amarilla on the west.

CULTURAL POSITION

It is impossible to identify Jicarilla culture completely with any one of the areas to which North American Indian tribes are conventionally assigned; Jicarilla cultural allegiance is tripartite, rather. The material culture and the war-path and raiding complexes show a decided orientation towards the Plains. Contact with the Pueblo peoples of the upper Rio Grande has left its impress in the development of a Jicarilla corn complex and in the ritual life. But despite the interesting differentiation towards Plains and Pueblo characteristics, Jicarilla culture is in fundamental agreement with a round of beliefs and traits which the Southern Athabaskan-speaking tribes share with one another. Jicarilla culture can be best comprehended as a growth and modification of this basic Southern Athabaskan pattern in terms of Plains and Pueblo influence. A tribe which the Jicarilla closely resembles within the Southern Athabaskan-speaking group is the Navaho. In mythology, rites, supernaturals, and the practice of agriculture the correspondences between these two tribes are especially striking.

BAND, LOCAL GROUP, AND FAMILY

The Jicarilla tribe was divided into two bands. The eastern band, called by the Jicarilla gùłgàhén or "plains people" and known in the literature as the Llanero, ranged east of the Rio Grande and had their favorite re-

[1] The field-work upon which this summary is based was carried on upon the present Jicarilla Reservation in northern New Mexico from the spring of 1934 to the spring of 1935 and was made possible by financial assistance from the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Southwest Society, and the National Research Council. To these institutions and organizations grateful appreciation is acknowledged for their generosity and support.

treats in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The second band lived west of the Rio Grande and called itself sáidłndé, "sand people," but is known in the literature as the Ollero. The difference between the two bands was no more than a matter of geographic location. Informants attest that no cultural or linguistic differences between the two bands existed. The members of the two bands intermarried freely. Residence is ordinarily matrilocal among the Jicarilla. Therefore, when the parents belonged to different bands, the children became members of the band of the mother.

Each band was further divided into local groups. The Jicarilla local group was a cluster of individual families associated through blood relationships, marriage, common interests, or strong friendship, living in the same district or around a specific landmark under the control of a recognized chief or leader. At the time of American occupation there were approximately twelve such local groups, six belonging to the eastern band and the same number to the western band.

The Jicarilla family was the primary economic and social segment. It may be described as an extended domestic family with matrilocal residence, comprising a married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters and sons-in-law, and the children of these.

WORLD CONCEPTION

In the beginning, the Jicarilla believe, Black Sky and Earth Woman alone existed. From the union of these two were born certain anthropomorphic supernaturals called hą̀·ct'cín. These supernaturals dwelt within the body of their mother, the earth, and in the darkness of this underworld Black hą̀·ct'cín was their leader. From clay images which he himself moulded, Black hą̀·ct'cín created the animals and birds. Then he made the impression of his own form in the soft earth and brought this tracing to life. Thus did Ancestral Man come into being. Ancestral Man slept and dreamed of a woman. When he awoke he found Ancestral Woman at his side. The first people were the descendants of these two. They possessed the form of mankind, but their existence in the underworld was incorporeal, as in a dream. For a long time they lived without want or death.

It was in this underworld that the sun and moon were constructed by the supernaturals. No sooner were these lifted to the vault of the underworld to give light than shamans from among the people began to claim that they had made these heavenly bodies and could control them. At this the hą̀·ct'cín grew vexed and allowed the sun and the moon to break through the vault of the underworld and come to the upper world.

The emergence, then, was an attempt of the people to follow and re-

cover the sources of light they had lost. The hą·ct'cín clothed and decorated twelve of the boastful shamans with yucca, spruce boughs, and the appropriate paint, and conferred greater power upon them. These became the t̓sà·nà·t̓ł', one of the three varieties of supernaturals who are impersonated in Jicarilla rites today. Six others were painted with black and white stripes. These are the tcą·cjìnł, and dancers who represent them function as the clowns of Jicarilla rites now.

The powers of all the occupants of the underworld were utilized to facilitate the ascent. Four mounds of earth were laid in a row, and as the ceremony progressed these grew, merged into a single mountain, expanded to gigantic proportions, and rose toward the hole through which the sun and moon had escaped. The mountain did not grow quite tall enough to allow the people to reach the upper world unaided, but the hą·ct'cín constructed four ladders of sunbeams and upon these the ascent was continued.

Two old people, a man and a woman, came last, after the rungs of the ladders were completely worn through. They were therefore forced to remain in the underworld. But before the people left the place of emergence, this old couple warned them that they would return to the underworld. Because of this the Jicarilla Apache travels to the underworld at death.

At the place of emergence the supernaturals gave instructions and ceremonies to the people. The birds and animals, who spoke as humans until now, were deprived of that attribute. But the power by means of which they had aided in the emergence was still left them, and that is why the Jicarilla today seeks aid from them when he is ill, and does not molest them needlessly or even hunt them for food without proper ceremony and prayer. Until this moment plants and rocks had the power of speech and movement. Now they were rendered mute and immobile. But "life" and supernatural power are still theirs; they are still capable of punishing the impious who mutilate them needlessly or use them without the requisite prayer.

The earth to which the people of the underworld came is believed to have the bodily form and attributes of a woman. The story of the emergence is, of course, a myth of gestation, and in the story it is unequivocally stated that the people emerged from the underworld as man is born of woman today.

The people traveled in widening clockwise circles from the place of emergence. As they went, small groups, deeming some spot especially suitable, parted from the main body and stayed behind. The children of the settlers invented new languages in play, and these strange dialects, begun

for amusement, became dominant and superseded the original tongue. Those who did not tarry elsewhere finally reached a region above the heart of the earth. This is the true Jicarilla country, and these people, the Jicarilla, are the sole descendants of the people of the emergence to retain the original language.

