

SOUTHERN DIEGUEÑO CUSTOMS

BY

LESLIE SPIER

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INTRODUCTION

The following notes are the result of twelve days' work (July-August, 1920) with the Southern Diegueño near Campo, San Diego county. They are offered in this fragmentary form because an opportunity to revisit these people may not present itself for some time.

The information was all obtained from one man, Jim McCarty, a fairly well informed individual of over eighty. He has also furnished the material given in Edward H. Davis' *The Diegueño Ceremony of the Death Images*¹ and Edward Winslow Gifford's *Clans and Moieties in Southern California*.² Will F. Coleman, a Northern Diegueño half-blood, served as interpreter.

The phonetic system is that of Kroeber and Harrington,³ with a few modifications: my g and k, gw and kw correspond to k and kw. Initial k is usually 'k; ŋ is also present. I follow Waterman⁴ in writing R for r and r for r. The vowel system is that of the *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*.⁵

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE TRIBE

The Southern Diegueño, who now reside on the divide between San Diego and Imperial counties, do not draw the line separating them from their congeners to the north, west, and south with any sharpness. In spite of the dialectic difference which sets them off, they describe some of their localized gentes as belonging to the North-

¹ In Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, v, 1919.

² Present series, xiv, 155-219, 1914.

³ Phonetic Elements of the Diegueño Language, present series, xi, 177-188, 1914.

⁴ The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians, present series, viii, 272, footnote 1, 1910.

⁵ Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, lxxvi, 2, 1916.

ern Diegueño as well. This does not mean that the *lya'tcarp* gens of the southern people, for instance, is equated to an identically named gens of the northerners; rather, the *lya'tcarp* gens is included with one or the other group according to the exigencies of the moment. Certain gentes are also found in Baja California, Mexico; among whom, it is suggested, a dialectic change is met some distance below the border. The essential idea is one of focus: they look upon the localized gentes at the center of their habitat as clearly forming a culture group, whereas those who live beyond this limited range may or may not be considered Southern Diegueño.

The territory of the Southern Diegueño lies eastward of Cuyamaca mountain and Rio del Tia Juana to the hills on the eastern border of the Imperial valley, from San Felipe river on the north to some undetermined point in Mexico not far south of the boundary. Their principal settlements lie north and south along the divide which the San Diego-Imperial county line now follows: the country to the south and particularly that to the east is hunting territory.

They call themselves *tipai'*, people.⁶ The name *'kwitxa'l* (marauder?) was recorded for a local group, comprising several of their gentes, living on the east slope of Cuyamaca mountain, and *ikwainil tipai'* (blackwood people), for a similar group. The Northern Diegueño are called *kūmiai*, which Kroeber,⁷ however, assigns merely to a local group of those people. This may be the case, for the members of the same tribe living at Santa Ysabel are called *itlkipa'*. The inhabitants of Mexico, who speak a closely related dialect, are called *xaxuwa'k*. The Shoshoneans of Warner's Hot Springs are *hakwōte*, the Yuma, *'kwitca'n*, and the Cahuilla, *kawi'*.

Their relations with the Northern Diegueño were intimate: intermarriage may have been common. Their intercourse with the Yuma was probably greater than with the tribes of the peninsula and certainly more so than with the Cahuilla and Mohave.^{7a}

The degree of national consciousness is difficult to fix, but apparently it is only slight. The real unit, welded by social cohesion, is the local group in which one gens predominated, perhaps to the

⁶ Waterman recorded *kawakipai*, southern people, but this may apply only to the Northern Diegueño. DuBois gives Western Indians for "the Diegueño as far south as Manzanita" (*The Religion of the Luiseno and Diegueño Indians of Southern California*, present series, VIII, 138, footnote 192, 1908).

⁷ The Indians of California, in press as a bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology.

^{7a} Heintzelman notes that the Cocopa were allied with the Jacum Indians (Diegueño) and other tribes southward in Baja California (*in* 34 Cong., 3 Sess., House Ex. Doc. 76, Washington, 1857, Indian affairs on the Pacific, p. 43).

exclusion of all others. Nevertheless, some feeling of solidarity is indicated by the joint action in the following episode. When my informant, Jim McCarty, was at the age of puberty (about 1855) all the Southern Diegueño went east to fight the Yuma, but suffered defeat at their hands.^{7b} The remnants then fled to Indian Wells (xatecupai, dig for water) in the desert and to Brawley (camikwatlau', many bird tracks). Thence they proceeded first to Harper's Oil Wells (tamu'kwatcuka'rt, red willow) near the Salton sea, then to a point east of Mountain Springs (xakeru'wiyu'p, water in lines), then to a camp (xakwĩnōx-, resounding water) a mile south, and finally to a cove to the east (wikwĩnil, black rock). From this place they moved westward, starving, to nal'i in the foothills, where they found mescal to eat. Lya'tearp gens then went south to Blue lake (ewi'mũlũl, near Signal mountain?) and hĩlmiarp gens east to xamatwa'rt, red muddy water. Later all the Southern Diegueño returned to the last mentioned place; there were no Mexicans there at that time.

GENTILE ORGANIZATION

The gentes⁸ (cimũl) are patrilineal, exogamous groups, each definitely associated with a restricted locality which is probably its usual summer home. Twenty-one gentes are remembered of which one, kalya'rp, butterfly, was extinct sixty or more years ago.

'kwaxa', extinct?

tumau', grasshopper (tumau)⁹

lya'tearp¹⁰ (yatcap)

neeix hawō'te, usually simply neeix (naxwate)

waipu'k, king snake

hĩlmiarp (hetmiel)

kwatl, a hide (kwatl)

hũlwa', twined basket

'kwitark, fire split rock (kwitak)

'kwamai', high¹¹ (kwamai)

^{7b} Noted by Heintzelman as a recent event in 1857 (*loc. cit.*, 40).

⁸ Called clans by Gifford, present series, xiv, 167-174, 1918.

⁹ The bracketed forms are those recorded by Gifford, Clans and Moities in Southern California, present series, xiv, 168, 1918. Two gens names given by Gifford were not recognized by my informant: hakisput was thought to be a rendering of hakũlkũl, peeping into a house, and haiyipa to be kiyi'pe, a gathering. The latter may be identical with my paipa', although the location given is contradictory.

¹⁰ Does not mean "short" (Gifford, *loc. cit.*, 173). Names for which no meaning is given are said to be meaningless.

¹¹ Possibly in reference to their occupation of the highest portion of the tribal range.

miskwi's (miskwis)
 kwi'nehite, (kanihite, kwinhite)
 hĩłmawa' (hĩłmawa)
 őswai'
 lite, worthless; recently became extinct
 kalya'rp, butterfly; extinct
 xõtũ'm, drum¹²
 kwainyi'l, black
 saiku'r (saikul)
 paipa'
 nĩxkai'

There are no myths explanatory of the names for which meanings were obtained, but it is said that tumau', grasshopper gens, ate grasshoppers.

The loci of the gentes are given in the following list of places remembered as their homes during the middle of the last century. Roughly the Campo district may be assigned to miskwi's, with the 'kwitark to the southeast in Mexico. Paipa' and őswai' were immediately south and east of Jacumba. The watershed north from Boulevard held hĩłmiarp contingents. Moving northwestward across the higher portion of the divide, near Laguna we would have found kwainyi'l south of La Posta (leaving the country northeast of the Agency unoccupied), hĩłmawa at Manzanita, saiku'r lying westward between this place and Buckman's Springs, where paipa' was located, and 'kwamai extending over the western and northern slopes of Laguna mountain into the valley of Vallecito creek. Waipu'k was located in this valley. The range assigned to lite lies along the San Felipe drainage near Warner's Hot Springs and near San Felipe: perhaps the intervening territory should be included. Tumau' lived south of the present Salton sea, with nĩxkai', hũłwa', and kwatl at the edge of the hills to the east. The last named may also have been found in the Signal mountain district in Mexico. Lya'tearp settlements were located near Coyote Wells in the Imperial valley.

However, according to Heintzelman the Yuma lived along New River to the "Salt Lake" and possibly west of San Felipe in 1850.¹³ Possibly this conflict of testimony is to be resolved by assuming either that these Diegueño settlements were north of any Yuma groups, or that they were temporary winter residences among them, or, as seems

¹² Thought to be derived from Spanish *tambor*; the drum is not native with these people.

¹³ Heintzelman, *loc. cit.*, 40-42.

most probable, that the Yuma had driven the Diegueño from this territory shortly before Heintzelman's day.^{13a}

As the data stand, there is some overlapping of these areas. This may either be merely apparent and due to the indefiniteness of localization,¹⁴ or it may indicate the occupation of the same site by two or more gentes at different periods. It seems most probable, however, that such gentes, with others as well, lived in these localities either in single communities or within a small radius. My informant was told as a small boy that the gentes formerly lived in clearly segregated localities, but were beginning to mingle.¹⁵

'kwaxa. These were only a few when McCarty was a boy: he saw them at Yuma, but does not know their home district. This may be a Northern Diegueño gens living in the eastern desert.

tumau'. Lived north of the western groups of Yuma in the Imperial valley, at tamu'kwatcuka'rt, north of Brawley, and at xa'tcami'kwatlau', west of that town. At one time they were with the kwatl gens at Matcotó'p, gorge, at the northern foot of Superstitious mountain. This gens is said to be distinct from the Northern Diegueño gens of the same name, which agrees with the information given Gifford by the latter.¹⁶

lya'tarp. Their permanent residences were at xakanūx, east of Coyote Wells on the edge of Imperial valley, at xakuruwi'p, a half-mile east, and also scattered about the valley. This is identical with the Northern Diegueño lya'tarp gens.

neeix. The only locality remembered is miłkwilnok (long ? canyon) at the head of the West Carrizo gorge near Warner's Hot Springs. Although this is described as the northern limit of their territory, it places them within the Northern Diegueño range. Presumably this gens, like the last, had members in both tribal groups.

waipu'k. A myth ("Origin of Death," p. 331) relates that this gens, then named lakwi's, moved westward to xatapí'ł (a grass), west of Calexico, where nearly all died of starvation. Only one family came west to Vallecito. They now live at kwicmīt, west of Julian.

^{13a} The distribution of these groups has some bearing on the supposed existence of the Kamia, since a part of their territory is also assigned to the latter people. Further, it was stated on several occasions that there was no foreign group intervening between themselves and the Yuma. Cf. A. L. Kroeber, *Yuman Tribes of the Lower Colorado*, present series, xvi, 478, 1920.

¹⁴ The informant's descriptions were vague in the extreme for one not acquainted with the geographic details of his country. The obvious step was to go over the ground with him, but this was impossible.

¹⁵ Obviously this may be rationalization rather than fact.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*, 173.

hĩlmiarp. Distributed from mokopa', a high peak nine miles south of Jacumba in Mexico, northward in a narrow strip to hauwitca'r, west of Carrizo Springs on the mountain heights. From south to north the settlements were axmanyēha', south of the Jacumba valley, ilkiūyum and wikūteūrap, near Jacumba, sawwiya', west of that town, hakwūskū'r, east of it, hakwasax (stinking water), hakwasil (salt water) and extukwaihwełp to the north, wihōpteotl, five miles in that direction, sitcaknua', north of the Jacumba valley, and matpitz on its northeastern side. Continuing north the occupied sites were pamu', wiyunai'e, near the preceding, hateūkteū'ke, a little to the north, wikwīn'ul (striped rock) a big mountain north of Jacumba, paihai'tl, eight miles above Tule valley, sokwiti'p, to the north, hūntōkkolwa'wa (frog's house), still farther north but south of hauwitca'r, near Carrizo Springs. During my informant's boyhood he lived at hatawī'ra, Mountain Springs, where he was born, moving eastward to nupno'p, then to the north at iswa'wa, a canyon in the desert north of Coyote Wells, then north to karwixa' in the foothills (Coyote mountains ?), westward to the divide at widjipawil, southeast of Boulevard, when he was a little older, and finally when full grown at wispiū'l (pointed rock), nine miles north of Boulevard, and at sumkwoha', to the west.

kwatl.¹⁷ Lived in part in the foothills on the eastern edge of the Imperial valley north of Brawley at sitca'rkn'iwa' (screech owl's house), a half-mile north at mataka'l (round mound), at tcama'rtcana'r (where food is cached) a mile north, at xacami'kwau' (many bird tracks) three and a half miles north, and three miles north at tamu'kwōtcuka'rt (tamu, willow). They also lived north of Enseñada¹⁸ in Baja California at ax-t'a (arrow reed), at 'kwapō'l to the east, and at sanxeli'p (San Felipe, the place has no native name) to the south, at xatamu'r (lake) northeast of ax-t'a, at matnū'k (bend) to the east, and at xa'kwīsiyai' (shaman spring), southeast. The Mexican group are e'kwāl in their own dialect.

hūlwa'. This group lived at three places named above, sitca'rkn'iwa', tcama'rtcana'r, and mataka'l; although in this connection it was stated that these lay east of Imperial and their respective positions were reversed.

'kwitark. Their territory lay roughly south of the international boundary from Morena Butte eastward to a point some distance

¹⁷ Gifford locates this gens at hakwaskwak (bitter water) in Jacumba valley, Baja California.

¹⁸ Presumably a place in southern Imperial valley is meant, not the seaport.

southeast of Jacumba. They lived at mīlkwatai in the Campo valley, to the east on the site of Warren's Hotel according to Gifford, at xakwakwo'k (bitter water) south of Valentina (two miles south of Campo in Mexico, at xakaiye (ford) to the east, at x-akwalma's (three cottonwoods) southeast, at piulateau', southeast in Mexico and south of the Agency at xan'imeop (white water), Hipass railroad station, at matkurkur (heaped dirt), Round mountain station west of Jacumba, at xakwakwa's (yellow water) on the south side of the Jacumba valley in Mexico where prickly pears are gathered, at xasi'kwaiyara'u' (burnt black birds), five miles southeast of the town over the mountain, at wikwitekwūl' (gap between rocks) west of the last but fifteen (?) miles south of the town, at mūspi'lyayau (sparrow hawk), under a high peak, at xakūtkū't to the southeast, at kwapēnkū't (cross) a mile and a half south, and at xatai' (big water) a half-mile south and twenty miles southeast of Jacumba.

'kwamai'. This gens lived throughout the length of Rattlesnake valley west of Laguna mountain at xakwapail (water on hillside), a big spring at Pine Valley, at xakwitceplo'ik (boiling springs) seven miles northeast, at wikilyutei's (singing rock: it whistles and sings when one passes), an equal distance in the same direction, at tisi'l (a grass) near the north end of the valley, and at kūmtaukwīlk to the east. In the vicinity of Vallecito and San Jacinto creeks, they lived at matnū'k (bend) where the creek makes a sharp turn in Mason valley near Vallecito, at wiipici' (rock, chemissa brush) three miles southeast, at kwaitcālteā'l (crevice: water flows from three crevices) a mile farther southeast, at xakwitepailp (water on bank) a half-mile southeast, at tsīlmūkx-a' (shoulder water) to the south, at matlaiu'-inya' (sandy road) a mile east at Indian Potrero, probably Palm Spring school, and at xapukax-a (lizard water) one mile east. The country to the east is cut off by Vallecito mountain (probably the Fish creek mountain of the maps). They also lived about Laguna at pilyakai', seven or more miles north of La Posta at the foot of Laguna mountain, at xarpuwi' (lilac, Laguna ranger station), at xarpsi'tl (pottery clay spring) at the southern end of the lake, at teaunyīwa (Chauny's house) nearly a mile north of the lake, at wi'kana'rlaxa' (shell rock water), a small lake three-fourths of a mile east of the preceding, at wikōpxau' a mile north, and at yarxkai' (wild plums) on the mountain two miles northwest of the last mentioned.

miskwi's. Occupied matkwiska'l and x-akwakwük (bitter water) with 'kwitark gens (?), a mile or so south of Campo, at hatičeó'p (riled water), the spring at the Campo store, at 'kwiskwíl, just west of the Campo schoolhouse, at 'oxknol'kwatai' (bed rock), an exposed ledge three miles east of Campo, to the east at itlkeha' (worms in water), three-quarters of a mile north of Warren's Hotel, and at a nameless place across the canyon to the east.

kwi'nehítc. Location unknown. Gifford places them in the southwestern part of Imperial valley.

hítlmawa'. The only known settlement was at snáu'yuke (red oak) at Manzanita.

öswai'. Lived at the hot springs in the Jacumba valley a mile south of the border. The Mexicans drove them east to xakwě'nkeṭopu'l; thence they went eastward to the foothills near the desert, finally returning to the Jacumba valley.

lite. This group is said to have lived in the region north and west of Vallecito, but the following localities would rather indicate that they lived roughly along the San Felipe drainage, viz., wină'l, north of San Felipe, wi'i (rock tree) five miles northeast, hortlũ'ke (ball chollas ?) on the eastern side of Warner's Hot Springs valley, mathwai' (Mataguay ?) eight miles west, and ax-t'a (arrow reed), four miles west of the last mentioned.

xötü'm. Lived at cīkau' (milkweed), Tenama, twelve miles south of Campo in Mexico, and at xakwīsiyai' (shaman water), thirty miles southwest of the Agency. Since only one or two have been seen by the people of the Tecate divide, this can hardly be called a Southern Diegueño gens.

kwainyi'l. Lived at kumaimuwa' (a plant) at La Posta, and at a place a little to the east; also at xemumũ're (bad mortar) in the valley south of La Posta. They ranged southeastward into the valley in which the Agency stands midway between Campo and Boulevard.

saiku'r. This gens is associated with the southeastern slope of the Laguna mountains in the general neighborhood of Guayapipe. Settlements were at x-akwīsikōn (running water), Mud Hole springs, five miles east of Laguna lake, at xakwa' (concentric ripples) on the Morris ranch, two miles south, to the south at titēikwī'l (many corners) on Ames ranch, at wimo'l (boulders) a mile west, at 'kwitīpai'ip (to rest one's head on a headrest) a half-mile south, and at lauwxexa (plenty of water) eight miles east. The last named coincides roughly with the matkwai, northeast of Manzanita, recorded by Gifford.

paipa'. Two widely separated places are assigned to this gens, pítlyakai', at the southern foot of Laguna mountain, also occupied by 'kwaimai' gens, and yaloho', a half-mile south of Jacumba. It was denied that this was identical with the Northern Diegueño gens of similar name (baipa).¹⁹

níxkai'. Lived in the hills east of Brawley.