The keynote of the Jicarilla world conception is a tremendous enthusiasm for life; a conception of a personified universe with which man may identify himself. The great rocks and mountains are equated with the bony skeleton of a human being and are quite as essential to the existence of the earth as bones are to humankind. Flowing streams are considered to be "living" water in contrast to the "dead" water of stagnant pools. Not only plant life, but all things, are said to have pollen. That most important body of supernaturals, the hą̀·ct'cín, to whom reference has already been made, are personifications of natural objects. In theory at least, there is a hą̀·ct'cín of every animal, bird, substance, or natural phenomenon to represent its "power," its essential quality. In the major rite of the hą̀·ct'cín, only the most important hą̀·ct'cín, that is, the most important sources of power, such as the sun, moon, lightning, etc., are impersonated by dancers; but in the origin story of the ceremony many others are introduced, and the concept of an animate, personified universe is developed at length.

MATERIAL CULTURE: PLAINS ORIENTATION

One aspect of Jicarilla life which seems to be common knowledge and which has received constant mention is the orientation towards Plains culture—the buffalo hunting, use of travois, parfleche, tipi, etc. Unfortunately this emphasis is somewhat misleading. Such orientation is certainly present in respect to many elements of material culture, but it is very superficial and evidently recent. The case of the Jicarilla tipi will illustrate the point. The literature refers to no other type of dwelling for the Jicarilla than the tipi, yet within the life span of the oldest people of the tribe, the favorite and more common house type was a dome-shaped frame covered with a thatching of leaves or bark. Moreover, the oldest people insist that this lodge (the former house type of the Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apache as well as of the Jicarilla) is a far superior home.

Again, it is true that the Jicarilla went to the plains to hunt buffalo. But no sooner were they out of reach of the mountain refuges which marked their boundaries than a great uneasiness seized them. No time was lost in finding the buffalo, securing the meat, and hastening back to their own territory. Psychologically they were anything but a Plains people. Expeditions to the plains were in the nature of an anxious press forward and a speedy retreat to familiar landmarks.

ECONOMY

Agriculture and wild plant foods. Immediately preceding the period of American occupation an agricultural complex was rapidly developing. It may come as a surprise to many to learn that the Jicarilla were raising a considerable amount of corn along the banks of the streams of the Cimarron region.

The following are traits included in the Jicarilla agricultural complex. Fields were cleared by burning the grass and brush, trees were girdled, dams built, fields flooded periodically, the water level of streams raised so that water could be diverted to ditches, and irrigation ditches were built. A protector of hide was worn over the stomach and used with the digging stick to prepare the holes for seed. Other tools included a crude wooden plow,[2] implements for clearing ditches, and forked winnowing sticks with curved blades.

Corn was selected and saved for seed. Corn kernels were planted with turkey feathers in the fields, and prayers and tobacco offerings were made to the moon and to the turkey feathers which "protected" the fields. A circular hardened threshing-floor was prepared for peas and beans. Corn pollen, corn-meal, and corn kernels were used in ceremonies. There were corn grinding songs, a test of corn grinding for the girls in the adolescent rite, frequent reference to corn and corn parts in ceremonial songs, and the use of corn-ears in the ceremony and ritual racing which now takes place each fifteenth of September. There was also dancing by impersonators of supernaturals for the benefit of crops.

Corn-meal mush was made (ashes of cedar needles were added), and there was considerable dependence upon corn for food as indicated by the many dishes in which corn is the base or an ingredient. Moreover, there is an important myth for the origin of corn. Crops other than corn which were cultivated included pumpkins, beans, cantaloupes, peas, wheat, and tobacco. With the exception of tobacco, which men alone were allowed to tend, crops were planted, weeded, and harvested by the joint labors of the entire family.

Land was inherited, though not in accordance with strict rules, and payment in kind was made for work in the fields.

Though Jicarilla agriculture was rapidly assuming a position of importance at the time of white occupation, it must not be thought that the older sources of wild plant supply were neglected. Probably not over fifty percent of Jicarilla families raised crops at the same time, and very few families raised enough to permit a neglect of wild plant products. The

[2] Undoubtedly modelled after early Spanish examples.

juniper berry, mesquite bean, yucca fruit, prickly pear, acorn, piñon nut, and chokecherry were always considered indispensable staples by the Jicarilla and were supplemented by scores of other fruits, nuts, seed-bearing grasses, and greens.

Hunting and fishing. Deer, buffalo, antelope, and elk were the principal animals hunted. Mountain-sheep, porcupines, beavers, prairie dogs, squirrels, chipmunks, ground-hogs, chief hares, wood rats, rabbits, and even skunks, peccaries, horses, and burros were also utilized for food. Of bird life, turkeys, doves, grouse, quail, and snow-birds were eaten. Other animals, such as weasels, minks, wolves, wildcats, and a number of birds were not considered fit for food, but were nevertheless hunted for fur, feathers, or body parts essential to the rites.

Numerous methods were employed in the capture of the game. Whistles, designed to imitate the bleat of the fawn, were used to draw does to their death, and head nooses were strung along trails. Head masks were employed in the hunting of both deer and antelopes. Antelopes were obtained in quantities by a drive in which an entire district was encircled by men, women, and older children. As on the plains, buffalo were overtaken and shot by hunters mounted on well-trained ponies. Both arrows and lances were used in dispatching the animal. Snares were arranged around their holes to capture such small mammals as ground-hogs and chief hares. Eagles were taken by means of food tied to the top of an oval shaped blind, within which the hunter waited. Eaglets, taken from their nests, were kept alive in cages, plucked twice, and then freed.

The Jicarilla hunter took infinite care that his luck in bringing down the game was not destroyed. He was cautious in choosing those to whom he gave any of his meat, for if it were carelessly treated he would hunt thereafter in vain. Even the bones and waste were gathered carefully into a pile and carried far from camp.