Two gentes, neeix hawó'tc and Lite, are located in Northern Diegueño territory; the first was probably a Northern Diegueño gens as well. It is curious that only four of these gentes may be recognized among the twelve gentes of the northern people listed by Gifford:²⁰ this may be an indication of the essentially local character of the gentes of both groups. Gwaha is probably identical with our 'kwaxa, as the informant's indirect evidence would also indicate. Letcapa is clearly lya'tcarp; probably a single gens, in spite of being associated with two distinct localities. My informant spoke of them as a southern people when listing the gentes, but as northern when detailing ceremonies. When questioned, he asserted that some individuals belonged to both groups.²¹ Baipa and paipa', tumau and tumau' are said not to be the same people, with which, regarding the latter, Gifford's information agrees.

Several gentes are represented in distant groups of allied speech in Baja California, viz., hílmiarp, kwatL (locally e'kwatL),²² xó'tŭ'n, and possibly others.²³ My informant, a hílmiarp, believes those of the same gentile name are distantly related to him.²⁴ Possibly they represent the same group.

The largest gentes during the middle of the last century were hílmiarp, neeix (although the short list of settlements does not substantiate this), and kwatL; next in size were miskwi's, tumau' (again their number seems an over-estimate), 'kwamai', and 'kwitark; the smallest were hitlmawa' (of whom there were only three families in my informant's boyhood), óswai', and saiku'r. There was only one

¹⁹ Gifford, *loc. cit.*, 173.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*, 173.

²¹ I doubt that the dialectic difference would prove a barrier, but there is no evidence.

²² Possibly the Akwa'ala or Ekwa'ahle known to the Mohave. See A. L. Kroeber, *Yuman Tribes of the Lower Colorado*, present series, xvi, 476, 1920.

²³ Paipa' has its analogue in Pais or Pai-pais, given as the name of a tribe located along the western and northwestern spurs of the San Pedro Mártir sierra and reaching down to the mouth of the Colorado. See Arthur W. North, *The Native Tribes of Lower California*, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., x, 239, 1908.

²⁴ Mexican conscription has created an artificial division at the border, so that the Campo people know little of the southerners who they assert are their relatives.

family of *waipu'k* and but a few *'kwaxa* during this period. The list of settlements would suggest that the remaining gentes were small, though *Lite* may have been somewhat larger than the rest. It is estimated that *hilmiaarp* numbered three or four times the present total population²⁵ (250), which would mean that the entire southern group included from 3500 to 5000 souls. While the lesser figure is not impossible, it seems exaggerated.

The occupancy of the gentile territories was seasonal. Winter found them living in groups of mixed gentile affiliation among the foothills on the edge of the Colorado desert. In the spring they returned to the mountains, keeping pace with the ripening of the wild food staples, and passing the summer in their respective territories, where they lived in little groups about the valleys. The whole territory was not occupied at one time: when a locality was hunted out or fruits ripened elsewhere, they moved on. In the course of a year or so, however, all of the recognized settlements would have been occupied.^{25a}

Notions concerning rights to the territories must have been vague despite the theory that one gens could not gather vegetable products nor hunt within the territory of another without their permission. The owners²⁶ would order the trespassers off and enforce their will with weapons. The difficulty in accepting this as a fact lies in the mingling of the gentes even in the mountains. On the other hand, this may be a reflection of the enmity which periodically flared up between the gentes. *Hilmiaarp* fought with their western and northern neighbors, *miskwi's* and *'kwamai'*. *Miskwi's* fought with *kwainiyi'l*, their northern neighbors, and with the Northern Diegueño to the west. *Hilmiaarp* and *miskwi's* once went north of La Posta to fight *'kwamai*, but the latter, getting wind of it, built a stone "fort," which is still extant,²⁷ whereupon the former failed to come to grips. A typical incident, precipitating such a fight, was an occasion when a *'kwamai'* man's wife, fetching water in the valley (*kwiniilyiya'ka*, black canyon) north of the Agency, was abducted by a band of *hilmiaarp*, who carried her to Mountain Springs. *Miskwi's* are also known to have fought with *'kwamai* about women. On the whole, these antagonisms seem to extend north and south along the divide. On

²⁵ The informant evidently wished to exaggerate the importance of his own gens.

^{25a} Heintzelman notes that the Jacum Indians (Diegueño), located in the mountains, were more numerous in summer than in winter (*loc. cit.*, 43).

²⁶ There seems to be no definite individual ownership of wild products.

²⁷ A similar structure is said to stand east of the Agency.

the other hand, there were definite preferences among the gentes; that of hĩlmiarp for hĩltmawa' and ősawai', for instance, was so strong that they commonly lived together. The other gentes regard hĩlmiarp people as the most stupid, according to a member of that gens.

There was no ownership of the groves of bearing oaks in the mountains. On the other hand, it is said that hĩlmiarp owned patches of wild plum trees (axkai) and scrub oak (xwũp) at sũkoti'p (seeping water) in Tule canyon, north of Boulevard, and of red oak (snau) at xawitcar (water in crevices) at Manzanita. Other gentes could not take these products, but these places lie within the district they describe as hĩlmiarp territory.

Each gens owned one or more eyries from which eaglets were taken for use in the mourning ceremony (ewukerũk). Hĩlmiarp gens had an eyrie on a peak called hamĩlteahwai' near Jacumba; paipa' owned another at watetayu'mp, six miles south of Guiyapipe. Another gens wishing to hold the ceremony²⁸ approaches any member of paipa', for instance. A relative of the individual approached is purposely sent, for then no payment is demanded. In each gens there are two individuals, who may be women, who watch and capture the eaglets; one of these, the eagle owner (Espakwĩnhõt) has this function by reason of his special knowledge, the other he chooses and trains as his assistant and successor after his death. These two watch the eaglets until they have down on their heads, when they take whatever number are in the nest, one or two. It is considered fortunate if there are two, for then there will be two used in the dance and donations will be correspondingly great. The eaglet, feeling ashamed when caught, will not eat for four days. He is kept by the recipient gens for about a month in a dome-shaped brush house, a meter high, which is provided with a door through which the bird is fed by the eagle feeder (Espakwũtsau'e). The eaglet will eat jack-rabbits, cottontails, and the hind quarters of deer, but not squirrels. A clay vessel, painted in a special style, is made to hold his supply of water, because he is a person (i.e., one of the tipai). This is the reason why no one would kill an eagle except at the mourning ceremony (this is true even today), and why it receives such care during its captivity. During this time, however, there is no specially religious attitude (prayers, etc.) toward the eagle. The bird cries out at daylight on the day he is to die, for he knows his approaching fate. Only one who knows how may kill him by pressing under the

²⁸ Compare Waterman, *The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians*, present series, VIII, 314-320, 1910.

left wing over the heart.²⁹ All the feathers are saved. When used in the dance, they are the residing places of the spirits of the dead, who leave when the feathers are stored away.^{29a}

An eagle nest, belonging to *hĩŁmawa'*, situated fifteen miles east of Guiyapipe on the slope facing the desert, remained when nearly all the members of the gens had died. Jim McCarty, a *hĩŁmiarp*, took two birds from the nest. The owner *Pasenu'*, discovering this, came to Jim and accused him of theft. Jim did not answer until almost an entire sack of tobacco had been consumed. Then he said that, since the gens was practically extinct, they no longer owned it, but that he would for a time. *Pasenu'*, taken aback, looked around at the assemblage and then asked for the larger eagle. Jim refused; *Pasenu'*'s gens was almost gone; if he was entitled to any, it was the smaller one. So *Pasenu'* had to be satisfied with the smaller one.

The only suggestion of a totemic complex was the statement that Wildeat was a *hĩŁmiarp* and therefore wildeats could not be killed by members of this gens. Nor could any others kill them for if they were discovered a fight might be precipitated. I doubt this statement, for no reason could be given why this taboo, which is apparently a general one, is connected with this gens.

It is stated further that the mocking bird (*cakwillau'*) is a *hĩŁmiarp* and that it is raised by members of this gens because they want information that the bird can give. Again I believe my informant wished to enhance the estimate of his own gens by ascribing to it a relation which may rather hold for the whole tribe. Wild mocking birds tell when the daylight, months, and seasons are near. Fledglings are kept in a globular cage (*hapetũŁ*) of fine mescal fiber cord, twenty or more centimeters in diameter, in the bottom of which is a bed of chamissa rabbit skin (*Ępa'rlēmĩ's*), the finest rabbit fur, to keep them warm. When released the bird roosts on a pole above the house, and does not fly off for some time. The owner continues to feed it; when he moves, the bird follows shortly. When a *hĩŁmiarp* goes hunting, the bird flies to him far from home, perches on his head, and thus rides back to the house. These are good birds (*isa''kwaxa'n*); one takes to them as to humans, because they understand most things.

²⁹ Coleman noted that a Northern Diegueño shaman exhibited a little red feather which he said had pierced the eagle's heart.

^{29a} The Mono dance around a young black eagle two weeks after capturing it, then sell it to another village that they may do likewise (Powers, *Tribes of California*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 398.)

CHIEFTAINSHIP

Organization within the gens is of the slightest. Each had a male chief³⁰ ('kwaipai'), whose principal function was leading the mourning ceremony. The office is generally hereditary, but with an element of informal selection among the possible heirs by the people at large. The prospective chief must be one who exhibits generosity. When his reputation is established, he gives a dance; at this time they call him chief. He must be liberal, even with his wife and daughters if others want to dance with them. If the chief's son was stingy, people would not want him for their leader. A blood relative would be chosen, or, in default, some good member of the gens.

The chief's function was to admonish his gens mates and to make images for the mourning ceremony. He would commonly lead the warriors, but others would slip off to raid on their own account. If one of the latter killed a fellow-tribesman, the chief would permit a gentile relative of the dead man to take revenge on the murderer.

Tcekwa'kewi'te (philanderer) was to have been made chief of the hĩlmiarp gens in succession to Kũlkuwai'. They lived together. Kũlkuwai' wanted the former, whom he liked, to succeed, but he refused. Then the gens took the following members of their group successively as chiefs: Kũrkuwai', Teurǎwũ'r, Xõt̃mũte, Kwateĩkĩ'te, and Mat'kwĩ'n, all of whom lived before Jim McCarty's day (prior to 1850).³¹

The first chief of hĩlmiarp gens that my informant knew was Pilo'n,³² his father's father's brother (nyewi'). He told Jim to note all things well, particularly the mourning ceremony, so that he could some day be chief. Pilo'n was succeeded by Kumpi'r, his "younger brother."³³ As the former was dying he told Kumpi'r that he "gave the chieftainship" to him. He had been instructing him for years; everyone knew what the succession would be. As Kumpi'r was dying, he gave the office to his son (xomai'), Sĩpa'nkwoxi' (labia minora), who lived to be an extremely old man, dying about 1908. The latter was married for the first time (siṇyuwau) when this transpired. He was chief only eight years. He remarried after his first wife died;

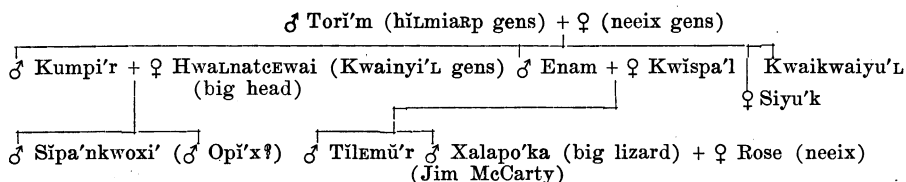
³⁰ The tribal chief and the assistant gens chiefs are modern innovations (compare Gifford, *loc. cit.*, 168).

³¹ This list may not cover any great span of time.

³² Jim does not know whether Pilo'n's father or any of his mother's relatives were chiefs.

³³ This man was a shaman, see page 312.

when the second died, he took a third. She left him. Then he told Jim that he could not be chief much longer because he had no wife to serve him. "You can see that there is not much work necessary to be chief. It is only four days' work (at the mourning ceremony)." Jim agreeing, the others present consented, saying that he was a suitable choice.³⁴ Jim, who called Sipa'nkwoxi' "older brother" (opix ?), was about forty years old and married when he became chief, a matter of forty years ago. Jim gave his first mourning ceremony at Guiyapipe (wiapai'p, a rock leaning on another, or witupai'p, a rock rests on a pillow).



MARRIAGE

As the exogamous gentes are more or less localized, a wife is normally taken from another settlement, but there is no studied attempt at local exogamy. There seems to be no preferential marriage between the gentes.

When a young man desires to marry, he visits the girl's family. If she signifies her approval, he does not approach her, but hunts until he accumulates an abundant supply of rabbits and venison (but not deer hides), which he presents to her parents for their food. Then her parents say, "You see he is a good man; he kills rabbits for us to eat. Why do you sit there, why don't you go with him?" The girl replies, "But he isn't here now; how can I go away with him?" Then should the man fail to come at night, a lad is dispatched for him. He leaves in the morning, his mother or some other elderly woman relative coming to fetch the girl to their home. If it is agreeable, the couple establish their permanent residence in his father's house; otherwise they build a house for themselves nearby. Temporary matrilocal residence is occasionally practiced, particularly when the groom has no property of his own. Should this arrangement prove satisfactory, it is continued indefinitely. Presents of food are informally reciprocated by the man's and the woman's family from time to time. Avoidance of any sort is unknown.

³⁴ I am by no means sure that anyone but our hero recognized him as chief!

Marriage was normally monogamous because a man could not support more than one wife, but occasionally a man had two or three wives (*siṇtoṣwū'k'is*, *siṇtoṣmu'k'is*, to have two (three) women). It is said that such polygamous unions were confined to the *kwatl*, *tumau'*, and *nixkai' gentes*, but this seems doubtful. Plural wives are Southern Diegueño; they are frequently stolen, and it is preferable that they be sisters, "because they are related." Both wives live in a single house on opposite sides of the fire. At meals they sit on each side of their husband (?).

Adultery or maltreatment is a sufficient cause for divorce, public opinion being of little weight in the matter. A woman can leave her husband, their children remaining in the care of another woman, and people will not interfere. Similarly a man can leave his wife. A man will kill his wife's lover if the latter is caught in the act. Otherwise they will fight, though not to kill, with any handy weapons, sticks, or stones. The husband's relatives become angry, but they advise him to leave the woman and not take the risk of fighting. The husband does not destroy his rival's property, but appropriates it; not by way of compensation, but in order to deprive him of his weapons. If a woman thinks her husband guilty, she leaves, telling him to keep his lover. She does not fight.

If a man maltreats his wife, her brothers or father's brothers, but not her father, will remonstrate; if he grows angry, they will fight. A man may beat his wife if she refuses to obey him, but if he beats her too much she may leave him and no one can interfere. Should a wife prove ill-tempered, mean, or cook his food improperly or dirtily, the husband may say, "If you are tired of cooking, you may go home," and she goes. His parents would not interfere. Such a woman may marry immediately; her second husband owes nothing to the first.

RELIGION

SHAMANISM

The Southern Diegueño have curing and rattlesnake shamans, but know the bear and weather shamans only as foreign types. Most of the principal performers in the religious ceremonials are shamans: the other participants have at least some claim to be regarded as such. In fact, my informant does not make any sharp distinction between those he styles shamans (*gwīsi'yai*) and the other performers; evidently only a difference of degree is involved. For example, while

he makes no claim to be a shaman himself, as the following paragraphs show, he commands a measure of esoteric power which he uses in orthodox shamanistic fashion. The reasons for the lack of distinction may be that there is no clearly defined mode of becoming a shaman, and, on the other hand, the acquisition of analogous knowledge by all who pass through the toloache initiation.

My father's oldest brother, Kump'l'r, was a shaman. He was a good shaman: as far as I know, he never lost a patient. That was all he did, for he was blind from birth. They brought patients to his house for treatment. He blew down and along a patient's abdomen, as the latter lay on his back on the ground; then he sucked the foreign matter out, u', u'; then he blew the pain away again. When heart or stomach hurt, he sucked the "bad blood" out to relieve the pain. (No incision was made and no blood flowed, however.)

I do this, too, but I know only a little; not so much as my uncle. For some reason I am not so good as he. I have doctored a few here and cured them. One child retained its urine: I did not blow, I pressed its groins to force out the urine. The child was nearly dead but recovered. Sometimes I blow and sometimes I rub, but I do not use herbs much. I have been given the power to cure with my hands. I spit and blow on my palms and cure with these. I feel with my hands: if the patient's body is cold, I rub it until it is warmed. Then when I feel that he is warm I let him go. When I blow upon the ground it smokes far below.

According to my informant, those who imbibe the jimsonweed drink during the initiation ceremony received the powers which the shamans have put into it by blowing (see below). Those who receive many powers become shamans. He attributes his own slight capacity to the loss of these powers during the toloache trance, occasioned by his neglect to cover his face with horned owl feathers and to place raven feathers beside him.

The further character of his beliefs concerning himself are revealed by the following incidents. Recently he was seated near his house where his wife was stationed. Suddenly he had a premonition: he told her that a man had died far to the east where the sun rises. He said, "In a few days you will know whether I am telling a fact." She replied, "Yes, your dreams at night always come true, but I do not place much faith in your daydreams." Then he told her to wait until Ramon should return from Yuma. In a few days Ramon arrived with the news that a man had died there. On another occasion, the wild plum bushes near his house told him that someone had died. He was sitting nearby, when the bush came down and whispered to him. He had his back to it so that he did not see it. Bushes were once people; that is why they talk. These plum bushes are his property; they are supposed to tell him. That is why he knows things of this sort.

Some people are shamans by birth. One man, Anñ, known to have been born a shaman, intends to doctor soon.

A rattlesnake shaman is called *wikwisiyai*. I knew an old man, *Tcipalai'*, who was sitting, with his two sons, at Manzanita. He said, "There goes an old man with a basket hat on his head" (he meant a snake). His son said, "You lie; there is nothing there. We are going to look." *Tcipalai'* said, "All right; go and see. Go close to the bush by the draw." They went where he directed them and saw a snake. They were frightened: one ran off, the other ran back. This man was owner of the snakes and could cure their bites. He was a snake. He could talk with them. A snake would come to him to say that he was going off to borrow something. He really meant he was going to bite someone. But *Tcipalai'* would say, "No: you will put me to a lot of work (i.e. to cure the patient.)"

Once I was hunting with him. His wife prepared a quantity of acorn mush. We hunted all day but found nothing, neither rabbits nor rats. When we returned to within a mile from home, we reached a large rock, with a hollow under it, standing near the trail. He said to me, "I have a great deal of mush at the house, but nothing to eat with it. I am going around this rock to get some game: you remain here." He went to the other side of the rock, rapped on it four times with his hand, stamped around it several times, until snakes began to come out of the hollow in numbers. He killed some with a dry stick. I stood by, very much afraid, until I was invited around the rock to see. I saw a great heap of snakes of all descriptions there. Then, when he had taken what he wanted, he told the others to return under the rock. I saw him wring their heads off, wrap them in tanglefoot grass, and tie the bundle with his breech clout to carry home. There he boiled them all in a big pot filled with water. I refused to eat because it was rattlesnake, but the man said it was not; it was another species. But still I refused. Rattlesnakes are not food, so I think that man must be a snake himself to deal with them.

From infancy this man dreamed of curing rattlesnake bites. The faculty grew in him. He remained continent until he was an adult. Then, when a rattlesnake bit a man, he told the people that all his life he had dreamed of curing such bites, that he was now going to try in secret. He cured him. Then he took a wife and continued his vocation. No one ever doubted him, because he always effected a cure when he announced his intention.

When I was young I saw him cure a man at *Snauyŭ'ke* (Manzanita). The stricken man was carried to a spot distant from a house (such patients are never treated near houses) and *Tcipalai'* was sent for. Others wanted to watch him, but he forbade them, saying that they had been with their women. Menstruating women were also warned away, for such would kill a patient. Before he reached the patient, he rubbed himself liberally with dust. He sang and danced, circling about the man lying on the ground. He had a thick bundle of white sage in each hand. The man could not see: his vision was darkened. Each time the shaman fanned his own eyes with the sage, first with one hand, then the other, the patient's vision cleared. As he circled he kicked the prostrate man; first on the feet. Then he blew over his entire body. He sat there gazing at him a short time, then he turned him face down, applied his lips to the small of his back, and sucked out some yellow matter, the snake poison. He instructed the others to turn the man face up. He sucked just below the navel and brought out more yellow matter and blood, spitting it out. He repeated the sucking at the base of the sternum. There was no sign of a wound where he sucked;³⁵ perhaps the poison comes out through the pores. He told the man to get up and take a wife: he was cured. Then the shaman went home. The man sat up immediately. He never even swelled from the poison. Eventually he died of old age: he was never ill again.

³⁵ The wound is never incised.

Other men cure snake bites. One, named Arpu's, lives at Manzanita at present. He claims to do it, but I never saw him; nevertheless I do not doubt him.

Old people eat snakes. They do not kill single individuals but go to a den where plenty can be found, "like going fishing."

The Southern Diegueño have no bear shamans (o'rskwanyewai', to have relations with a bear), but know of their existence among the people to the north. The following account is significant in view of this lack. The incidents refer to a Shoshonean of La Jolla, whose identity is unknown to my informant.

This man wanted a woman at La Jolla to receive him. She refused; "You have too much hair, I do not like you." The bear said, "No, I am human." He went into some thick brush and when she passed he told her to come to him. Again she refused. He offered to cover her with the bearskin and she consented. Nothing came to pass, because he was a bear, not a human. This woman bore four children. She wanted to see him, so she thought of him and he came. He was human. He looked at the children: the woman told him to put his hand on them. He asked "How did it happen that four were born at one time?" She said, "These are the fruit of our union." Four months later he told his brother what he had done, but the latter scoffed, "You could not transform yourself into a bear." The man replied that some day he would show him. One day the brother went after wood. The bear man said he would show him. The brother broke off a quantity of sticks and, taking a big load on his head, started home. Then the bear rushed out growling. The brother threw down his load and looked around: there was a bear tearing up the ground. When the brother started to run, the bear caught him, and throwing him to one side, broke his arm. The bear said, "You see that I could kill you, but you are my brother. I told you I could do this, but you disbelieved me. Now your arm is broken for remembrance." Then the bear man returned home, where he stayed one night.

Then he said, "I want to visit the people living far to the south. I will leave my family here." He went south to gather piñon nuts at Picacho mountain in Mexico. People saw bear tracks there, but they soon heard that it was a human who assumed the shape of a bear. They saw his track where he went to water, and where he had gone to another spring (in the foothills?), taken some mescal fiber, and made sandals: they saw the traces. Then he returned to the first spring at Picacho. He had removed his sandals: they saw again where he had gone to water. The people then said that the tracks were not those of a real bear, but of a man who transformed himself into one, so they stopped getting water there.

Two brothers, Kapamha'n and Hwasemü'te, saw the tracks. One said, "I think it is not a bear;" the other, "It is a bear." "I believe some man made the tracks." The bear man, who was nearby, heard them: "I will show you two, first, that I am a bear, and then that I am human." One day when they went after wood, they saw a jackrabbit. The bear man was near them. Just as they turned away, he rushed out growling, throwing up the ground. He ran at them, caught one, and threw him some distance off, but without hurting him. He said, "I heard you say that I was not a bear: you see that I am. Now I am going to show you that I am a man." He went into the brush: in a short time a man came out and walked away clad only in a bear skin. Those two were so frightened that they returned without the wood.

That man went to Matkurkur near Jacumba, and then north to Tcauñyíwa (Henry Chauny's house) at Laguna. There he met Títlyau, who said the former was a bear, for he saw the tracks. Títlyau went to Lauxa at Guiyapipe, where they

told him that they had seen bear tracks. He said, "Yes, he has been everywhere. I think he is not a bear, only a man. If he is a bear, I will kill him." So he tracked him, carrying a gun. The bear man overheard him and, coming out of a canyon in human guise, met and talked with him. "I heard you tell the others that you intend killing me. Why do you wish to do that: I am human and yet a bear. I can kill you if I wish: I will show you." After retiring to the bushes, he rushed out growling and waving his paws, while Títlyau watched. He returned to the bushes. "Now you have seen me: the best you can do is to return home."

Weather shamans are known from Northern Diegueño and Yuma instances.

MAGICAL BELIEFS

Hair clippings, if not used in the manufacture of the cord with which the hair is bound, are burned, for should their owner die he would cry to see his hair blowing about. Another reason for burning them, and nail parings as well, is that a shaman may use them to cause their owner to become insane and die. A man gathers his wife's combings for this reason and also because the shaman may attract the wife. A shaman may gather the dirt in which one spits and place it on a red ants' nest so that the victim will die of "tuberculosis." Or he may gather the dirt which has been urinated on, or the faeces, thus stopping the functions of the bowels, when death ensues.

Arrowheads are placed under rocks about the camp to prevent its inmates being bewitched. Shamans are the only persons who wear them, with the same intent, during a dance. They are suspended by a cord about the neck, hanging either on breast or back, or worn over the heart.³⁶

Cigarettes (ĩlwitca'tc) are made from short lengths of elder (kopõl), from which the pith is removed. One end is plugged with a little ball of milkweed fiber and the tube loaded with tobacco by filliping the side with the finger nail. One smokes such cigarettes to cure a cold or cough, singing the following song four times, by which time the pain and mucus have disappeared:

Ko sa mi xa no
I am sick with a co'd
arte mi yai
groan
arte mi 'kwilp
tossing with malease.

When a man sneezes (wił's) a girl is talking about him.

³⁶ Arrowheads are not charms against the lightning; in fact, there are none known.

INITIATION CEREMONY

The toloache ceremony is called *horloi'*, although this is properly the name of the dance which accompanies the administration of the drink.

Perhaps only a small proportion of the men drank the jimsonweed; those who wished to learn to dance and sing. Some men never drank it, and it was never given to women. One woman, *L̄l̄mas*, was initiated by the *Hakwate* (*Luisseño* and *Cupeño* Shoshoneans of La Jolla and Hot Springs), who gave her but a small quantity to drink. She can dispense it to men or women, but she never has. Jimsonweed is taken but once in a lifetime. A morsel of the root is held in the mouth while playing peon, for it causes one to guess better.³⁷ In case of a narrow escape from danger or sickness, an impromptu performance of the *horloi'* dance is held in order to restore one's luck. This dance lasts half the night.

While it was stated that the ceremony is given by the gens, what is probably meant is that it is given by the inhabitants of a particular locality, among whom one gens would naturally predominate. A member of any gens whatever might be initiated if he desired.

Boys who have reached maturity and even grown men are initiated. As many as a dozen or more might partake at one time, but it is preferable not to have too many, because it is necessary to have old men to watch them during the entire period.

The ceremony is held at some convenient time during cold weather. It is said to continue through "four nights and days," with the administration of the drug on the fourth night, but I gather that the program is nevertheless very free. The first day, people simply gather to feast. Each night is occupied with dancing, the performance beginning late in the day and lasting perhaps until dawn. The jimsonweed is given only at night: if drunk during the day, one's ears would burn up. The drinking rites may be followed by the fire ceremony, which occurs on this night alone. Several days later (two, in one case) the ground painting is made and the attendant tests performed.

When I first learned this dance there were a number of Northern *Diegueño* at *Xawi'* (tule) at *Vallecitos*. At this time my people did not know the dance, although the Northern *Diegueño* did.^{37a} I was a grown man: that is why I wanted

³⁷ The leaves are not chewed as among the *Havasupai* and *Apache*.

^{37a} *DuBois* (present series, VIII, 74-76, 1908) implies that the Southern *Diegueño* received the cult from the north only within the last two or three generations.

to learn. The shamans there were Tasmi'tc, X·ai'im, Wuna'u'n, the oldest, Tcowa'l, and Karo's, the greatest of all; all were Northern Diegueño, members of the lya'tcāp clan, which was holding the dance. Other shamans present were Naxamai', Ina's, Kopasō'r, Kwō'ktokō'k, and Sōnso'n, of whom the first three belonged to lya'tcāp and the fourth to kwainyi'l gentes.³⁸ X·ai'im was the leader (kwaipai) of these shamans; he was not the chief of a clan. He made speeches before the dance began and again before the toloache was administered. When I arrived I asked him if I might learn, to which he agreed. I did not pay him. Late in the afternoon, they locked me in the shaman's house (ewa'gwīsiyai'), so that I was forced to fast. This was a long house, with a peaked roof rising to about the height of a man, and provided with a door in its northern end. Ina's came just after dark to ask if I was asleep. I said, "No;" he said, "Do not sleep." He said that because they were to give me the jimsonweed (malkapi't) at midnight. I heard them pounding it.

The mortar (kalmu') is made of soapstone, with a cavity 15 cm. in diameter and a hand in depth. The soapstone pestle is 30 cm. long. X·ai'im, the owner, kept them with the clay drinking cup (sukwī'nemat) in a cave south of Vallecitos, whence he fetched them when the ceremony began. He told the hiding place to some other shamans, among them Tasmi'tc, against his death. Anyone who entered that cave would sicken and die. These objects were not painted for the ceremony.

The shamans formed a circle about the mortar and growled. They peered and then blew into it. Wuna'u'n, called wəxapsu'i, the blower, who was seated to one side, cried "Waḡwaa" four times: after each shout the others cried "Xaa" into the mortar. Then they sat back while Tasmi'tc pounded the jimsonweed root. Only that root is taken for this purpose which points to the north; it is 15 cm. long. It is gathered afresh for each ceremony by the one who is to mash it. Tasmi'tc pounded for a time, chanting "tcoka (I pound?)" with each stroke. Then he stopped while Wuna'u'n cried "Waxuḡa," and the others answered, "Xaa." Again Tasmi'tc pounded, crying "tookā yuni," and the pair of cries followed. Pouring water into the mortar Tasmi'tc sang:³⁹

kwī si mai mēn e mai a no
kwī si mai mēn e mai a no
hai ku ra nē tca
to re mo moḡa moḡa moḡa
e si pema'r towīm moḡa moḡa

The others joined after he had begun the song. Whenever they stopped, the two cries were repeated. The shamans groan thus into the mortar in order to breathe their powers into the drink. Tasmi'tc then poured it, about a pint, through a basket strainer (sukwa'l) into another vessel. Thereupon Wuna'u'n cried "Waxuḡa" four times, while the others answered "Xaa" into the vessel.

Then Naxamai' led me from the house, saying that everything had been prepared. I was seated on the inverted mortar facing north.⁴⁰

³⁸ These four may be Southern Diegueño: the fifth is an iṭlkipa', a Northern Diegueño.

³⁹ This informant had the same difficulty in giving the words without the air, that has often been commented on.

⁴⁰ This account would indicate that he was initiated alone, but in describing the later tests, he speaks of two fellow-initiates. This may mean that he drank toloache twice: once near Vallecitos, here described, and again at Manzanita, as a partly understood statement would also imply. It is possible, however, that the three initiates drank separately during the same night, or even that the other two are figments of his imagination, invented to bring out the penalty of failure in the tests.

Two *lya'tcarp* women, *Yulyema's* (little eyes)⁴¹ and *Sawe'l* (Isabel), stood on opposite sides of me within a ring of shamans. All faced north except the women, who faced me.⁴² These two women told me what to ridicule; to dance to ridicule the deceased members of the *Neeix gens*; to wit, *Hama'RL*, *'Kwasteu'tc*, *Aleeix*, and *KötkwİL*.

Tasmi'tc set the vessel directly before me. I was expected to gaze right into it. *Yulyema's* then told *Wuna'u'n* to come close in front of me. He cried "Weee" four times, each time *Sawe'l* replying with the same cry. *Tacmi'tc* gave the vessel to me. I held it while all cried, "*Wisi'x·aiya*, *wisi'x·aiya* (he drinks it);" then I drank. Again they cried and I drank. Four times they cried and it was finished. Then *Naxamai'* led me back to the house. Everyone was ridiculing me while I drank: another time I would reciprocate.

In general, when several boys are to drink at one time they are brought to the dance-ground in a body. Before they arrive, the shaman to the north (*Wuna'u'n* in the case above) slightly raises a sack (*kūpuhwa'*) of tobacco, which lies near the fire north of the mortar, four times. When the shaman to the south cries, "Weee," he raises it on high four times, crying, "Weee." The boys walk to the dance ground; and, dividing into small groups, enter on the north, south, and east sides repeatedly. Each elderly sponsor (informally called *kūpeau*, caretaker) leads his charges to the north shaman, then to him on the south, and finally back to the fire where the boys remain standing. They are then seated in a semicircle about the mortar. All face north, for they are afraid of the south. (According to another statement, they sit to the east, with the man who administers the drink at the northern end of their line.) The boy at the eastern end of the line receives the first drink, the next finishes the preparation; for each mortar full is supposed to furnish two drinks. The second cupful, made at the same time as the first, is given to the third, fourth, and fifth boys, if there are that many present, care being taken that each receives a third. All the while a woman opposite them (both northeastern and western sides are specified) is singing and dancing. She cries, "So and so is going to drink." Shamans near her shout, "*Wisi'x·aiya* (he drinks it)." A group of shamans move around the dance ground dextrally, waving owl plumes, taken from their head-dresses, up and down. They cry, "Xaa, Xaa," while the boys drink and afterward whenever the leading shaman cries out. A woman standing opposite the boys, who has that function (the same woman

⁴¹ This may be the woman, *Lyīmas*, mentioned above.

⁴² Usually the two shamans, who are stationed to the north and south of the performers, have each a female singer with them on the fourth night. After the boys are brought to the dance ground, all four proceed to the east side where they stand to supervise. The two women mentioned in the paragraph above correspond to these two singers.

as above?) cries "Weeit": two men then take the first boy to the fire. With each succeeding cry, two more men lead another initiate to the same place. Each pair then promenades and dances around the fire with their charge. When the boy becomes so dizzy that he cannot proceed, one man takes him on his back, in such a fashion that his face is upturned, and continues the dance about the fire. Finally, when the boy has almost lost consciousness, he is carried into the house.

After the drinking rite, the small boys who have gathered at the dance are sprinkled by the man who prepares the drink with a small brush dipped in toloache. This is by way of a preparatory initiation.

To resume, they built a big fire in front of the house after they left me. Naxam ai told me, "If you feel dizzy, strike on the house, so I will know to enter and care for you." I said that I was all right, although I felt the effects immediately. I could feel my heart beating hard. I sat up and, although it was dark, I thought I saw the ground moving; so I rapped on the house. He came in and out continually to watch me.