From earliest childhood the Jicarilla boy was schooled in hunting. When he had attained proficiency in shooting he was ready for a ceremonial hunting expedition in company with five companions, one older and more experienced than the others. The game they secured was eaten ceremonially. A boy who did not participate in such an expedition had slight chance of becoming a skillful hunter, it was believed. At about the age of puberty, his grandfather undertook to prepare the boy for the killing of larger game. The older man gave the necessary instructions, and the boy made his first important kill. The blood from the heart of this kill was rubbed on his face and hands, and it was now considered that his apprenticeship as a hunter had been served.

Jicarilla hunting was a most elaborate and involved complex, proceeding according to fixed rules. For instance, a man who came upon a successful hunter was entitled to the hide and half the meat. If two men came upon the hunter and his kill, they raced to the animal, and the one who touched it first claimed it. When such a race ended in a tie, a wrestling match decided to whom the hide should go. Butchering and disposal of waste were likewise governed by tradition.

Certain beliefs and usages clustered around every animal. To step in the tracks of a deer when trailing it was considered dangerous and unlucky. To complete a clockwise circle about a buffalo was to court disaster, for the buffalo was then likely to charge and gore the hunter. Sympathetic magic played a prominent part in hunting customs. A certain plant which grew low to the ground was placed in the tracks of a deer that the deer, too, might be held close to the earth and so be easily overtaken. Scores of such beliefs, based on the habits of the animal sought and the properties of the objects magically manipulated permeate Jicarilla hunting customs.

In a number of phases of Jicarilla life, of which hunting is one, tasks which are the primary business of the men are thought to be influenced by the attitude and behavior of the women. In keeping with this ideology, we find that a man and his wife pray together and smoke ceremonially before the husband leaves for the hunt. After his departure the woman continues a series of ritual duties.

Not the least interesting aspect of Jicarilla hunting is the manner in which the bloody business of constantly slaughtering animal life is rationalized. Jicarilla myths teach that the animals now used for food once preyed upon mankind. Through the efforts of the culture heroes and supernaturals, the situation was reversed and these animals were threatened with extinction unless they agreed to be useful to man. They are now fulfilling that contract by giving freely of their flesh and hides. They are pleased to be taken and utilized by those who have the proper ceremonial knowledge. Animal life is part of the personified universe whose efforts are primarily concerned with the well-being and happiness of the Jicarilla tribe.

Another important food was fish. A noose with bait suspended at the center was used to snare them. In very shallow water fish were shot with arrows.

RAID

The importance of the horse in Jicarilla culture can scarcely be overestimated. It offered a mobility which made possible the buffalo hunt and enriched Jicarilla culture at innumerable points. The great source of supply was the Plains tribes, and repeated raids to the plains became a definite

part of Jicarilla economy, attended by rigorous training and an organized body of rite, belief, and story.

Raiding parties were small, seldom exceeding ten individuals. Their leaders were qualified by special knowledge, usually transmitted from grandfather to grandchild but occasionally passed to another upon the payment of four gifts (a quiver of mountain-lion skin, a mulberry bow with mountain-lion sinew string, a shield, and a spear). The ceremony was taught only in winter for two consecutive years. The teachings were a mixture of rite and practical advice (songs, prayers, camp craft, and war strategy).

A raid was announced when the heads of families, feeling the lack of sufficient horses, secured the permission of the chief of the local group to remedy their need. When the services of a raid leader had been enlisted, arrangements were made for a dance.

On the appointed evening the onlookers gathered at the dance grounds and one by one those who wished to join the expedition rose and danced. The dancing warriors were dressed in characteristic manner and had their faces painted in a stylized fashion. This dance was in the nature of a vow; one who joined the dance was committed to the venture and could not withdraw without decided loss of prestige. This dance set off the participants from all others. From that moment they busied themselves with preparations for the raid. They were pledged to continence. Interestingly enough for general psychology, the sex act is here and in other contexts of Jicarilla culture, interpreted in terms of a struggle, and if any of the men violated the obligation to sleep apart from women at this time, it would cause an encounter with the enemy.

When all was in readiness, the men left their homes for a pre-arranged meeting place, and the group started running to the east. The expedition was usually timed to begin four days before the full moon, that the travelers might have light throughout the whole journey.

At home, a woman chosen to represent each man (his wife if he was married, his mother, grandmother, or sister otherwise) obeyed many restrictions in matters of dress, food, and behavior to insure his safe return and the success of the entire party. She could not bathe during the absence of the party. Her face was painted red, her hair hung loose and flowing, her shoulders were covered by a buckskin cape such as is worn by the adolescent girl during the puberty rites. She could not rid her hair or person of lice. She could not eat anything sweet, anything tart, or any salt. Water she drank only sparingly out of a shallow clay bowl. She could not give away any food lest her husband or kinsman give away his spoils before reaching

home. She did not tie her moccasin strings but placed them loosely within the uppers of her moccasins, that her husband might not be harassed by the enemy. She could not smoke, for the men dared not smoke in enemy country for fear of detection. All her actions had to be exceptionally circumspect; the commonplaces of household work were governed by rules too numerous to list here and regulations extended to the most personal matters.

The men, when they started out, were not at first burdened with restrictions and obligations. They were dressed in old clothes. An extra pair of moccasins was tied to the belt and rested at the pit of the stomach, for moccasins in this position were thought to allay the pangs of hunger. Each man carried a lance, bow and arrows, a small bag of supplies, and a rawhide rope. The party set out on foot. They traveled rapidly until the second morning. At dawn the leader daubed his followers with white clay. With this ceremony the expedition took on its sacred and serious character. The food and behavior restrictions noted for the women came suddenly into force. The men now became restrained and wary. They could not look up, behind, or to the sides, but had to direct their gaze to the east. They spoke only when it was necessary and then in a special "raiding language" in which reference was made to objects of raiding and ceremony by circumlocution. Thus, to eat together on the raid became "to place down the wolf's paw," to spy upon the enemy camps was "to drag the wolf's tail to the east." It was the custom of the men on the raid to place their provisions in a common pile and to circle around the food and share it. At the time they were painted with white clay, the men were given wooden scratchers (shaped like a horse's hoof) and hollow tubes for drinking water, and these had to be used for the remainder of the trip.