Finally he led me out to where the shamans were gathered about a big fire of mesquite. I could not see well, but I saw a big fire. Naxamai' and Ina's held me by the arms (those two were not related to me) while we circled the fire in the lead of the shamans. We circled three times in a clockwise direction and had nearly completed the fourth circuit, when I fell down in a stupor. They carried me to a shade nearby, where all watched me, even the women, to prevent me from running away. Near dawn I woke and looked about, but everything was strange. Everyone was still dancing. They had extinguished the big fire with hands and feet (see fire ceremony below) and built a smaller in the same place, so that they could dance until daylight. There were two singers, Matxau and Kwitcič'1, who were not shamans. After I looked at the dawn I gazed at the fire; it appeared blue, the people about it looked red. Then they dragged me again around the fire. When the sun shone, I regained possession of my senses for a moment but again relapsed. This condition lasted all this day and the next night. The next day they said that they were going to have me dance again. Some said that I would not be able; that I would dance into the fire. But I said that I could dance all right. I remembered: I danced the whole *horloi'* perfectly. All were pleased, so I returned home the following day.

(After the boys have recovered, visitors from other localities usually sing their songs so that they may learn them.)

Two days after drinking, when I recovered, they led me in the daytime from the shade to the dance ground in order to show me the ground painting. First my entire body was painted black with charcoal, then placing a morsel of salt meat in their mouths, they blew a little saliva on me. The ground painting was made and explained by Xai'm. The central figure (*a*) represented *Hatōtkēu'r*, the Milky Way, those on both sides local geographic features, and the outer figures, the constellations, as follows: (*b*) *Wi'toloi*, Viejas mountain near Descanso, (*c*) *Xiwi'*, a rock in the ocean near San Diego (the Coronados?), (*d*) *Wikaiyai'*, San Jacinto mountain, (*g*) *Wikēmū'n*, Picacho mountain in Mexico (*h*) *Sahai'*, a mountain east of Picacho mountain (*i*) *Xatai'*, a spring nearby, (*j*) *Pōmiyai'* *ha'rpē* (*Pōmiyai'*'s, a spirit's, entrance?), east of *Xatai'*, (*k*) *Xakwīnnyīmcōp* (white water), far east of the Picacho, (*l*) *Cīlūk*, a constellation (*m*) *Ci'i*, the constellation "Buzzard," (*n*) *Amu'*, the constellation "Mountain sheep," (three stars), (*o*) *Koxo'a'p*, the jealous star,

and (p) Xitca', Pleides. The Milky Way was represented by a braided cord of milkweed (ahorl) fiber, four fingers in width. The mountains and stars were indicated by piles of variously colored seeds: gray seeds of the flax (üpe'l), red from a bush 30 cm. tall (owa'l), pink from a waist-high bush with red blossoms (matapa'), white from a vine (ekwai'), black seeds from the "live forever" (kwitlyinyau') used for o, and black seeds from a similar plant bearing thorns (pilmol) used for p. The pile b and the line e were marked with white earth (matn'imeöp); the line f with red owa'l seeds. No circle was drawn about the figure.

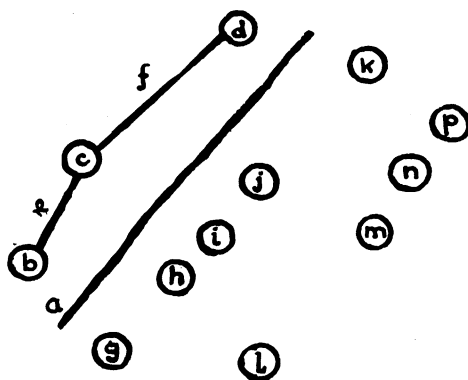


Fig. 1. Ground painting, as explained on page 319.

Near the ground painting, on its western side, was the jumping ground (matwa'a'r), a rectangular pit running north and south, 125 by 45 cm. at the mouth, and about waist deep. The shamans sat about it. I crouched on the southern side with my big toes on the edge while resting one thumb and forefinger on each side of the pit. Wuna'u'n cried, "Hui," four times; then I jumped clear to the opposite end. I had practiced with two leaps to reach my position at the pit. A man stood on each side to catch me if I fell into the pit: such men never assist the initiate, however. Should a boy fall back into the pit, he will soon die.

The old man who cared for me then led me forward and back a few meters to stand toeing the testing circle (matlha'tcaho'tpa, ground —) to the northeast of the pit. This is a circle, 30 cm. in diameter, drawn on the ground, with a small hole at its center. I was given a morsel of heavily salted meat to hold under my tongue to induce the flow of saliva. I stood erect, toeing the circle, with my hands behind my thighs, and dropped the spittle into the hole. If a boy misses, he will soon die. Two other initiates were present: one fell back into the pit; the other failed in his aim. These two are now dead, while I, who was successful, have lived to an old age. These three things were destroyed four days later.

Then I was led back to the shade, where I was given a small piece of mescal, although I was extremely hungry. During the time I fasted and thirsted, I wore a belt, braided of four pieces of "quinine weed" (xakwex'a'r), which makes one feel replete. Those who care for the initiates and the pair of women singers (p. 318) fast each night, but eat in the morning.

When I drank the jimsonweed, I saw the horned owl (a'u') and the raven (xatai') in a trance. I dreamed of these because their feathers are worn in the headband during the horloi' dance. These two looked like men, as we believe them to be. I dreamed of many things at that time, but I only remember these two. After I

returned home, I slept. I should have covered my face with owl feathers and placed raven feathers at my side, but I failed to. Raven and Horned Owl spoke to me in my sleep: they resembled humans. Raven said to Horned Owl, "I believe he does not like our way." The latter replied, "Yes, let him go: let us not teach him the other things that he should learn." Two days and nights passed in sleep; during this period I could hear the powers within passing out by my ears. I heard them plainly. So I no longer had knowledge: all I could remember concerned only Raven and Horned Owl. After the powers flew out, my whole body felt light and active; before that it had been heavy and gross. One sees these things because the shamans have blown their powers into the drink; those who thereby receive many powers become shamans. I also saw Coyote in my dream. I asked him, "What now?" and he whispered, "Another shaman is coming to bewitch you. You will die in four days." I told him that he lied, but Coyote repeated, "Yes: you will die in four days' time." But I am not yet dead. No one believes Coyote; he is such a confirmed liar. Coyote resembled a man except that his ears were those of a coyote.

The animal seen in the trance is the "pet" of the visionary: he is one of his own people, his friend. He is not supposed to kill such animals: I do not kill ravens or horned owls. Should he desire something, he consults the animal. Shamans who wish to cure talk to the animals in their sleep and learn the herbs, etc., wherewith to cure.

FIRE CEREMONY

The fire ceremony (au'etasí'phís, extinguishing the fire) is said to have been derived from the Shoshoneans to the north, who in turn received it from the great snake, Mat'tiawít. It is held only at night, following the horloi' dance, that is, the administration of the jimson weed. Its performance is undertaken when those present believe that there are a sufficient number of shamans present at the horloi' to succeed in extinguishing the fire.

Only shamans, those who took part in the initiation rites, participate in actually extinguishing the flames. They wear six plumes thrust upright into the headband in such a manner that the feathers nearly obscure the face. These plumes are composed of bunches of horned owl and raven feathers fastened to short sticks. The headband (hwatl tokwí'n) is made of twisted, frayed feathers from the same species.

Two circles of men and women are formed, with hands joined, facing the fire. The inner circle comprises shamans for the most part; the outer, unimportant people. They dance in a circular course, stamping, not shuffling, singing horloi' songs. Two shamans sit on opposite sides of the fire (probably outside of the inner circle) crying, "Xaa, xaa." The shaman on the north supervises the outer circle; the one on the south, the inner.⁴³ During the dance each taps two

⁴³ Possibly the jurisdictions are confused, since the northern shaman is the principal leader.

sticks together: those of the northern shaman are carried part of the time by a man in the inner dance circle. Two other shamans are located on the east and west sides, respectively. Each moves to the northern man, then to the southern, and finally back to their stations, crouching as they walk and crying, "Xaa, xaa."

The outer circle moves dextrally, the inner sinistrally through four circuits. At the cry "Wíp, wíp," from the northern shaman, repeated by his southern colleague, the direction of dancing is reversed for four additional circuits. When the northern director thinks that the dance has continued for a sufficient time, he signals to the man carrying his sticks in the inner circle to rush out to the west and tap them together as a signal for all to sit down. Immediately the shamans proceed to extinguish the fire with their feet and hands, the outer circle crowding in on these performers, singing the while. If the northern shaman observes that the shamans cannot control the fire, he leaps into its midst and sits there facing east, south, west, and north, and then emerging resumes his place to the north watching the others. When he is on the fire, he is thinking how he is going to extinguish it.

According to another statement, the shamans first squat (not seated on the ground) about the fire, with the two directors forming part of their circle. They first push the ashes together with their feet. Each carries a wooden wand: that of the shaman on the north is a bullroarer, being attached to a milkweed (ahorln^ymcó'p) string. The northern shaman cries, "Wawa^ηaa," the others, "Waa," whereupon all jab their wands into the coals. They then circle in single file counterclockwise around the fire four times, crying "Waxaa." On the fifth circuit, the circle is broken on the west side, half returning clockwise for a complete circuit, while the others continue, until they meet again on the west side, when the whole group again circles counterclockwise four times. The shamans on the north and south stop at their original stations. Suddenly the northern shaman springs onto the bed of coals. The others immediately rub and pat the embers with their hands, breathing and beating with their headplumes on them until they are extinguished. The plumes are not scorched. They spit "blood" on the fire, but not on their hands.

The swallowing wand ('kwahwōteo'o'ka, blood, to insert) is not used, but Coleman has seen it among the Northern Diegueño of Santa Ysabel, where a shaman drew a long feather from his throat with which to beat out the fire.

The shaman's wand ('kwotō't) is made of pine; shaped much like those figured by Waterman,⁴⁴ pointed at one end and flaring at the butt; about 75 cm. in length, 5 cm. in width, and flat, but 0.5 cm. in thickness. Near the butt end is a band of sinew wrapping, under which owl feathers are caught, with those of the yellow hammer in addition on each broad face. All these wands, or at least those used at my informant's initiation, were derived from the Shoshoneans of Warner's Hot Springs. The one which served as a bull roarer came originally from the same people, who gave it to the Northern Diegueño of San Felipe. It was brought to Vallecitos for this ceremony by Kwistu'c, a member of the neeix gens. This wand is said to resemble the broadest example figured by Waterman:⁴⁵ it was plain and had a stone arrowhead inserted in the butt. Another short wand, painted black and lacking the arrowhead, was brought at the same time, but the shamans fearing to use it, hid it at some distance.

RIDICULING CEREMONY

The precise purpose and precedence of the stereotype ridiculing which is an integral part of these ceremonies is far from clear. During my informant's initiation, he was instructed by two women to exemplify by his dancing the ridiculing of the dead of a gens to which neither he nor they belonged (see p. 318). At the same time, everyone ridiculed him while he drank the toloache; for his part, he had every intention of reciprocating on an appropriate occasion. Ridiculing also formed the subject of a definite ceremony, as illustrated by the following account.

I was working at Pylkeru'k in the foothills near the desert for a bolt of calico. I went to Snau'kwitū'n at Little Manzanita in order to give it to 'Kwiarau'. But he died at Milkwiłnuk, Long Canyon near Carrizo, before I arrived. Paiyū'n, Ikwiłū'k (white wood), and Aturpau', all, like myself, members of the hīłmiarp gens, were there. During the day we hunted rabbits and prepared food. When we were satiated, we were ready to dance. At night we four sat about a small fire, shaking gourd rattles (xalma'r) while we stamped and sang. We sang about 'Kwiarau', of the neeix gens⁴⁶ (the one ridiculed is called oyau'pē), because we liked his people. We ridiculed them. He was not related to any of us: we do not sing if the deceased is a relative. We mocked the mourners in this song:

mi no sok	hariyaux	
let alone	desist	
mi no sok	inyapniyaux	inyaphayaima'ha
	I do not like	dance about one

⁴⁴ Present series, VIII, figs. 1, 2.

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*, fig. 1, no. 4.

⁴⁶ He stated that hīłmiarp and neeix are the only gentes which ridicule, but this is doubtful.

mi no sok	hiłtamokau'a	towa'rowar
	cut off hair	extremely tired
onyaiyau'hıtc	hapıloyau'hıtc	matami'ınpa
you look pitiful	you know how to	all cry
	paint yourself	

A man or woman, particularly the latter, might strip off all his clothes in order to make the ridicule stronger. If a member of the ridiculed gens is present, he cannot become angry, but in time he will reciprocate.

On this occasion, I wanted to dance four nights, but a woman died there, so that we danced only for two nights, continuing until daybreak on the second. Then I cut the bolt of calico into short lengths which I distributed to everyone at the dance. We burned the woman nearby during the next forenoon, and wailed for her through that and the succeeding day. We then washed ourselves over the ashes of the pyre and destroyed the vessels which had contained the water, on the spot. Otherwise, we should have been visited by this dead woman.

WHIRLING DANCE

The whirling dance (tıpkwirp, to spin in a circular course) is not characteristic of the Southern Diegueño but of their northern congeners. During my informant's boyhood (1840-1860) it was not customary for the southern people to attend this dance, with the exception of one man, Matxan, of the Pa'tcarp gens. The account which follows was obtained from Will F. Coleman, a Northern Diegueño half-blood. It differs from Waterman's account in some particulars.

The dance is held at only one time, on the morning following the fire ceremony. The chief shaman swings the bull roarer once as he faces first the sun, then south, west, and north, in order to summon the other shamans ('kwotöt ari'ra, to call with, or swing, the wand). All these join him at the dance ground. The chief shaman, who keeps the ceremonial regalia in a house to the northeast of the dance ground, gives the necessary paraphernalia to the two performers, who don them in the ceremonial structure (n'i'iyau'we, feather house) north of the ground. The dancer is painted with stripes of white ashes, red, blue, etc. He wears a kilt (nıpxai') of eagle feathers closely strung on a cord. In each hand he carries a wand of hard burr oak (samtai'), 40 cm. long, flat, roasted brown, and painted with red iron oxide. His fellow carries two similar sticks: he wears the headband and plumes used in the fire ceremony. A bunch of eagle feathers hangs from the rear of the headband by a cord, 8 cm. long.

The associate runs from the ceremonial house, crying, "Aaa," tapping his wands together, circling by the west to stand at the east

side of the dance ground. He taps^{46a} three strokes three times, stopping to cry between each trio. Meanwhile the chief shaman stands before his house. The dancer then runs, crouching and waddling, from the ceremonial house to the center of the dance ground. Here he first faces south, west, north, and east, runs to his associate, before whom he stands, resting on his two wands, while he listens to the associate sing three or four songs in a low voice. The associate taps twice, thrice, and then a repeated series of three strokes. The dancer trots around the ground three times in a counterclockwise direction, while the shaman swings the bull roarer three times. Two female singers are seated to the northeast, where other women join them to sing. When the dancer reaches the southwestern side, he faces the women, grunts, taps his sticks together, then trots circling in a counterclockwise direction again for three circuits, holding his wands by the middle. As he passes his associate, the latter taps his own wands: after the fourth circuit, the dancer passes him a short distance, when the latter taps and the former taps in answer. Then the dancer continues his dextral circuit, spinning in his course. The associate grunts and taps twice: the dancer stands before him resting on his wands.

When the associate thinks that the dancer is rested, he taps; the shaman begins to sing softly; the associate taps again, and the shaman sings louder; the associate taps thrice, the dancer then replies with two strokes and resumes his trotting circuit of the ground. The associate taps again and the dancer jumps from side to side as he passes him, resting on his wands at each leap. Each time he jumps the associate cries, "Huu, huu," and taps; the dancer answering with taps. The latter next jumps as he passes the shaman; he and his associate tapping again in an identical manner. He circles in this manner four times: after he has passed the associate on the fourth circuit, the latter taps, to which he taps in reply, and then proceeds to spin through two circuits. The associate then commences to tap rapidly and follows the dancer around for a half-circuit and out to the ceremonial house.

In this connection, the informant stated that the bull roarer is hung over the entrance of the ceremonial house to protect its contents, after the regalia have been replaced; hence it is called

^{46a} While the Southern Diegueño do not tap sticks together in their dances, this is said to be the common habit of the dialectically related people of Baja California.

wa'a'küpeau', house watcher. The house has no door, but the bull roarer is considered to close it effectually, for no one, save a shaman, will enter, else he will fall stricken, or ultimately sicken and die. This statement may also apply to the Southern Diegueño.

ECLIPSE CEREMONY

The eclipse ceremony begins, either in the day or at night, as soon as the sun or moon enters the shadow (inya' wisau', nibbles the sun; hitlya' wisau', nibbles the moon). No explanation is given of what it is that devours these bodies. The chief begins to sing the song of the people (tcayau' mitipai'). Young and old shout, because they are perturbed, since an eclipse causes sickness. After this ceremony, they bathe in cold water. There is no corresponding ceremony on the occasion of the new moon, as among the Northern Diegueño.⁴⁷

COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS

While these field notes are too scanty for any definitive statements, they offer a number of tentative contrasts to the published Northern Diegueño data. Even if other ceremonies of which no details were recorded, viz., the image,⁴⁸ eagle (which may be included in the image ceremony), and girls' adolescent ceremonies,⁴⁹ are added, no ceremony unknown to the Northern Diegueño is found. On the contrary, not only are their ceremonies the counterpart of those of the northern group, but they are fewer and slightly less elaborate. There is nothing indicative of a greater degree of borrowing from the Mohave and Yuma.