When enemy territory was reached, the leader sought out the enemy camps, located their horses, and drove a body of these toward his men. The horses were driven a safe distance from the enemy's encampment with a modicum of noise. Each man roped a horse. Before they drove off the herd, they gathered the spears, thrust them into the ground and left them with the worn-out moccasins attached, as a gesture of contempt for the enemy.

As soon as the horses were obtained and the homeward spurt began, all special forms of speech and most of the other restrictions were dropped. A successful party entered the encampments from the south side. The man and his wife remained continent for four more days. Then both bathed and resumed normal relations.

WAR

The war complex of the Jicarilla, when compared to that of other Southern Athabaskans, shows clearly the influence of the Plains.

Expeditions of warfare were usually precipitated by the death of a Jicarilla at the hands of an enemy. Before departing, the warriors held a dance at which they appeared with whitened hair surrounded by a streak of red paint, prophetic of the scalped and bleeding enemy. Impersonators of the Jicarilla sacred clowns appeared at this time and uttered their characteristic call into the mouth of each warrior, so that, when he gave his war cry, it would strike terror to the hearts of the enemy.

The warriors departed, mounted and equipped with bow and arrows, lance, shield, knife, and war-club. There were few restrictions upon the men on the war-path compared to those demanded of raiders. Continence was the most important of these.

The traditional enemies were the Indians of the plains, and when these foes were encountered, the two sides lined up, the leaders talked in sign language, rode forward, and met in single combat. This was the signal for the two sides to engage in desperate battle. The object of the Jicarilla warriors was to inflict more casualties than they themselves suffered and to validate their triumph by the securing of scalps. Scalps were the symbol of Jicarilla superiority and the indication of the enemy's defeat and humiliation. If the Jicarilla losses exceeded those of the enemy, scalps could not be taken and any which had been secured were immediately thrown away.

It is interesting to see how the Jicarilla attitude toward the scalp combined the Plains desire for the trophy with the Southern Athabaskan dread connected with the dead. Not everyone was allowed to take scalps; that right was reserved for a leader of raid and war-path who had been ritually prepared by his grandfather. When anyone else killed a foe, he had to request the leader to remove the scalp for him. The leader removed it according to prescribed rules and prepared it for the homeward journey. He shaped a hoop of willow branch and stretched the scalp over this. The hoop and scalp were attached to a tall pole and carried upright as a standard until the encampments were reached. If the journey could not be completed in one day, the scalp was placed far to the east of the men each night, that the ghost of the enemy might not bother them.

When a victorious war party returned home, the first action was to hold a ceremony over the warriors that the ghosts of the enemy might be driven away. The scalps were considered much too dangerous still to en-

trust to the warriors: instead the scalps and all the possessions taken from the foes were put in the care of old men with the requisite ceremonial knowledge, to be sung over and cleansed. These old men, usually four in number, had complete charge of the scalp dance which was to follow. They scraped the fat from the enemy scalps, mixed it with red paint, and applied it to their faces. Then they chose a level place and, hurling the scalp of the most prominent enemy killed in the engagement across the field from west to east four times, determined where they would erect the central post. Other poles with scalps attached were arranged as an outer circle.

First those who had lost relatives in this or previous battles with the enemy were led four times around the grounds. Each mourner was handed a scalp. He threw it down and stamped upon it; or he shot an arrow at one of the scalps on a pole. Before the actual dancing, the warriors who had taken part in the fight told of their deeds. When one finished a recital, he called upon another to attest to the truth of what he had said. The second man vouched for the tale and added the story of his own exploits. After all had spoken, the dancing started. The members of the victorious war party were first to dance. The others joined in soon afterward. The participants circled the central pole, hurling threats, jeers, and insults at the enemy scalps. At this time enemy captives were made to dance and often were compelled to handle and carry scalps. Of psychological import is the belief entertained by the Jicarilla that those who were ill-natured could improve their tempers and those suffering from the pangs of guilty conscience could find relief by shouting loudly at the enemy scalps.

While the dance proceeded, one of the four old men in charge sat at each cardinal point of the dance grounds guarding a jar of water and a shallow clay bowl. Anyone who wished to drink had to receive the water from them. This ritual was symbolic of the privations the warriors had undergone in daring to journey to the waterless stretches to the east.

Social dances took place in the evening. No one was allowed to drink any water at night and no sexual intercourse was permitted for the duration of the dance and ceremony. The dance continued for four days and nights. The old men stayed at the ceremonial grounds all that time and took no sleep until the dance was over. To end the ceremony, the people lined up, each family facing the east in single file. Father, mother, male and female children stood in order. After prayers by the old men the people dispersed and all camps were moved to the east.

But the scalps and enemy possessions were retained by the old men for four days more before being returned to the warriors. Thereafter the warrior had no need to fear the scalp or the ghost of the enemy from whom

it was taken. He could decorate his clothes, his shield, or his tipi with the scalp and bring it out at subsequent dances.

There are a number of other war customs which deserve mention. When older male captives were taken, they were tied to posts and slain by women with lances. Usually these were women who had lost relatives in battle and were taking this means of retaliation. If we are to believe numerous tales and descriptions, the Plains Indians and Jicarilla tried to infuriate each other by the capture or mutilation of children. Jicarilla war songs threatened that the enemy's children should be captives. Jicarilla mothers were specifically ordered to cut the throats of their children rather than allow them to fall into enemy hands. Jicarilla chiefs, when they faced the line of the enemy before conflict, would taunt and be taunted in turn about the impending captivity of their children. Though the Jicarilla took only scalps of enemy men and women, they also took the thumbs and ears of slain enemy children. When very young children were taken captive, however, they were treated quite decently. Their lot, in terms of manual labor, was sometimes more difficult than that of others, but ordinarily they were accepted into Apache life. If they married within the tribe, there was no discrimination whatever against their offspring.

If an enemy woman were taken captive, she could not be molested until she had been brought back and a ceremony had been performed over her. Captive women were not considered fit wives; they were sexually used and sent from camp to camp to do the heavy work. Their children by Apache men, however, were recognized as Jicarilla.

If a Jicarilla had been made captive by the enemy, though only for a day, he was considered unclean, and at his escape or recapture, a ceremony had to be performed over him to "bring him back" to his people. When scalps of slain Jicarilla were recovered, they were brought back to the encampments and there were wailed over.

When a warrior, because of grief or desperation, resolved to sacrifice his life, he divested himself of all clothing, tearing off even his loin-cloth, to signify that he had broken completely with all the ordinary conventions of life. He then threw himself into the thick of the fight and exposed himself until he received a fatal wound.

MYTHOLOGY

Besides the emergence myth which has been outlined above, and usually told in connection with it, there is the well-known tale of the culture heroes and their success in exterminating the monsters who were making the earth uninhabitable for mankind. The Jicarilla also tell a long and interesting

coyote trickster cycle and a number of cycles of animal and bird stories, including the familiar tale of the moccasin game played for day and night between the animals and the birds. There is still another cycle which has to do with the ludicrous misadventures of a "foolish people," tales which are really pointed lectures on how not to act. Indeed, to catalog the Jicarilla stories would be to mention every element and aspect of Jicarilla life. There is a story to affirm and validate any native conception.

One aspect of Jicarilla mythology which merits attention is the great resemblance in form, order of events, and spirit of the tales to Navaho counterparts. Especially is this true of certain myths which serve as origin stories for ceremonies, a matter of particular interest in view of the very real similarities between a number of Navaho and Jicarilla rites.

RITUAL LIFE

The rites may be classified into two general types, one the shamanistic or personal, and the other, the traditional or "long life" ceremony.

For the former it is believed that some "power" representative of an animal, bird, heavenly body, or natural phenomenon chooses a Jicarilla child for its own at birth. Neither the child nor anyone interested in him has any control over the nature of this "power" or any ability to substitute another in its place. When the child grows up the power appears to him in a dream or vision and bids him follow. If the Jicarilla accompanies his guide he will be subjected to terrifying experiences to test him and "make him brave." Finally he is led into the holy home of the power, past ferocious beasts which act as guards, and there the novice is trained in the songs, prayers, and ritual knowledge which constitute the ceremony. If it is a bird or animal which has offered the ceremony, henceforth that Jicarilla may not slay the source of his power. "We are all relatives now," he is told. Ceremonies obtained in this manner are used particularly for curing, though they have subsidiary functions of finding lost objects, locating the enemy, and the like. The hall-mark of the shamanistic rite is the close personal bond between the shaman and his power. Through his songs and prayers he is thought to be in constant communication with his power. Of a shaman it is said, "For his power he works."

To the Jicarilla mind the dependence of the ceremony upon the rapport between the power and the individual has its definite drawbacks. Failure to follow the injunctions of the power means the loss of the ceremony. Often the power demands gruesome payment, such as the sacrifice of a close relative's life. Such power is considered vulnerable and finite. If used too frequently its efficacy diminishes. Once lost, it can never be regained,

and no other shamanistic rite can take its place, for to each man is allotted but one such ceremony. The ceremony, no matter how valuable, cannot be transmitted to another. Moreover, many never obtain such a shamanistic ceremony: some do not follow the guide, others refuse the ceremony when it is offered.[3]

The other type of Jicarilla ceremony and one which now enjoys ascendency at the expense of the shamanistic rite, is the traditional or "long life" ceremony. These are ceremonies which have no genesis in personal encounters with supernaturals. They have their origin and rationalization in the myths. They may be taught by the elders to younger men and there is no limit, theoretically, to the number of these rites in which a man may participate. Several of these "long life" ceremonies are distinguished for wealth of detail. One such is 'ì·sáné', a four day rite, often called by white observers, the "bear dance." This rite approximates Navaho ritual at many points. For instance, it is held within a corral constructed for the purpose, and a sand painting is drawn each day. It is a curing rite, held for those who suffer from bear or snake sickness, and its mythological sanction is to be found in the story of two girls stolen at the time of the emergence by the bear and the snake. In the rite, two of the three groups of supernaturals who aided in the emergence, the tcą̀·cjìní or sacred clowns and the t'sà·nà·tí' make their appearance.

Another important "long life" ceremony is held at a time of wide-spread sickness, and in it the most important group of supernaturals, the hą̀·ct'cín, are impersonated. This ceremony is also held within a corral and parallels Navaho and Pueblo ceremonialism in countless details.

At puberty the Jicarilla Apache girl is the center of a four day rite, designed to insure a long and fruitful life for her. The details, ideology, and songs of this ceremony do not differ essentially from corresponding adolescence rites among other Southern Athabaskan peoples, except that among the Jicarilla a boy who impersonates one of the culture heroes is associated throughout with the pubescent girl.