It is also probable that the Chungichnish doctrine, known to the northern people, is only slightly developed here, since no systematization of the religious material was offered by my informant.

The larger differences are the absence of weather and bear shamans, the whirling dance, and the clothes-burning ceremony, although this may be combined with the image ceremony. The specific form of "war" dance is not known, but the dance at the boys' initiation (horloi) is clearly its analogue.

⁴⁷ Waterman, *op. cit.*, present series, VIII, 328, 1910.

⁴⁸ See Edward H. Davis, *The Diegueño Ceremony of the Death Images*, Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, v, no. 2, 1919.

⁴⁹ Horatio N. Rust, *A Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians*, American Anthropologist, n.s., VIII, 28-32, 1906.

Some of the minor differences, other than those noted in the descriptive accounts, were made the subject of specific inquiry. The ridiculing songs of the initiation ceremony and other occasions correspond to the "bad songs" of the Northern Diegueño girls' adolescent ceremony. There is no use of water as an emetic at the conclusion of the toloache dance; the boys are not bathed, nor are they painted at the same points⁵⁰ or in the same manner; there is no crawling with dragging poles, no delousing, no placing of hunger-belts in the creek, no footrace, nor are plumes and wands received at this time. No animals are shown in the ground painting, no netting figure in the jumping pit, and the procedure is different. In fact, the whole Southern Diegueño ceremony appears to be curtailed, particularly in the observances following the administration of the drink, in contrast with that of the northern group. The horloi differs from the northern "war" dance in that there is no shaking of fists; nor is there any at other times. The southern fire ceremony lacks speeches, sword-swallowing, the willow-bark drink, and vomiting (although these are known by hearsay), and uses no rattles. The northern people do not stab the fire with wands.

The cultural position of the Southern Diegueño in ceremonial matters is clearly one of dependence on the northern groups, both their relatives and the Shoshonean tribes.⁵¹

SONG CYCLES

Most song cycles are derived from the mythical serpent (page 331), others are more recent acquisitions, according to native theory. For convenience the Mohave and Southern Diegueño song series cited by Kroeber⁵² are also listed below.

<i>Mohave</i>	<i>Diegueño (Kroeber)</i>	<i>Diegueño (Spier)</i>
Birds ⁵³	hasa''tcio'x (bird song)
Av'alyunu		
Alysa		
Tumanpa	Tu-tomunp	toma'np (bird starts to fly)
Raven		
Salt	Salt	
Turtle		
Deer		

⁵⁰ The analogy between the white powder blown on the northern boys and the Mohave custom of blowing frothy saliva, suggested by Waterman, *loc. cit.*, 297, footnote 58, is borne out by our data.

⁵¹ It may be noted in passing that I see little that the Southern Diegueño have in common with the Havasupai that might be called "Yuman characteristics."

⁵² MS Indians of California.

⁵³ Isa means "bird."

<i>Mohave</i>	<i>Diegueño (Kroeber)</i>	<i>Diegueño (Spier)</i>
Eagle		ɪspa' (eagle)
Kwiya-humara	Kuya-homar	
Shaman's		
	Orup	orū'p (sad)
	Keruk	
	Kachahwar	xax · wa'r (scraping drum ⁵⁴ stroke)
	Awi-kunchi	
	Akwil	
	Hortloi	horLoi' (dust around fire)
	Tuharl	toxa'r (vibrating rattle)
	Tipai	tipai (people) ⁵⁵
	Isa ⁵³	
		djokwa'r (speech)
		tasl'tl (to rattle)
		xēltamataie' (hair on top of head)
		nyimtcioh's (wild-cat song)
		parhaultcio'h's (fox song)
		nylkwār (bird resembling the sandhill crane)

Although orū'p and tcaihotai' (big song) were first given as names of series, it was stated later that they were only songs occurring in series. Fox song belongs to wild-cat song as "a sort of chorus." The eagle song is sung as the captured eaglet flutters, shaking off his down, in the mourning ceremony. Fox, wild cat, bird, and nylkwār were obtained subsequent to the mythical serpent incident. My informant's gens (hīlmiarp) received rattle, speech, big song, basket scraping, and eagle songs directly from the serpent. Tumau' gens got the vibrating rattle and hair-on-head songs. In the same manner the Mohave obtained toma'np. The Southern Diegueño borrowed tipai' from the Shoshonean Tutlipa of Santa Ysabel and horLoi' from the Shoshonean 'Koxwai (San Luis people of Pala), each of whom had received their songs from the serpent. Kuya-homar, given in Kroeber's list, was recognized in the form nyīman-kumar, which is the same as toma'np.

MYTHS

ORIGIN MYTH⁵⁶

These hills were always high, but in those days there was salt water on both the west and east sides. A man emerged from the sea, and opened his eyes so that he could see the sun. Then another man

⁵⁴ Undoubtedly scraping a basket was meant.

⁵⁵ The Kamia equivalent is Pi'ipa, which means "person" in Mohave.

⁵⁶ A variant of the myth given by the same informant through the same interpreter to Gifford (present series, xiv, 170-172, 1918).

emerged, but he could not see the sun, for he was blind. There were two foxes, a silver fox and a common fox, which belonged to these men. The blind man felt about for his property, the silver fox, but failed to locate it; instead he felt the common fox. He asked the other, "Is this my fox?" to which the latter replied, "Yes, that is yours." Then the blind man knew that the one he felt was not his own. So he made many animals, the coyote, the long-legged birds, and he also made the moon. He showed the other man their reflection in the moon, but the appearance was fleeting. After the latter had gazed at this, he turned to look for the blind man. But he failed to see him, for the ground had opened and swallowed him. The other then went to the sky. Now we hear the blind man down below: he causes the earthquakes. If he were to roll over quickly, the earth would turn over, but he rolls only a little which causes the tremors.

The man above wondered how he was going to make humans. He reached into the earth, in the place where the blind man had descended, to feel for something. He pulled out some red clay with which he made a man, and then a second. Near midnight, he looked down to where they lay by a little fire he had provided: one still retained its shape, the other had fallen to pieces. So he made them over several times. The fire was still burning: the man above said, "I hear some one talking. There must be some one alive down there." The clay-man answered, "Yes." "The man who descended under the earth tried to make human beings, but he failed; so I had to create you. Now that I have made you, I will name you *mama.ipadj*, man, and *mamasĩŋ*, woman." Then he said, "I wonder what I will do with these two people whom I have made." He watched them. During the night they rose several times. When it was nearly day-break these two fell asleep. He then ascended to the sky, where he is now (*sic*).

When the people were left there, there was sea in all this country. The bedbugs were driven into the sea, so that it has been dry ever since. Then the men above told Wild Cat to instruct the men. The latter then told them how to count the months by lunations.

One of the clay-men, *Tcikumat*, was sick far in the east. But the big birds, Sand Hill Crane (*makulk*), Goose (*lalũ'k*), and Meadow Lark (*petlatũ'k*), flew about, saying that he was not sick. The time he fell sick at *Nātcupa'k* was the month *lakwō'l*: he died in the month *lānyĩmce'p*. He was nearly dead when they brought him here from

the east.⁵⁷ They first took him to Matnaipai, far north of here, in the month Latai'; then to Nyiaharp (sun's entrance, probably İnyaharp) in the month Lapısu'; then to Matpımyai in the month La'metinya'. He was nearly dead when they transported him from there: they took him home again to Nātcupa'k. He died in the month Lānitca' (*sic.*). Just before he died he said that he was going to name another month.

The aforementioned birds gathered wood for his pyre, which was complete when he died. He called in all the big blue flies. Then a big fire started (elsewhere): when they saw it, they sent Coyote to investigate. Coyote returned, reporting that it was false, that there was no fire. There was another fire nearby, in the direction of Nyiaharp. Again they told Coyote to go to see if that was a fire. Again Coyote returned, saying that it was false. Then another fire started far east at Nātcupa'k. Again they told Coyote to investigate. While he was absent the big blue flies set fire to the pyre with their fire drills. Badger stood on the east side of the fire, Wild Cat on the west. By the time Coyote returned, the entire body, excepting the heart, had been consumed. As he came along he called to them to take his father's brother (n'ewi) out of the fire. Then he ran in, snatched the heart from the fire, and ran off toward the east with it. Bullet Hawk (tsaharptsü), who had been watching, pursued him, but although he struck him several times, he could not make him drop it. Coyote ran on and on to Wi'iwa' in the east, until he grew so hot and tired, that he laid it down, having decided to eat it. Then he took it up again and went on to a cave called Wikisai (greased rock). Then he carried it farther east to the edge of the sea, where he laid it down gently so that no trace of blood should show on the ground. He started to eat it, slowly and carefully. There was just a tiny drop of blood at the center, which, falling into the water, was transformed into many birds (of a certain variety, having red wings; machwa'te, red body. When we lost that great man, we lost all his knowledge; hence we know so few of the arts of life.

Wild Cat took charge of what was left. "I have all Teikumat's belongings," he said. He gathered all the people and started to dispose of the articles. Returning (westward?) from Nātcupa'k he came to Wikami',^{57a} where he decided to burn them all. So he started the mourning ceremony. They gathered wood with which to build

⁵⁷ The narrator was not at his ease during the preceding portion of this story.

^{57a} A big mountain "east of the Chimney Peak (Picacho) and west of the Parker reservation;" probably the sacred mountain of the Mohave is meant.

the enclosure (kerūk). Then they sent Sand Hill Crane to summon Matṭiawī't, the mythical snake. He flew along singing, kerūk, kerūk, which is his own peculiar sound. When Matṭiawī't arrived, he coiled his length around the interior of the enclosure. He commenced in the afternoon and stopped at sundown. Then he told them to make it larger. By midnight he had completely filled the enlarged structure, and again he told them to make it larger. He filled this, too, by daybreak. Then Wild Cat told them to set fire to the enclosure. Matṭiawī't was burned asunder; part flew back to the place he had come from, the rest burst into fragments. Each piece that flew off to the people was a song. Each gens received a song: djokwa'r (speech), tcaihotai' (big song), orū'p (sad), tasitL (to rattle), toma'np (bird starts to fly), horLoi' (dust around the fire), tipai' (people), xēltamataie' (hair tied on top of head), toxa'r (vibrating rattle), xax-wa'r (scrapping stroke on drum?), and išpa' (eagle). They also got wailing (wumi'). That is how I (i.e., his gens) came by tcaihotai'. The people who had the songs traveled to the north and then around to the western sea. The peoples who acquired the songs were 'kwaxa, 'kwitca'n (Yuma), tumau', l'a'tcarp, neeix, kawi' (Cahuilla), waipu'k, and hīlmiarp, my own gens.⁵⁸ From this time they have been separate peoples. All the bushes about here are people. Lizard said that they could not all live together. "If all the gentes live here together, they will die off one by one." That is the end (ye'a'mē).

ORIGIN OF DEATH

When those two creators formed people, they also made Wild Cat. The people started migrating from Wikami'; their tracks are still in the rocks there. At that time the sea reached the foot of the mountains. The creators told Wild Cat that he would know everything concerning people, and that he should therefore care for them. He first made a big mourning ceremony at Wikami' and then led the people westward to this country. Here they scattered as the several gentes. As they traveled, he named the bushes. Among the people was the waipu'k gens; they were then called lakwi's. The people of this gens were tired of traveling by the time they reached Mülkī't, so they went south to XatapiL. Here all the waipu'k perished, save a few who then came here. All the others followed Wild Cat, circling northward and westward to the salt water; then, when they found their progress blocked, they returned eastward and have lived here since.

⁵⁸ This list of gentes is incomplete (see p. 299).

Wild Cat told them that there were many people. He said that the country was too poor for all the people to live together. "One woman or man must die each year, so that others can live." But the people said, "No, we do not want to die to make room for others." So they sent for Lizard (xakwa'l). He brought a large sack of tobacco. Wild Cat said, "I told these people that some would have to die each year in order to leave room for the others." Wild Cat had sent for Lizard to gain his support. Wild Cat said that the latter was still older than he. Lizard told him that what he had said was proper. Then everyone assented, so that now one or two of us die each year. As the people grew, all the brush and rocks about here grew with them.

BUNGLING HOST

Once Rabbit was Coyote's wife. The red wing blackbirds wanted this woman, too, so they married her. When Coyote saw this, he set off on a long journey. He found a broken willow lying across the trail. This swung back and forth in the wind, squeaking "eh, eh," but Coyote said, "You shan't have anything to do with me." He thought the willow he heard was Rabbit. He came to a house. Then he thought, "How am I to recover that good woman (i.e., Rabbit)?" He carried a brand into the thick brush where he sat down and said, "Now I am going to find out why that woman likes that fellow with his yellow shoulders. I will try to make mine better yellow shoulders than his; perhaps she will then prefer me." He burned his shoulders with the brand to make them red so that Rabbit should say, "Well, this man looks better than the other."

When Coyote arrived at Red Wing Blackbird's house, he found him absent, but Rabbit, who was sitting there, looked at the new-comer. Coyote walked up: Rabbit turned her side to him. "Do you like me or not?" he asked. She said to him, "I will not have you at all: go back." When Blackbird returned, he asked, "Who was that man who wanted to have red shoulders such as mine?"

Coyote went off by the trail on which he had previously traveled. He reached the willow; again it squeaked. As it dragged back and forth, it caught him by the penis and held him fast. He cried as loud as he could. He extricated himself by breaking his penis off, saying, "I won't go near you any more; I thought you were a good man."

Coyote lived alone. Every day he went about visiting the boys who played about there. Wild Cat had a wife. He invited all his own people and everyone else who lived in the vicinity to a feast. He had a large pot, which he filled with water and set on the fire. He took a large stick (chisel?) which was used for pounding mesquite, and beat his own head with it. Coyote watched him all the while. Every time Wild Cat struck his head, splinters would fly from the stick into the pot. All the people were drinking the soup. Coyote had nothing, but he wanted to impress others, so after he had eaten to repletion, he invited them to a feast at his own house. Wild Cat said to Coyote, "No, I have something else left for tomorrow." He set up a forked pole, up which he climbed and defecated into the pot. Next morning all ate of it, including Coyote. When they had finished, Coyote said to Wild Cat, "Bring all your people to my camp tomorrow. I am going to give a feast." Wild Cat gathered all the people he could and started for Coyote's house. The latter had girls at his house when they arrived. The two parties remained separated; wild cats on one side, coyotes on the other; not mixed, as they had been at Wild Cat's house. Coyote instructed one of the girls to give him some water so that he could set his pot on the fire. He held his head over the vessel while he struck it with a rock. Each time he struck, blood spattered about, until a large puddle was formed. Wild Cat told him to desist. Coyote told them to come again the following day. He set up a forked pole and climbed into the fork. He told the others to place the pot under him. They started to fill it with water but he said, "No." He defecated worms into it until it was filled. When they saw this, they said it was not fit to eat, so they all went away.

Coyote continually visited Wild Cat. Wild Cat said, "I think that you had better come to another feast." Wild Cat told Coyote and his people to find a spot provided with thick brush. When they found the thicket, Wild Cat invited Coyote and his family. Wild Cat stood in the center of the patch and told them to set it afire on all sides. The fire was burning from every direction; when it had nearly reached him, he sang:

ma'tkapois	hoi'kapois hoi
earth	descend
ma'tkapois	hoi'kapois hoi
yua'rmarrup	rup rup rup
descend slowly	bobbing up and down

He sank into the ground. When the fire had died down he came out by the same place and went home. He asked them, "Why don't you eat the rabbits and other animals which were roasted in the fire?" Coyote and his family ate all they could and carried the remainder home.

Next day Coyote went to Wild Cat's house and invited him to come with his people to surround a thicket. They searched for a large thicket. Wild Cat began to understand Coyote: that the latter could not do the things he could. So he warned Coyote that he had better not fire the brush, else he would be consumed. But Coyote said, "Yes, come watch me anyhow. You will get plenty to eat at my fire, too." Wild Cat said, "Yes, I will come to watch you, but I will see you burned instead of seeing things cooked for me to eat." Coyote circled around to look at the thicket. He said, "All watch me closely when I am in the center; you will see what I can do." Then he stood right in the middle. "All right," he said, "now set fire to it all around." Wild Cat stood close to the fire watching Coyote. Coyote sang just as Wild Cat had done on the preceding day. After he sang, he only bounced up and down; he did not sink into the ground as Wild Cat had done. His feet were burned off, and he was consumed with the rabbits.⁵⁹

FOOD GATHERING

Acorns are ripe in the month Lakwō'L (September) and fall to the ground during the following month, Lănyĩmce'p. Mush (cawi') is made of the acorns of the black (ku'pharL), red (isnyau), and scrub oaks (ixwŭp),⁶⁰ as well as of the seed of the wild plum (ixkai). Acorns are gathered by women in their carrying nets (?) and dumped into the storage baskets which stand in the groves on the hills. These baskets are set on posts a quarter meter from the ground and are woven so closely that rodents cannot gnaw through them. The acorns are stored, each variety separately, until Lănĩtea' (February) in the spring when it is warm and the nuts are sufficiently dry. Women and old men crack the nuts on the spot between two convenient stones in order to extract the kernels. The meats are stored in clay vessels and cached in the rocks.

⁵⁹ Coleman told of a Northern Diegueño version in which Wild Cat, having claws, climbs a tree; Coyote, having none, cannot climb, but must jump up and down until consumed.

⁶⁰ These native terms mean both tree and nut.

Mortars (koxmu'), mere hollows in boulders or the bedrock, are located at every camping place. The meats are reduced in these with a heavy stone pestle (xamukai'). Sometimes a leafy bower is formed of a few long boughs thrust into the ground to protect the worker perched on her boulder. The ground meal is sifted by tossing in a flat coiled basket in such a manner that the larger fragments are shaken over the near edge and under the right arm. When the whole is sufficiently ground, it is heaped into a shallow twined basket, which has been placed on a pad of twigs, in order to leach out the bitter elements. First, cold water is used while other water is being warmed; this in turn is added as the water seeps away. After a half-hour the meal stands in a stiff dough, which is removed by handfuls and stirred into a pot half-full of cold water set on the fire. As it stiffens, more cold water is added. The cooking is completed when its taste is satisfactory. The several varieties of acorns are mixed according to taste.

Wild plums are cracked on the metate with the mano. The meats are spread in the sun to dry until they can be rubbed between the hands and tossed in a coiled basket to remove the hulls. They are then ground in a rock mortar. Leaching proceeds as with acorns, save that only cold water is used. The cooking process is identical.

The metate (ĩxpi') is a granite slab (one specimen is rectangular, 45 by 30 cm.), with a slight oval depression on one face. The mano (xapĩtea') is an ovoid stone (one measuring 23 by 9 by 6 cm.). The metate is set level on the ground for grinding, the mano being pushed back and forth with a rolling motion, but not rocked from side to side.

The seeds of a wild plant (ekwa'rp, possibly pigweed or goose-foot) are roasted, ground, and made into a mush. The meal is sometimes worked with a little water into flaky cakes, which are eaten dry. The seeds of the white sage are ground and eaten dry, but not cooked; those of the squaw weed (hĩlpõ'k) are either prepared in the same way or made into a mush. The leaves of the nettle are eaten when it is young.

The following list of foodstuffs was obtained from a fragmentary account of my informant's boyhood. It is chiefly interesting as indicating those foods, besides the obvious ones which are not mentioned, which struck him as peculiarly different from those he uses today. Gila monster, jackrabbit, a large lizard (hamsu'l), wood rat (ama'l̥k), mesquite ('ama'l̥), a sprout-like plant ('ama'l̥),⁶¹ a seed bearing plant

⁶¹ The first word has raised pitch on the second syllable, the second, normal.

(ha'ωL), an oily seed ground for flour (awō'L), wild flaxseed (ōpcī'L), barrel cactus (īxmaL, the pulp of which provides water), prickly pear (?), ('kopō'L, when green it is cooked like pumpkin, when ripe the seeds are ground), cholla cactus (īc'te', of which both blossom and seeds are eaten), and the seeds of a high bush (akwai').

Doves (a larger variety, kalyāswi', and a smaller that lives about the rocks, t'ikemu') are not eaten by young people although their elders may. The dove is a person (tipai), but he is disliked. Still this is similar to eating a human being.

HUNTING

When I was a boy I always hunted with my father's younger brother. I was about 1.3 m. tall when he first took me hunting. I had a small bow and arrows, little better than toys. My uncle told me to poke into a pack rat's nest with a long stick. I asked him instead to let me shoot when the rat sat outside, but he said, "No, you can't wound him." I insisted and shot, but the arrow failed to penetrate for lack of power. I cried and shuffled my feet in chagrin. My uncle told me that it was no use for me to try, anyway, because he would not let me eat it. "If you eat the rat, or anything you kill, you will have worms in your stomach." Up to the time I married I never ate what I killed. Others can eat the game, but a boy cannot eat his kill until he is adult. One who refrains is always lucky. When I was a grown boy, whenever I went to hunt, I killed several rabbits almost immediately. But now I see small boys eating the rats and rabbits they kill, and as they do not die of worms in the stomach, I presume that there is no reason for this notion.

I killed my first deer at Wīnyai' in the foothills on the western side of the desert. My wife was with me. At that time I and my people were fleeing from smallpox. There was a herd of five does, a small buck and a larger one, near some small rain-pools. The old buck had fine antlers; he was as big as a bull. I crawled near them; when they caught sight of me they fled, the big buck last. He circled to where the does were; there he stood looking back at me. I shot him in the back with my muzzle-loader, and he fell into a deep hole. I skinned him, cutting down the belly and inside the legs, and around the neck back of the ears. I cut the carcass open from neck to tail and eviscerated it, broke off the ribs near the backbone with a sharp stone, cut up the body and placed it on the hide, which I had stretched out. The carcass was cut into four pieces, each fore-shoulder and the adjacent ribs in one, the hind quarters separately. I piled the meat on a tall bush (ax·p'a'L, a mesquite?) beyond the reach of coyotes. All the while I was hallooing and burning brush to attract attention, but no one came, so I left at sundown. I carried home the paunch full of blood, some meat, and the liver, all rolled in the hide.

But before I reached camp it was so dark that I could not see my way. I found a white man's road with some peculiar tracks, so I fired my musket to attract my people. One old man heard me but he went back to sleep. I did not know where they were so I walked directly ahead. They had little dogs in the camp, but they did not bark at me. I was passing right by, when a woman saw me, and said, "Yes, he killed a buck; he is carrying it into camp." I went on to my own camp. My wife's mother immediately rose and cooked the meat. Next day I borrowed a horse and returned to the carcass. I tied the quarters together and placed them on the saddle. Everyone had meat then; each received a little piece. My wife's mother carried

pumpkin seed and beans to La Posta.⁶² While we were there eating that deer, we held the horLoi' dance (see Initiation, page 316). We danced with an old shaman to see if the smallpox was following us. He said no, so we left, satisfied.

Long ago when I was young I saw many mountain sheep that came close to our house at Xatawir, and climbing on the rocks stood looking at me. They used to be abundant. I was told that they were full of maggots (?). After they told me that the sheep were dying I found them lying dead in piles among the rocks. We dragged one down to the house; its body was infested with little black ticks. They told me to skin it to see if the flesh was good. We found the flesh black. Ever since there have been very few sheep in this country. Then we went to the foothills to gather mescal. Deer tracks were plentiful, but the animals were difficult to kill, so we turned to mescal. We remained there one winter and then returned to Xakwiskü'r on the mountains. My father's brother discovered a band of mountain sheep a short distance north on a ledge. Together with some others he overtook them and killed a big ram which he skinned and butchered.

We left Xakwiskü'r to go to Xaptai' (north of Boulevard). My uncle said, "I am going after a buck." He chased the deer and killed two with arrows before noon. He brought them home. So we decided to stay in this place; it was my home for a long time.

Then my uncle said, "We will go and eat some red oak acorns." We moved west of Boulevard on the north side of the draw. There we all lived together. We made sacks to hold the acorns and hunted rats and rabbits. Each day before sunset we built a fire and lay close to it, because we had no cover. I hunted every day because we had little to eat.

Jim McCarty added the following advice given him by Paiyo'n, the oldest man now living: one should not choose a buck with straight horns but rather one with spreading antlers, because it will not be able to make good progress through the brush when fleeing. Chase a wounded buck in the heat of the day for it will then be exhausted sooner.

A hot day is chosen for a rabbit hunt (ĩnyaigearx). A group from one locality, of indiscriminate gentile affiliation, surround and set fire to a patch of brush to drive the animals out, hallooing the while. Arrows and crooked sticks (xũmpu') are used. The latter are furnished with a pyramidal point at the end, intended to pierce the quarry. These are also used for mountain sheep. Individuals got only such rabbits as they killed. There is no fixed leader in this hunt, nor has it any esoteric significance.

Nets (wĩnyí'p) of the size of carrying nets are used in hunting rabbits. Several of these nets are set over the runways with cords which, passing through the meshes as draw strings, are entwined in the bushes. When many are hunting together they drive the rabbits into these purse nets; but when there are only few, they set fire to the brush to drive the rabbits.

⁶² The significance of this is not clear.

The trap (*witolǔ'mē*, a rock which slips and falls) is formed of a stone resting in an oblique position on a little post which in turn stands on an acorn. This is used for small rodents, squirrels, rats, mice, or any animal that eats acorns. Snares are not used.

"Colorado salmon" are found in the overflow pools of New river in the Imperial valley. They are shot with arrows (which do not have lines attached) just back of the fins. One has to aim a little under the fish.

HOUSES

Houses are built only for winter use because the building of them is hard work. Summer camps are located under convenient trees. Neither the dome-shaped house nor the square, flat-roofed shade are built; the reason offered for the absence of the latter being that the heavy posts are difficult to cut.

The house (*'ēwa*) is a simple gable set directly on the ground. It is 2 m. long and 1.5 m. high at the ridge (fig. 2,A). Two forked posts (*i'itēkō'l*, forked wood) set up in the middle of the gable ends support a ridge pole (*i'ihopōxtō't*, backbone wood). Poles are laid slanting against the ridge pole on both sides at quarter meter intervals, each let into a separate hole in the ground, 30 cm. deep. These poles are tied at the ridge with ropes of Spanish dagger (*sa'a*) fiber, which never rots. Long branches of chamissa brush are laid horizontally on these rafters (*i'icowī'r*, wood set in rows). Dry tanglefoot grass (*xaiwa't*), which grows 50 to 70 cm. in length, is mashed into a stringy mass, and spread over the brush. A second layer is added to bring the thickness of the roof covering (*towī'pa*, packed) to 10 cm. As the sides rise, they are covered with damp dirt, branches of chamissa brush being first set upright along the slope to provide a rough surface which will hold the dirt. Frequently two brothers and their wives work together, one couple on each side. The ground is dug with a sharp stick and carried in on old basket. The wooden shovel is slower than the basket in such work.

The house always faces east. A trench is dug along the western gable end, in which poles are closely set and tied to the end rafters. Long chamissa brush branches are set upright against the rafters to hold a tightly wedged mass of tanglefoot grass. The opposite end is similarly treated, except for an entrance (*wīnāl*), measuring 1.25 by 0.5 m., beside the forked post. The jambs and lintel are bound with tanglefoot grass (fig. 2, B). A layer of the grass is bent over

the jamb, the free ends being held between two longitudinal sticks which in turn are sewed together with cords. The entrance is usually left open, but in winter a mat of tules is arranged as a hinged door (wa'a). The horizontal reeds are twined at intervals with cords and a stick is fastened down each edge. One stick is tied to the center post to form a hinge; the other may also be tied to fasten the door.

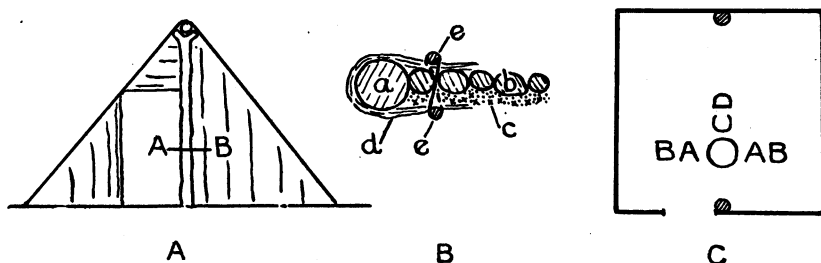


Fig. 2. A, front elevation of house; B, section A-B; a, jamb; b, wall-poles; c, matted brush and grass; d, grass placed over jamb; e, sticks sewed together to hold grass in place; C, ground plan: AA, brothers, and BB, their wives, C, D, a stranger and his wife.

The interior arrangement of the house is shown in the ground plan (fig. 2, c). The fireplace (a'uenyihala'pe, where they burn fire) is close to the door; there is no pit. Stone supports for cooking vessels are not placed directly in the fireplace, but to one side. Manzanita roots, chiefly, are used for fuel; they do not give off much smoke; what little there is escapes by the door. For a night fire, two short logs are placed end to end, with the fire between. They are pushed together as consumed. When sleeping out of doors, fires are built on both sides of the bed. Within the house, a man and his brother⁶³ sleep next the fire, their wives beyond them, and their children at head and feet, or the babies are placed between them. A stranger and his wife would sleep back of the fire.

A stranger stands before the house. Immediately he is seen he is invited in, because it is cold. Formerly people took care of their persons. The householders say, KExa'p, *come in*; then KEpwa', *be seated*; Xama'l kesau', *eat some greens*; CEwi'm kema', *eat it with mush*. Xo, *yes*. They set before him whatever they have cooked. As he leaves, Inya'kepa'rëx iyo', *I am going on*; to which the host responds, Kiyi'ma, *go ahead*, or Xo.

⁶³ My informant curiously referred to the house being built and occupied by two brothers and their families: this does not seem significant.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

As a rule men wear nothing whatever. Some wear a short, narrow apron of white sage twigs pendant from a milkweed (ahorl̥nyĩmco'p) cord. Women wear two such aprons, one before, the other behind. Children do not wear even this scanty garb until they are a meter or more tall. A very long rabbit-skin blanket is used in winter for a shirt, poncho-wise. A short median slit is left for the neck and it is tied under the arms.

Sandals are not worn about camp by either sex, but only when journeying, collecting wood, etc. Extra sandals are not carried on one's travels because they can be made in a short time. Sandals are made of mescal fiber or rawhide; moccasins are not used.

A basketry cap (nyipu'L) is worn by men and women to protect the top of the head from the strain of the laden carrying net. It is also worn by the women when grinding, the hair being wound around the head and completely covered by the cap, so that it will not fall into the meal. The cap fits the head snugly, yet is somewhat conical. The women's cap is made in diagonal twine, using two weft elements, with simple twining at the edge (wikwa', twine weaving; wekwōtc, twine stitch). Both warp and weft are the narrow leaves of a sedge (? , mĩskwa'). The warps simply cross at the point of origin. The man's cap⁶⁴ is coiled, using bundles of mescal fiber, 1.5 mm. in diameter, for both warp and sewing elements. The awl ('apūk) used in this work is a pointed bone from the foreleg of a deer.

A man's hair is banged across his forehead at the level of the eyebrows; at the sides and back it hangs full length, nearly to the hips. The back hair is caught together within two turns of a cord. Since this loose queue interferes when running, it is doubled up and tied. The cord is made of human hair; combings or hair cut off by mourning women, etc., are used. As hair is difficult to roll into a cord between palm and thigh, it is only started thus, then tied to a small hook-like twig, which in turn is rolled on the thigh. The finished portion of the cord is wound on the twig: the kinks are worked out to the free end. When rolling is completed, the cord is twice doubled back on itself and twisted by means of the same device into a three-strand cord.

⁶⁴ No specimen was seen.

Women's hair is banged across the forehead somewhat higher than men's. The hair at the temples hangs in three-strand braids to the breast: that in back hangs loose and is singed off at the small of the back. Such singeing, as at the forehead, is done with a hardwood coal.

Little boys'⁶⁵ hair was singed short over the entire head, that of lads of fifteen or sixteen years was similarly short except for the scalp-lock, which hung to the waist. Later "when they think of women" they let their hair grow like men.

Little girls' hair is allowed to grow. When about six years old, mud (*matca'*) is put on it to destroy vermin; this is washed out immediately. Girls approaching maturity begin to cut the bang. There is nothing in dress or adornment which distinguishes married from unmarried women.

Nettle pods (*matkasi's ur*, nettle ball) provided with hooked spines are used as combs by both sexes. Men obtain a whole mistletoe plant (*hítlu'e*) near Jacumba; they mash this, mix it with the disintegrated lava mud found at the hot springs, and plaster it over the head. This destroys vermin and prevents the hair falling out. When the hair is so plastered it is brought around the crown and twisted together above the forehead. Women do not use this paste, but wash their hair each morning with hot water alone. They use a brush (*hūtei*) of mescal fiber (*ěpiäl*).

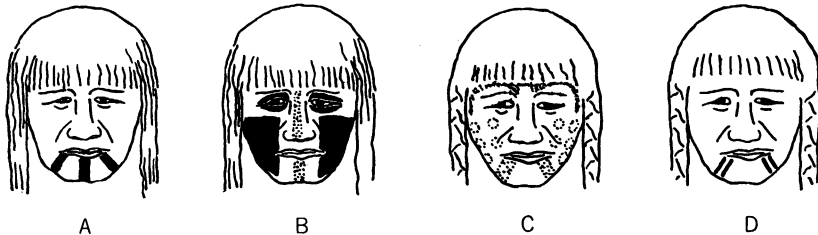


Fig. 3. Facial decorations: A, man, black paint; B, man, center stripe in red, eyes and cheeks in black; C, woman, red; D, woman, tattooed lines.

The purpose of face painting (*yiuanyu'r*, eye stripe)⁶⁶ is decorative. Men began to paint only after my informant was grown (1875?); before this only women did so. At this time several men were sent to a locality near the Colorado in Mohave territory to fetch

⁶⁵ *xinmai'*, little boy; *xomi'*, boy a little larger; *'kwoxmīx*, boy of fifteen or sixteen; *siṇyuwau*, to have a wife for the first time; *siṇhai* (young woman), girl approaching maturity.

⁶⁶ There is no word for "face."

red pigment (iron oxide?). Men paint the entire face black; women paint face and body red. Women draw a black stripe across each eyelid extending out on the temple "to protect the eyes and see better." Other styles are shown in fig. 3. A typical philanderer's invitation to a woman is: mewuvo yi'umatanyu'rva xa'namatma'rwa ("you see my face is painted, is it good or not?"). She answers, xa, mamex-a'na ("yes, you are good"). He says, yanarx ("let us go").

Adolescent girls alone are tattooed (awukwi'te, mouth tattoo), the operation being performed after a big dance by four women relatives, usually her mother, mother's sister, and two daughters of the latter. Lines are marked with charcoal only on the chin (fig. 3, D), the design is punctured with a bundle of seven or eight prickly pear spines (öx-pa'), the wounds are squeezed dry of blood, and ground charcoal of willow (iyau'), mesquite (a'noL), cottonwood (axa), or chamissa bush (ipei) rubbed in once. As the operator punctures she sings:

sa nyikaxma'
quail
sowa're sowa're wi
striped, speckled⁶⁷
sa nyikaxma'
putco'le putco'le wi
dove
nyixwa'toyowi'
blood exuding

The wounds are healed in four days' time.