One Jicarilla ceremony deserves special mention, for it undoubtedly received its impetus from a broadly similar rite of the Eastern Pueblos. It is the ceremonial relay race run September fifteenth by the Jicarilla youth. When the rite was studied, it was a considerable surprise to learn that it was partly a harvest festival, partly a contest to determine the comparative abundance of either meat or vegetable food for the coming

[3] Compare the place of the shaman in Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache religion (M. E. Opler, The Concept of Supernatural Power Among the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, pp. 65–70, 1935).

year, and that the details of the ceremony were carried on for three days. All of these aspects are foreign to the body of Apache ceremonialism.

The connections between this Jicarilla rite and Eastern Pueblo ritual are conspicuous. For the choosing of sides the two Jicarilla bands are utilized in place of the moieties of the Eastern Pueblos. The runners are dressed and painted in corrals which have the shape of kivas and which the Jicarilla freely compare to the Pueblo kiva. Before the race each side dances to the corral of its opponent carrying a tall standard to which two ears of corn are tied. Without trying to enumerate all the Pueblo-like elements, it may be noted that this is the only Apache ceremony which has a calendrical touch, and that in the story of how the rite was obtained, it is affirmed that the Jicarilla, Taos, San Juan, and Picuris all were given the ceremony at the same time.

The measure of the Jicarilla debt to the Pueblos for the elements of their "long life" ceremonies and their concepts of the supernaturals may be judged from a brief enumeration of traits which cluster about the Jicarilla sacred clown. The Jicarilla clown wears a horned cap of hide, striped black and white. His body is painted white with horizontal black stripes. He wears a bandoleer on which bread is strung and wears deer hoof rattles on his moccasins. He carries a bow, arrow, and spruce branches in his hand. He offers grotesque imitations of those who are impersonating the supernaturals and practices inverted conduct continually, recalling and emphasizing the restrictions of the rite by their flagrant violation. Thus the clown engages in apparent gluttony, in actual filth eating, in simulation of copulation, and in obscene speech. He participates in a burlesque deer hunt which has sexual reference, for the "deer" is offered as a bride price to one of the young women present. The clown is thought to frighten children who are unprepared for his appearance, and he is supposed to be fearsome to enemies and to those ritually unclean. The Jicarilla clown also acts as disciplinarian for adults and takes part in the policing of ceremonial grounds. All of these characteristics have been recorded for the Pueblo clown.[4]

KINSHIP

Terms and behavior in ego's generation. The classification of kin in ego's own generation illustrates some of the prominent features of the system. The Jicarilla group parallel cousins with brothers and sisters; cross-cousins alone are recognized as true cousins. With the cross-cousin of the same sex

[4] Elsie Clews Parsons and Ralph L. Beals, The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Mayo-Yaqui Indians (American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, pp. 491–514, 1934).

there is a joking relationship, in which rough play and obscenities are the rule. One takes great liberties with the mate of one's cross-cousin of the same sex, especially in the presence of the cross-cousin. Indeed, these liberties went so far in aboriginal times as to become an institutionalized practice of wife and husband borrowing and stealing in which a mate was the legitimate prey of the cross-cousin.

No less interesting is the relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex. This relative may be treated in one of two ways. One way is to establish a mild joking relationship, in which one accuses the other of witchcraft. The alternative is to avoid the person entirely. To become too friendly with this cousin will cause some mishap with fire and a severe burn. It is forbidden to drink or eat out of the same receptacle as this relative, to partake of food that he has tasted, or to hand something directly to him. Even his lice are remarkably poisonous.

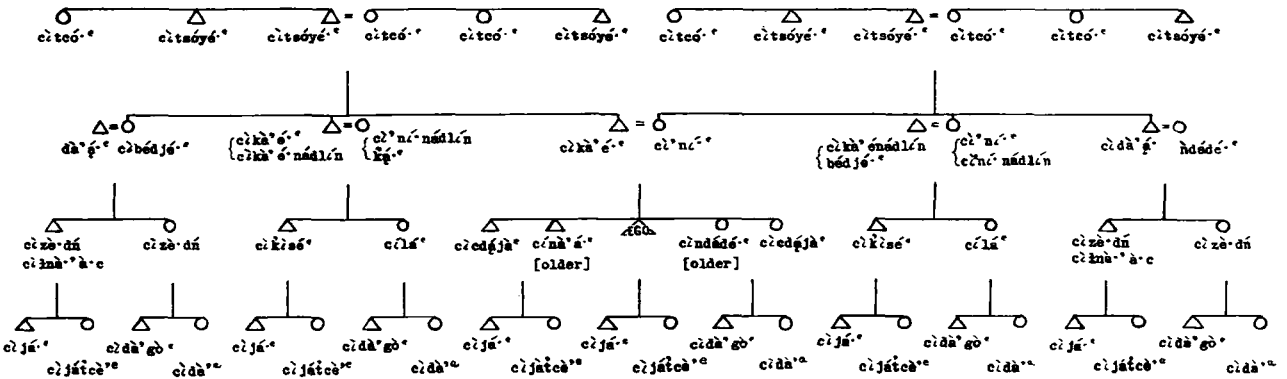
There are separate terms for older brother, older sister, and younger sibling of either sex. Brothers and sisters are expected to act with great reserve in each other's presence. The eldest brother, for the boys, and the eldest sister, for the girls, are in a definite position of authority and leadership.

The husbands and wives of kin who are members of ego's generation are all called by one term, and polite form (a special third person form of the verb) is extended to them in speech and reciprocated. The use of polite form in Jicarilla kinship carries with it the obligation of reserve, respect, and mutual economic helpfulness.

The exception to this rule is the behavior toward the mate of the cross-cousin of the same sex. To this relative by affinity there is what might be called a partial joking relationship balanced by a partial treatment of reserve and respect. When a Jicarilla meets this person alone, or with anyone other than his cross-cousin, he speaks to her in the polite form and obeys all the conventions of reserve and respect which go with it. But when he sees this affinity together with his cross-cousin, the polite form is dropped and he takes the greatest liberties in speech and language.