MANUFACTURES

Fire drills are made of a bush (töxma') bearing a white stalk, which grows in the desert.⁶⁸ A section of the stalk, 30 cm. long, is rubbed to a point on a stone for the drill. The hearth is made of another section split in two and with notches cut in the edge. Dry sage bark for tinder is pounded until the fibers are loose. This is set about the point of the drill, which is rotated between the palms. The domestic fire is not permitted to go out.

Cords are made from the fibers of mescal, milkweed, and from human hair, but not from the fibers of yucca, reeds, or nettles. The common milkweed (ahori) yields a brownish cord, another variety,

⁶⁷ Refers to the markings on a quail's head.

⁶⁸ Not yucca, bear grass, nor an allied plant.

white milkweed (ahorLnyĩmcó'p), a white, soft, and strong cord. A rolled cord (ikwí'p) contains one or two rolled strands, a braided cord (axkwĩr; Enű'p, to braid), three or more.

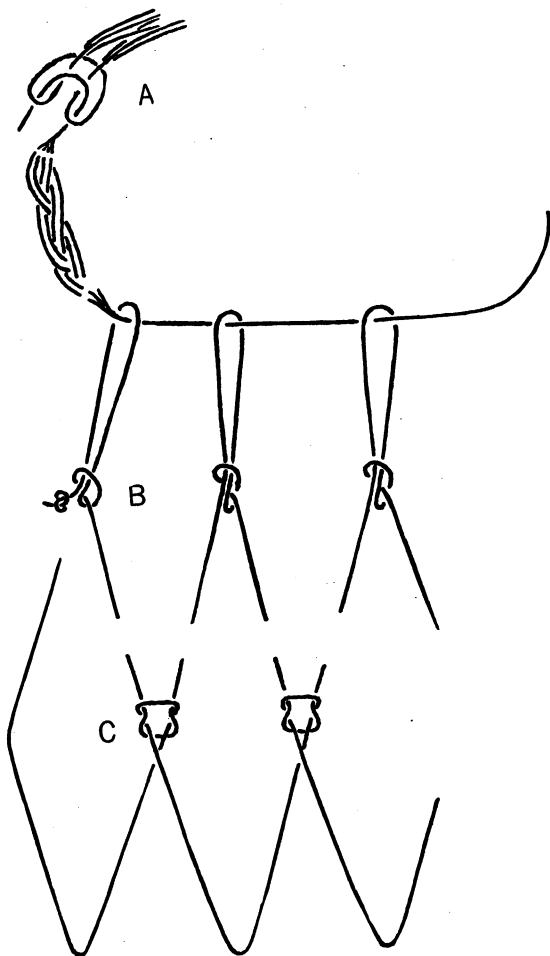


Fig. 4. Diagrammatic sketch of carrying-net knots: A, knot for six-strand loop; B, knot for first row of meshes; C, knot for second row of meshes, the net having been reversed.

The carrying net (hatLĩpó') made by men⁶⁹ is 1.5 m. long and at least as wide when stretched out. It consists of three parts: a loop 15 cm. in diameter, a similar loop formed in the end of the tie-string, and a net of simple lozenge-shaped meshes formed between these loops by one continuous cord. Twenty-five meters of two-strand

⁶⁹ Possibly by women also.

cord are prepared from mescal fibers: this takes about a day. Long dry mescal leaves are pounded on a rock to free the fibers of connective tissue. These are soaked until soft when they are divided into bundles of the same size and rolled, two at a time, on the thigh. The sticky mescal juice is previously smeared on the thigh to bind the fibers. New bundles of fibers are added to the two strands as needed. The completed cord is pulled back and forth around a post to break off the protruding ends of the fibers.

The first loop and the tie-string are each three-ply braid, formed by doubling a cord of appropriate length back on itself six times and braiding the resulting strands in pairs. This leaves only two raw ends in each that need be tied. Next one end of the long cord is tied through the first loop with a slipknot (*t'onō'k*, any knot) and carried back to the loop to be tied again for a total of fifteen times (fig. 4, B). For the next row of knots, and for each succeeding row, the net must be turned over so that the work always proceeds from left to right, (fig. 3, c). Curiously enough, in the square knots by which these meshes are tied, the cord passes first to the right instead of the left, thereby twisting the whole mesh. No gauge is used for the meshes: when extended to the full they are 18 cm. long. This continuous cord ends with an ordinary square knot on the same side of the net on which it commenced, its end being knotted so as not to pull out. An end of the tie-string is passed through the last row of meshes and looped in the same manner as the first loop (see fig. 4, A). To fasten the net for carrying, the tie-string, 1.5 m. long, is passed once through the loop at the opposite end and tied to the loop just described. The tie-string may be threaded several times through both edges of the net to purse them together when a large object is to be carried. The laden net normally rests on the small of the back with the tie-string or burden-band passing over the forepart of the top of the head, which is protected by a basketry cap.

Sandals (*hamnyau'*) are of two types: woven, the most used, and rawhide. The woven sandal is made of the long dry leaves of mescal (*Ema'L*), which are pounded and soaked in water to remove the connective tissue. The separated fibers are thoroughly dried on a rock. For use, they are dampened and gently pounded with the *mano*. For the needed foundation and tie-cords, bundles of fibers are rolled on the thigh into loose strings (*ikwī'p*) about 45 cm. long and 1 cm. in diameter. To roll into a two-ply cord, two of these are placed side by side, the butt end of one opposite the tapering end of the

other. Holding the two in the left hand, they are rolled separately on the right thigh by a single movement of the right palm; when the left hand is released, the torque in each springs to the left causing them to twine as a two-ply cord. Four loops of this cord, 40 cm. in circumference, and a fifth, 95 cm. in circumference, are tied with a square knot.⁷⁰

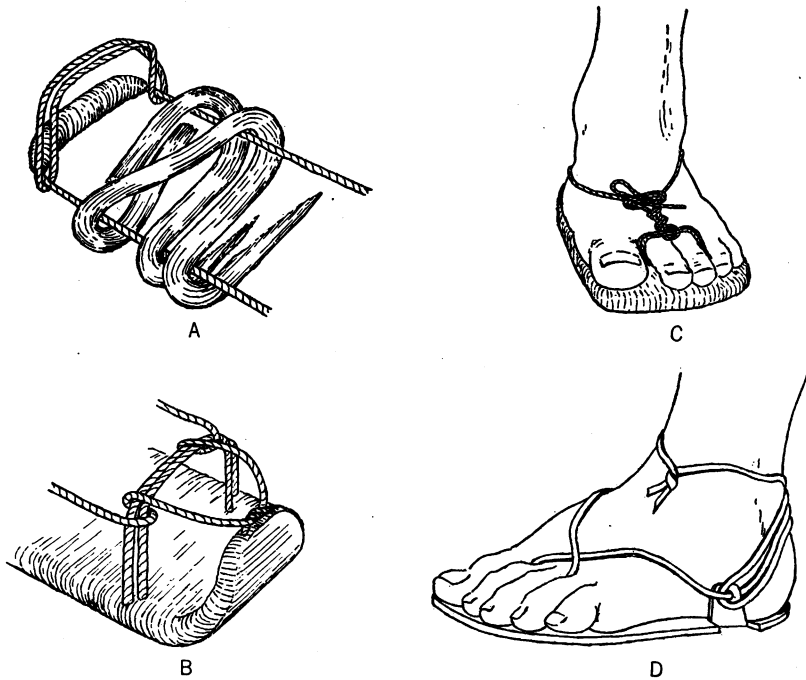


Fig. 5. Sandals: A, diagrammatic sketch of toe portion, showing wrapped foundation cord, toe loop, and woven bunches of fibers; B, diagrammatic sketch showing heel drawn up to heel loop; C, method of tying woven sandal; D, method of tying rawhide sandal.

As the weaver sits on the ground, the large loop is stretched between foot and hand. The proximal end, destined for the toe of the sandal, is wrapped over a length of 8 cm. with bundles of loose fiber until it is 2 cm. in diameter (*huteuwa'wa*, the beginning). The loose ends are fastened by twisting together. At this stage the work may be temporarily held by slipping the loop over the knee or under the heel of the disengaged foot. One of the small loops, intended for the toes (*mixanũke*, foot loop; *mi*, foot), is passed over the foundation cord, as shown in fig. 5, A). A loose bundle of fibers is placed against this loop, a second lapping it in the opposite direction,

⁷⁰ These dimensions are for a child's sandal.

the two are woven together alternately over and under the foundation cord, and the whole pushed tightly against the toe portion. New bundles of fiber are added in pairs. The butt ends of the fibers are lapped; these ends protrude on the sole. The sandal is made the width of the palm. When the heel is neared a second small loop (miatiksaxanũke, heel loop) is introduced in the same way as the toe-loop. The weaving (wẽ'kwil) is continued, but the sandal is made narrower, introducing but one bundle of fibers at a time. When the length is completed, these wefts are forced up on the foundation cord as tightly as possible. A sandal must not be too long, else it will slip and chafe. The ends of the foundation cord are then half-tied and carried through the heel loop, drawing the heel sharply upward (fig. 5, B). To tie on the sandal, the ends of this tie-cord (miuso'la) are brought forward around the ankle, through the toe loop, wrapped twice about itself, and tied (fig. 5, c).

Sandals are woven by men and women. A pair can be made in two hours. They are woven so tightly that no thorn or stick can puncture them. In use they must be turned over frequently, otherwise they will soon wear out. To reverse the sandal, the loops are pulled through on the sole, and the tie-cord retied on this side.

Rawhide sandals (akwal hemyau') are cut in the shape of the sole from any part of a raw deer-hide. Cuts are made on both sides of the foot near the heel, so that there will be two short tabs to extend up the sides of the foot. Two long buckskin strings are inserted near the toe, where they are held by knotting under the sole. These strings pass between the toes, through holes in the tabs, back of the heel, and forward under the strings, back of the heel again, and are tied in front of the ankle (fig. 5, D). Fiber, rather than rawhide, sandals are worn on snow or wet ground because the latter would be slippery.

Large rabbit-skin blankets (cĩkwĩ'r), such as good hunters might make, measure 1.5 by 1 m. For such blankets twenty jackrabbits or forty cottontails would be required; thirty jackrabbits would provide a somewhat wider robe. The blankets were also made of the small blue chamissa rabbits, but of these even more skins were required than if made of cottontail fur (kwĩmyau' cĩkwĩ'r, hõtlyau' cĩkwĩ'r, õphõr cĩkwĩ'r, respectively jackrabbit, cottontail, and chamissa rabbit-skin blanket). Few if any blankets, however, were made of one species alone. The raw skin, cut in strips, is closely wrapped around a milkweed fiber cord to form a thick rope. This is wound

back and forth between two rows of stakes to form a warp through which wefts of milkweed fiber cord are tied at intervals. Save for occasional use as ponchos and robes, these blankets are bedding.

Granaries for acorns and other seeds are set up in the oak groves as well as near the houses. One type is a roughly woven basket; the other is moulded within a frame of poles. The storage basket (cīkwi'n) is made of any material, usually a willow (halāsi'), but sometimes of a tougher wood (īnkx'ai, "coffee berry") through which the rodents cannot readily gnaw. The basket, usually made by a man, resembles a huge bird's nest, with flat bottom, fairly straight sides, but narrower at the mouth than near the base, into which the sides gradually round. Of two specimens seen, one is the largest size made, and measures 70 cm. in height, 75 cm. diameter across the rim, with a maximum diameter of 1 m. near the base; the other, 55 cm. in height, 50 cm. rim diameter, 85 cm. maximum diameter, with walls 4 cm. thick. These baskets are truncated cones: sometimes the basket is conical, and the tip must then be pried open with a sharp stick. The basket is coiled counterclockwise, working on the near side, mouth up. The green leafy twigs are cut diagonally, leaving a sharpened butt. Two are twisted together and the coil for the base started. The butt of a new twig is thrust into the mass beside one of the two elements to lengthen it. The elements are twisted once (near element moving over and away from the workman), a new twig added to the opposing element, and so on, each new twig introduced fastening the coil to the existing structure. In rough work the butt ends are permitted to project on the interior surface, but for a fine finish they should not protrude. Such granaries are set out of reach of rodents on platforms (a crib of poles, for example) near the house, never inside it.

The other type of granary (sīhūmikwi'l) is built within a frame constructed on four posts, 1.4 m. high. These posts are set in the ground, a meter apart, at the corners of a square. A platform is built 40 cm. above the ground, consisting of two rails fastened to opposite pairs of posts, and crossed by other sticks. The upper extremities of the posts are then connected by short rails, while others are placed vertically close together between the posts, being tied to both upper and lower rails, as well as to each other. This forms a rectangular box of poles standing off the ground. All tying is done with the leaves of the Spanish bayonet. A mixture of tanglefoot grass and chamissa brush is rammed between the poles and inside the box, leaving a cylindrical hollow for storage space. Spanish dagger

leaves are then tied tightly across the top in several directions, and tanglefoot grass is rammed in from above to seal the receptacle. Such a granary also stands near the house.

Although baskets are decorated, as a rule such designs are meaningless. Some figures, however, represent the rattlesnake.

A coarse brown pottery is made in the form of ollas, bowls, and platters, as well as pipes and rattles. The product is comparatively thin-walled, hard, containing much sand for tempering, unslipped, but sometimes painted with linear devices in red. Specimens of ollas obtained are globular, but with wide mouths.⁷¹

Clay pipes have the bowl bent at a sharp angle to the stem. A nipple is formed below the bowl to facilitate holding. The stem is always of clay, pierced with a twig, never of reed. The pipe is about 12.5 cm. in length.⁷² Neither the straight tubular pipe nor one of stone is used. Sections of cane are also used for cigarettes (page 315).

Tobacco (op) is of several varieties: Coyote tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*),⁷³ which grows rapidly where ground has been newly burned over; ĩmkwoxnoi', which grows wild to a height of 30–45 cm.; and a better "tobacco" (*Salvia Clevelandi*) called by its Mexican name "salvareal." Coyote tobacco is sometimes planted near the camps, but it is given no care. Smoking was appropriate at any time of the day.

The mush paddle (xa'yar) is a flat oak stick about 50 cm. long and 2 cm. thick; half its length is blade, 6 cm. wide; the handle is 2.5 cm. wide, both portions being elliptical in cross section.

A tree is felled by means of a fire built around its foot. If somewhat rotten the tree will burn quickly. But for a hard wood, bark is piled over the fire to form a chimney-like structure in order to create a draft. The fire is constantly poked with a branch (sakaïte, poker) to keep it burning vigorously. If the flame tends to climb the tree, mud is smeared on the trunk at the danger point. Large boughs are similarly burned off after the tree is felled. Wedges were not used in timber working. The direction of cutting, as in trimming a stick, is toward the body.

⁷¹ Those figured by DuBois, *Diegueño Mortuary Ollas*, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., ix, 484–486, 1907, have much smaller mouths. These may be from Northern Diegueño territory: the exact provenience is not stated.

⁷² The pipe sketched by my informant resembles those figured by Heye, *Certain Aboriginal Pottery from Southern California*, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, vii, pls. Xb, XI, fig. 20, a, b, 1919.

⁷³ Identified by Dr. W. A. Setchell.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles were originally made of clay alone, since, according to my informant, gourds are a recent acquisition. The clay rattle had a bulb as big as one's fist, drawn out into a handle. Little clay balls are placed inside at the time the rattle is modeled. They are rolled about to smooth them before the rattle is baked.

Gourds (*halma'*) are derived from the Mohave, who traded them to the Yuma. Gourd seeds were first exchanged for Diegueño acorns within the lifetime of my informant. Rows of holes, arranged longitudinally, merely increase the sound. The surface is painted in red with longitudinal bands formed of zigzags bordering on a straight line. Palm seeds (*emu'i*) are placed within. Gourd rattles do not have wooden handles. Rattles are not made of turtle shells, although such rattles are credited to the Northern Diegueño and Yuma.

Jinglers (*tasi'l*) are made of deer hoofs (*'kwükmi 'kümpul*, deer-foot nail). The feet are boiled until soft, when the hoofs may be removed. The tips of these are cut off while soft, leaving a hole by which they may be threaded on a cord to dry. They are then strung on short, rolled mescal fiber cords, one end of which is notted. These cords are tied together into a bunch. This rattle is sounded by a vertical jerking motion.

Drums are not made: "an olla would break if used for a drum." Baskets are not used for this purpose, but the name of a song, *xax-wa'r*, meaning a scraping drum stroke, presumably refers to rasping a basket. Notched sticks are not used.

Only one old man, Turank, who was not a shaman, used the musical bow. He held a common bow, lacking any resonator, by the grip in his mouth, tapping it with a flat stick or his finger, but not with an arrow. He also made a fiddle of a hollowed yucca stalk, fitted with a bridge and horsehair strings, and played with a bow strung with horsehair. He was the only one who had a flageolet (*wilwil*). He played day and night. No one gave him any attention: he was the only one who knew what end he had in view.

WEAPONS

The best bow (ati'm) is made of mountain ash (ix-tŭ'p). Screw bean mesquite (is) is also strong; the common mesquite (a'na'l) is less so, while common bows are made of a "coarse" willow ('aiyau). Oak is not used, cherry (itu't) is not sufficiently strong, and mulberry does not grow in this locality.