Terms and behavior in first ascending and first descending generations. In the first ascending generation the tendency is to classify the father's brother with the father though he can be called by a distinguishing term. Likewise, the mother's sister is addressed as mother under ordinary conditions, but there is a distinctive term for her also. The Jicarilla has a joking relationship with his mother's brother, whom he calls in jest "my leader." The expression refers to the good-natured rivalry between the two, in which one is continually challenging the other to a contest in eat-

SIMPLIFIED CHART OF JICARILLA APACHE KINSHIP SYSTEM



Any grandchild is called cìtsóyí·' by any grandparent.

The great-grandmother is called nà·kìdìnátcó·', "grandmother twice removed."

The great-grandfather is called nà·kìdìnátsóyé', "grandfather twice removed."

The great-grandchild is called nà·kìdìnátsóyí', "grandchild twice removed."

The stepmother is called cìką·'.

The stepfather is called cìbédjé·'.

Sometimes cìdà'ą·' is used as a self reciprocal for the maternal uncle-nephew, niece relationship.

The term cìkìsé' is applicable to any cousin or sibling of the same sex; cílá' to any cousin or sibling of the opposite sex.

Note that the personal pronoun cı is omitted from terms of affinity where such terms are also used to denote relationship by blood. Thus ńdádé·' (maternal uncle's wife) is, with personal pronoun affixed, the regular term for older sister.

Differences in the kinship system when a woman is speaking

Women do not use the word cìłnà·'à·c for cross-cousin, but sìzè·dń only.

A female calls a female sibling or cousin cìkìsé' and a sibling or cousin of the opposite sex cílá'.

A female calls nieces and nephews (children of brothers or male cousins) cìtsìłkè'ᵉ and cìtsìłkí'ı·' respectively.

ing, racing, or in any test of skill or endurance for which opportunity arises. With the father's sister there is a similar joking relationship, though in a milder vein. There are separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister.

The mates of the relatives of the first ascending generation are addressed by terms also used to blood relatives. To indicate that they are relatives by affinity and not consanguinity, the personal pronoun is dropped, except in cases where a word meaning "has become" is added.

In the first descending generation children of siblings or cousins of the same sex are regarded as sons and daughters and are so called. Children of siblings or cousins of the opposite sex are nieces and nephews, and with them is established the "my leader" joking relationship already mentioned. A man calls the mate of his "son" (i.e., his own son or a son of a sibling or cousin of the same sex) "my female son," and the two hide from each other. He speaks with the polite form to the husband of his "daughter." The woman uses polite form to the wife of her "son," and hides from the husband of her "daughter." A man also calls his nephew's wife "female son," and hides from her. To the husband of his niece he uses polite form. A woman hides from her niece's husband and speaks in the polite form to her nephew's wife.

Terms and behavior in the second ascending and second descending generations. The Jicarilla use but two grandparent terms, one for grandparents of each sex; whether they are paternal or maternal grandparents is not distinguished. There is one term for grandchild, no matter of what sex or how related.

Between grandchild and grandparent there exists the most boisterous and unrestrained of all the many joking relationships which typify the Jicarilla system. License and obscenity are freely indulged. The relationship is accompanied by much teasing and practical joking as well, but its chief characteristic is allusion to sex and mating. When joking, the grandchildren and grandparents address each other by an interesting set of special terms which are really plays on the correct and formal grandparent-grandchild terms.

This joking relationship, however, is but one phase of grandparent-grandchild behavior. Quite as important is the grandparent's rôle of disciplinarian and teacher. When the child is quite young he is told that if he persists in disobedience, the grandparent will be called to punish him. This is a forceful warning, for the grandparent is known to have several painful methods of chastisement which he may exercise and which are the prerogatives of grandparents alone. The grandparent is the prime bugaboo

of the disobedient child, employing such drastic measures as castration threats and threats to cut the child's throat.

As the children grow older it is upon the grandparent that the greatest responsibility for their education falls. The grandfather trains the boy; the grandmother instructs the granddaughter in the work and arts with which a woman should be conversant.

The joking relationship existing between grandchild and grandparent obtains between great-grandparents and great-grandchildren too, but in diluted form. The mate of the great-grandchild calls the great-grandparents of his spouse simply grandfather and grandmother. There is no avoidance or use of the polite form by either man or woman for affinities of the third ascending or third descending generation.

Terms and behavior extended to a spouse's relatives. Both the Jicarilla man and woman, at marriage, use the polite form of speech to siblings and cousins of the mate, irrespective of sex. There is no avoidance of affinities in ego's mate's generation.

Of affinities in his wife's parents' generation the man avoids those of the sex opposite to his own and speaks in the polite manner to those of the same sex. The woman avoids her husband's male relatives of this generation and speaks politely to his female relatives of the parental generation.

For the relatives by marriage in the first descending generation, the man calls his wife's "son" and "daughter" (i.e., the children of his wife's siblings and cousins of the same sex) "my son he becomes" or "my daughter she becomes." He calls those his wife terms niece or nephew, niece or nephew also, omitting the personal pronoun to indicate his more distant relationship. A woman calls the children of her husband's male siblings or cousins "my children they become." The nieces and nephews of her husband (the children of his siblings and cousins of the opposite sex) she calls "younger sister," "younger brother," depending on sex.

Those whom his mate calls grandchildren, a Jicarilla also calls grandchildren at marriage, and those whom his mate calls grandparent, a Jicarilla calls grandparent too. There is no avoidance of or use of polite form to the mate's relatives of the second ascending or second descending generation for either the man or woman.

MARITAL LIFE

Of the many concepts found in connection with marital life only a few of the most interesting can be summarized here. The close relatives of a dead person are considered unclean until a ceremony is performed over them. There is never any question of allowing the ceremony to be per-

formed over any relatives of the deceased—except his mate. Before a widower may participate in the ceremony and "be forgiven" he must be freed by his wife's family, and until then he is a pariah, forced to wear a rawhide yoke, the badge of his servility, denied the right to marry, and compelled to stay apart from other people (even his own children). He might lead such an existence for some time, especially when the relatives of the mate had reason to condemn him for neglect or abuse of his partner. Sometimes the "slave" was allowed to have the purifying rite performed upon payment of a number of horses. Once he was freed, his former mate's family had no further claim on him. Often the price of freedom was that he marry a sibling or cousin of the dead mate. This was one of the circumstances that favored the sororate and levirate among the Jicarilla, for both men and women were subject to this enslavement and ceremonial uncleanliness at the death of the mate.

A man whose wife died was considered unlucky. Any woman he married after his bereavement was likely to suffer the fate of the first wife. Therefore, before a widower contracted a second marriage (i.e., an attachment which is intended to be permanent) it was necessary for him to live with another woman for a period of less than a year. This temporary arrangement was thought of as a medicine to "bring back" the man from his state of sorrow and ill-luck. Even if the couple grew fond of each other, the man would have to abandon this woman, for to do otherwise would be to endanger her life and the lives of all her issue. Only after this temporary union and a special ceremony could a man assume the obligations of a second marriage.

Polygyny was practiced, the second wife being in all possible cases a sister or cousin of the first wife. There was a strong feeling for both the sororate and levirate.

A conflict between man and woman is posited, especially in their rôles as sexual partners, which goes back to the mythical period. Consequently, the sight, smell, or touch of menstrual blood is extremely dangerous to men. It is claimed that the woman has a pouch within her partially filled with menstrual blood. The semen of the male is considered to be blood drawn from the rest of the body and stored in the testicles. At orgasm this blood is emitted and finds its way to the female pouch. The woman's blood opposes conception, while the male blood strives for it. Since the woman's blood has a decided quantitative advantage at the end of the first sexual union, no impregnation is achieved. It is not until coitus has occurred a number of times and the blood of the woman is overpowered by the male blood, that the baby begins to develop. Since pregnancy occurs whenever

enough "blood" from males accumulates in the woman, it is believed that a child can belong in part to several men. Such children who have been begotten by a number of persons have more than one center on the top of the head from which the hair spreads out in spirals.

DEATH, THE UNDERWORLD, AND THE RITES OF BURIAL

Evil, misfortune, the malice of witches, all summed up in the term t'cí·dṅ, are pitted against the life of man. Sooner or later they force life from the body. This departing life has two components. One is called "breath," and it is this which leaves the corpse via the sole of the foot in the form of a small whirlwind. When a man is dying, the "breaths" or shades of his dead relatives come to him from the underworld. They offer him food, and, upon his acceptance of it, his "breath" makes its exit from his body. The "breath" accompanies the relatives to the north. The journey lasts four days and terminates at the edge of the earth. Here a wild plum tree grows, the fruit of which is offered to the traveler. Should he refuse it he returns to his body and to life.

If the "breath" eats of the fruit, it slides down a steep embankment to an underworld which is divided by a high rock wall into two parts. In one part live those who have been witches on earth. Here the plants are the poisonous and inedible varieties, the animals are those that are dangerous on earth. The only food these people can eat is lizards. Each night they hear the merriment on the other side of the wall and try to dig away the dividing barrier with stone knives. They nearly succeed in penetrating it, but in the morning the rock closes up solidly again. On the other side of the wall live those who were not witches in life, and their existence is one of pleasure and plenty.

If the "breath" is the spiritual, intangible aspect of life, what we have now to consider is the material phase of existence. Blood, marrow, saliva, mucous discharges, are all considered evidence of life, and they are not destroyed at death. These go to make the góḱǫ́·c or ghost. For four days after death, while the "breath" is journeying to the end of the earth, the ghost remains around the body and tries to return to old haunts. Then, should the "breath" take the fruit and enter the land of the dead, the ghost turns into a coyote. The Jicarilla are extremely afraid of coyotes at any time. This ghost is always thought of as malignant and vindictive, and the relatives of the dead, since it stays around the body for four days, and since they have to handle and bury the body, are in constant danger from it.

The rites of burial reflect the dread inspired by the góḱǫ́·c. Preparations for burial take place without delay. The body is washed, dressed in good

clothes, and the face painted red. Older relatives attend to these duties: the young are thought particularly susceptible to the disorders contracted from ghosts. The body is tied upon the favorite horse of the deceased together with as many of his personal possessions as can be carried, and the party proceeds to some lonely spot where burial is made in a crevice of the rocks. The personal possessions of the dead are buried with him or burned and thrown away, for it is believed that otherwise the ghost will return to claim his belongings. The horse which bore the body is shot near the grave. The burial party rub themselves with cedar branches and lay these in the form of a cross on the grave. Then they return by a different route from the one taken to the place of burial, and one of them traces four lines on the ground between the grave and the encampment. All those who have come in contact with the body throw away the clothes worn at the time, and all the close relatives of the deceased cut their hair. Immediately upon the return of the burial party, camp is moved to the east. During the days which follow special precautions are employed to lessen the danger of the ghost's return. As among other Southern Athabaskans, the names of the dead are never mentioned by the Jicarilla.

The members of the family of the deceased are considered contaminated by their loss; and contact with them, or their food, receptacles, and clothes is thought dangerous to others until a ceremony is performed to "restore" them at the next new moon after the death. During the interim they must stay by themselves, attend no ceremonies or social occasions, dress and eat simply, and avoid sexual intercourse. At the new moon a singer hired for the occasion performs the purifying ceremony, releasing them from the restrictions and making it possible for them to mingle with their fellows again.

NEW YORK CITY