The green branch is dried, until it is to be worked, when it is softened by burying it in wet ground and then warming it at a fire. It is trimmed to size at the middle, tapering toward the ends, but the cutting is done only on the face destined to be the inside. Notches are cut in each end. While the stick is still warm, the ends are bent in, and it is lightly strung to keep this shape. It is trimmed to the final form a day later. Care is always taken that the butt of the bough is the lower end of the bow, both in manufacture and use. The length of the bow is two arm lengths (i.e., from the tip of the middle finger to the head of the humerus); the lower or butt half, measured first, is a little longer than the upper. A willow specimen is 1.2 m. long. The width of the bow at the grip is that of the stick; its thickness just half. The dimensions at the ends are not fixed, nor is the position of the nocks, which are within 2 cm. of the ends. The upper nock is shallow. The inner face of the bow is flat; the outer, rounded, is the original surface of the bough. The bowstring must be removed from a bow of screw bean mesquite, else dampness will make it set in too great an arc. The common mesquite bow is kept strung, slightly flexed; the willow bow, more flexed. Most of the curvature in the latter bow is near the ends. As a rule, the bow is strung so loosely (mewa'l) that a fillip of the string will cause it to slap the bow. For shooting, the string is tightened (ewi'r) until it rings (ewi'r teilyelye); it is then tight enough to shoot a jackrabbit.

The sinew-backed bow is known as a possession of the Chemehuevi. According to Coleman, the Northern Diegueño wrap the bow with sinew for a distance below the nocks to keep it from splitting.

The bowstring is made of the stalk of the milkweed (aho'rl). After the outer layers are scraped off, the stalk is mashed and the connective tissue worked out, leaving the fibers. These are rolled (yikwi'p) into a string on the thigh. Another milkweed (aho'rlnyimcöp) provides an inferior string, which must be thicker

than the first because it wears out quickly. Sinew bowstrings (pēcma' imarūkă) are also used. The method of tying both ends is shown in fig. 6, A.

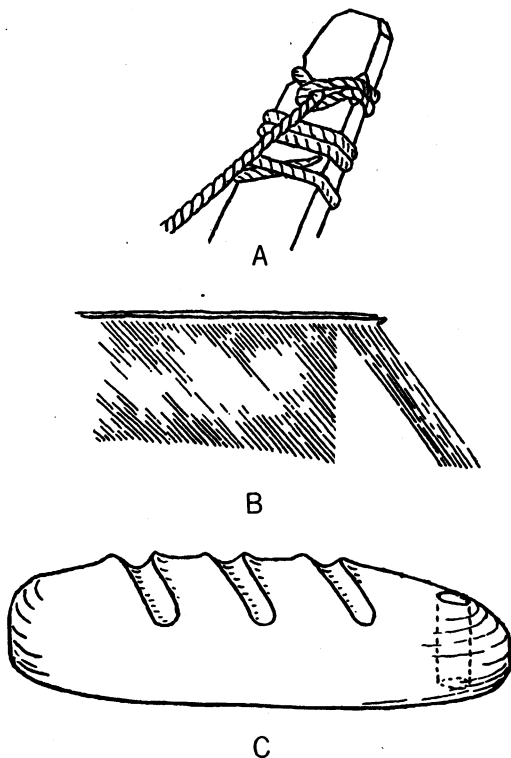


Fig. 6. Bows and arrows: A, method of tying bowstring; B, method of trimming arrow vane; C, clay arrow-shaft straightener.

Arrows ('kopa'l) are made of arrow reed provided with a wooden foreshaft, or entirely of wood. The latter are more effective against big game. The length of the reed shaft is from the tip of the middle finger to the head of the humerus. The length of the foreshaft is estimated: it protrudes about 15 cm. Wooden arrows are 5 cm. longer than the reed shaft. Smaller reed arrows, about 6 cm. shorter than the above (measured between the same points but with the elbow bent) which are provided with longer pointed foreshafts, are used for quail, rats, squirrels, and rabbits.

The arrow shaft is straightened on a stone provided with grooves of graded size. This straightener (xöpteütL) should preferably be of soapstone, but one of clay (fig. 6, c) will serve. It is heated, but

not so that it will burn the shaft; then the arrow is bent where necessary in the groove, pushing it back and forth, and turning it at the same time. The shaft is more readily straightened if it is not wetted. Straightness is determined by sighting. After several are prepared, one stops to feather them.

The nock is cut in the reed shaft and the forward end is cut off squarely. Sinews are chewed and then wrapped, but neither glued nor tied, around this end, as well as at any point where the shaft shows signs of splitting. The best feathers are those of the brown chicken hawk (sokwĩlɲenõ'k, or pekwa'l), and, to a lesser degree, those of the black hawk ('kwi'nya'); others are of little use. The young of these birds are raised, four or five together, in a large dome-shaped structure, so that feathers may be plucked when desired. The quill is split, but both parts of the feather cannot be used on the same arrow, for the three vanes must face the same way. If so placed, the arrow will spin, but if one faces in the opposite direction, the rear end will rotate out of the axis of flight. The upper end of the half-feather is cut off square, leaving a few barbs by which to fasten it (fig. 6, B). The down is left on the lower end. The feather is buried in damp earth, the barbs are straightened and burned off obliquely to the shaft, leaving them wider at the nock. The three vanes are wrapped on, first near the nock, then by their forward ends, the sinews being bitten off close, but not tied. The only decoration given arrows is the painting of the shaft between the vanes with piñon gum (ahwi'yuhanyai') mixed with charcoal, or less frequently with red roasted iron oxide (? ekwa'r).

The foreshaft (tapõ'tL) is made of the chamissa bush (ĩpxĩ'). The green branch is warmed until soft, straightened, and whittled to size. The pointed end is inserted in the pith channel of the reed to the first joint, being held with piñon gum. The tip is notched to receive the arrowhead which is tied in, but not glued.

Stone arrowheads (pa'wi) are used against big game only. These are 2.5 cm. long, or smaller, triangular, sometimes with notches in the base, but preferably notched in the sides. A mere pointed foreshaft may be used even against deer. Blunt arrows ('kupa'l gewũnwũn) are not made by the Southern Diegueño, but they are known as Yuma projectiles.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The latter are said to call them 'kupa'l tasu'p, and to use them against animals as large as jackrabbits. They are known to cause internal hemorrhages and compound fractures.

A bowguard (sěly'a'p, band on hand) has been used only since the advent of the whites. This extends the length of the forearm and is provided with buttons and fringes.

The quiver (mishwip) is made of buckskin, and possibly of coyote and fox hides. Mountain lion hide is used, but such quivers are too short. A rectangular piece, in which the tail is included, is cut from the tanned⁷⁵ buckskin. This is folded lengthwise, another strip (kūtsa'l, fringe) is similarly folded and inserted in the open edge of the first piece, where the four layers are sewed with a running stitch. The second piece is then cut straight across into fringes. A stick is fastened in the fold of the first piece, and the lower end of this sewed up to form a bag. Loose arrowheads are carried in the bottom. A mescal fiber string is threaded around the mouth, so that the quiver can be tied around the waist, where it hangs obliquely at the back with the opening to the right. It may also be hung at the right hip.

The Northern Diegueño alone tan a whole coyote skin and sew up the belly from the nose nearly to the tail. This hangs on the back head down; the hind legs are looped to go about the neck and the forelegs may be tied around the waist, so that is it worn like a knapsack. The tail hangs down the back. Arrows put in this sack stand vertically back of one's neck. A conical pottery cup, in which the arrows may rest, is placed in the bottom. In war, venom of the rattlesnake or the gila monster is put into this cup. The flesh of horses killed with these poisoned arrows is eaten.

The bow is grasped just below the middle, and held vertically nearly at arm's length, with the arrow to the left of the bow where it is guided by the left forefinger. A modified tertiary release is used, grasping the arrow at the vanes between the thumb and second joint of the forefinger, with the tips of the index and third fingers bearing on the string. The arrow is pulled well back to the right shoulder. The bow is not thrown forward with the release.

Jackrabbits could easily be killed at fifty-five to ninety meters distance. Jim McCarty has seen mountain sheep killed with a single shot: thirty-five meters is the usual distance. In shooting at a distance, the archer sits down with the bow extending horizontally across the soles of his feet, using a wooden arrow for the missile.

⁷⁵ In tanning, the skin is dehaired while resting on a log; brains are mixed with mescal fiber and dried until needed; this mixture is rubbed on the inside of the hide, which is allowed to stand; it is then soaked and rubbed over a pointed post.

Paiyo'n, who puts his foreshaft in the fire to make it glossy, on one occasion shot entirely through the body of a deer in this manner at a distance of one hundred paces. No allowance is made for windage or the effects of rain: one aims directly at the mark.

Arrows, bows, and guns must be removed from houses in which there are menstruating women. Nor can such a woman eat any game, else the bow, etc., will lose its efficacy (noxwi', also "poisoned by a rattlesnake"). Men who have had connection, or others who have slept with women in this condition, are warned away by the hunters, else game will not be sighted.⁷⁶

Clubs are also used as weapons. A heavy club (alaplap, flat) is made of mesquite (axpa'L) or lilac (mekwīL). This club is half a meter long, curved, thick, and flat, with notches cut into the convex edge. A loop is passed through a hole in the handle so that it may be hung from the wrist or the back of the belt. This club is used with a slashing stroke in striking at the foe's head. A spiked club (mīl'teīs), of about the same length, resembles an angular hook. It consists of the fork of a sapling with the shorter branch sharpened. The cylindrical and ball-headed clubs (mīl'teahwai', or hwa'lmatu'te, head hitter) are not used, though they are known as weapons of the Yuma and Cocopa.

The Northern Diegueño are said to use a wooden poniard (apa'knīmu'yī) resembling an awl, 15 to 20 cm. long, but with a knob for a butt. This is carried concealed under the armpit; men even slept thus with it.

GAMES

Arrow games are few. A bundle of grass (sūkulyī'p) is thrown into the air with the hand that holds the bow and an attempt is made to hit it before it touches the ground. A hit wins an arrow from the opponent; his turn begins when one misses. The opponent does not tap his own bow to make the archer miss.

In another game two parties would shoot at each other with arrows lacking foreshafts. My informant was told by his uncles on one occasion that they intended to play all morning until they were tired.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ One man burns the gun sights with a match to destroy this contamination. This is said not to be a Mexican custom.

⁷⁷ Shooting at an opuntia cactus mark, or at a rolling barrel cactus, is unknown.

The Northern Diegueño are said to have a game called *ana'n*, with rats for stakes. An unfeathered arrow (*šekemũ'm*) is released to stick into the ground 90 to 150 meters distant. Each man in turn shoots an arrow at this mark. The closest shot wins one rat, until a fixed number of points are made, when the remainder of the stakes are won. Should an arrow strike the nock of the goal arrow, or pierce its shaft, the archer wins all the stakes. This game is played either before or after rat-hunting. Arrows are also wagered.

The same people are said also to play a game (*iteix anane*, disk game) with stone disks, 7.5–10 cm. in diameter, fashioned from slabs of sandstone. As in the arrow game just described, one disk is thrown off some distance, and the others thrown at this mark. The nearest cast counts one: if the cast stone rests on the object-disk, this competitor wins the stakes.

The hoop and pole game (*atũ'rp*, live?) is played by men alone. The poles (*atũ'rp*) are 3 meters long, and from 3 to 4 cm. in diameter at the butt. Poles are styled "man's" or "woman's"; the former has a single ring cut near the butt, the latter, two rings. My informant usually used a "man's" pole. The hoop (*kepatcu'lya*), 15 cm. in diameter, is made of a bundle of mescal fibers arranged in a circle, bound with a cord of the same fiber to a thickness of 2 cm. The game is not played on a made course, but to a distant point, perhaps a mile or more away. The hoop is held vertically, palm up, against the wrist, and thrown forward and down to roll. The poles are thrown by the two players, after a brief run, so that the hoop will fall on a pole. The hoop must rest in such a manner that its upper segment extends beyond the edge of the pole. This counts one. If the hoop simply rests on the pole, but does not clear, it is a miss (*mĩnna'tlya*, fell over by itself). A stream of sand dropped from the hand is used to determine doubtful cases. If the hoop rests in the notch (either notch of the "woman's" stick), or on the end of the pole above the notch, it counts three. Piercing the hoop is a mis-shot (*sa'kõ'p'a*). The one winning the point throws the hoop. Six points win the stakes.

The hoop is a woman of whom one dreams. If she likes the player he will win no matter how the pole may be thrown. But if she is jealous, because the man sleeps with another, she will give the game to his opponent. A loser might ejaculate, *si'ḡkowa'tepĩte nyĩnohwĩm tcawõ'mdjĩs* (That woman yonder caused me to lose).

In general, luck comes from dreams: the night gives the dream (iSEMŭp ha'napsi'wĩdjĩs. my luck is very good).

My uncle, Kumpi'r, who was a shaman, was a champion player of this game. He played it day after day, everywhere. This is the only game for which there was a leader (hotu'rpeṃ kwaipai', hoop and pole chief). When I last saw him he was so old that he did nothing but lead the game. He was given many things for being leader. They bet rabbit skin blankets. If several men went to the Yuma to play, he went as their leader because he invariably won. After he became blind, they also took him along. He told them how he had always won; that the night had given him luck. Whenever they won they wanted to divide with him but he refused, saying that he was sufficiently provided for. They took him along because he had luck and also because he knew the game and could settle disputes. He would let them play with his own lucky poles.

Girls and young women juggle (mai'mawo'tx) as they stand quiet.⁷⁸ Only two objects are tossed, piñon nuts, small pumpkins or watermelons, or stones. One hand is used until a missile is dropped, then the other. Northern Diegueño girls begin with two or three, increasing the number to seven.

Poles are balanced (i'epcaki'ya' sě'lpi, to stand a stick on the finger) by young men as they walk about. They are held on the middle finger. Occasionally when slipping the man tosses the pole to catch it again on the palm, where it is slid back onto the finger. This is not considered a definite game.

String figures (for which there is no generic name) are played with by girls and women only. Names of some of the figures are Wild Cat's head, Fox's nose, Coyote's nose, the Milky Way, and the carrying net. But anyone might make a certain figure to see if it resembles a boy or girl, thus forecasting an expected birth. Another figure may be made to show whether or not one will be bitten by a rat when hunting.

⁷⁸ My informant observed, when the Havasupai custom was described, that "girls who walk about while juggling are not good, because they do that to attract attention."

CALENDAR AND STAR LORE

The Southern Diegueño year is divided into two identical periods of six named "months" each corresponding roughly to a lunar month.

<i>Month</i>	<i>Corresponding to</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Gifford</i> ⁷⁹	<i>DuBois</i> ⁸⁰
xalakwō'l	September		ilyakwel (cold)	hutlkwurx
xalānyimce'p	October	acorns drop; snow	hexanimsup (snow)	hutlnama- shap
xalatai'	November	greatest cold; rain; snow	xatai (cold) (January)	hutltai
xalapisu'	December		hexapsu (rain)	hutlpswi
xala'mrtīnya'	January	slightly warm	hatyamatinaya	hutlmata-
	July		(rain)	nai
xalānitca'	February	warmer; yucca	ixyanidja (growing)	hutlanaxa
	August	grows		

The year ⁸¹ (mata'mp) begins when the weather turns sharp and a constellation of five stars, the Hand, rises in the morning. At the end of the half-year (mata'mpxaxkai, hīlya'homxo'x· haiya') the series of six names is repeated without change.⁸² In the second half, for instance, the moon waning August 8, 1920, marked the month xala'metīnya', which preceded the last month, xalānitca', the close of which would mark the end of the hot weather. The descriptive phrases given for the winter series are intended as characterizations of the months, not as translations. The month is called hīlya, moon, but it cannot be a true lunar month, both because there are only twelve months recognized, and because certain months are indicated by the appearance of particular constellations. The first month, xalokwō'l, begins when the Hand rises in the morning; in the third month, xalatai', the constellation Buzzard rises in the morning during the moon's last quarter (then the buzzards flock from the east); and in the fourth month the constellation Cilu'k rises in the morning while the moon is new.

Such a system of twelve named periods would present difficulties if an attempt were made to harmonize them with the months of the lunar year. It would necessitate accounting for the omission

⁷⁹ Present series, XIV, 169; obtained from the same informant, whose coupling of xatai with January contradicts the data he gave me.

⁸⁰ Present series, VIII, 165, footnote 304; Miss DuBois' series begins with hutlnamashap and has hutlkwurx in fourth place.

⁸¹ Spans of years are definitely indicated, as mata'mpteipho'k', eight years.

⁸² Leona Cope, *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico*, present series, XVI, 141, 1919, implies that the Diegueño periods begin at the solstices, but there is nothing in the authority cited to confirm it.

of about a month, or an intercalation in some as yet unexplained manner. It is far more reasonable to suppose that the named "months" represent only seasons corresponding more or less inexactly to the actual lunations. It is gratuitous to suppose that these Indians feel the need of or have an interest in proportioning the year into a number of exactly equivalent periods. Rather they find it convenient to designate spans of days which for the most part will correspond roughly to the lunations, without precisely fixing their limits. There is therefore no question of an intercalation necessary to make the procession of names fit the procession of the lunar months. The discrepancy, though it may be noted, is not a matter to be reckoned with, since the names are sufficiently fixed within the year by the appearance of the constellations, and can be made to designate the nearest lunar month without a violent wrench of the system. That this is not simply speculation as to the manner in which the Diegueño operates was evidenced at every point by my informant. He had no difficulty in giving the sequence of the months and their approximate Spanish equivalents, nor in describing the correspondence of the constellations with the months. But he could neither define the beginning nor the duration of a month according to our calendar or according to the lunations. It was evident throughout that he was interested only in designating a series of short periods, more or less fixed, which occurred without much reference to the lunations.

The Southern Diegueño have considerable star lore. In addition to the constellations mentioned above, viz., the Hand, the Buzzard (ci'i), and the constellation Cīlu'k, which consists of an arc of stars with a secant of three larger ones, they recognize the Jealous Star (koxo'a'p), the Mountain Sheep (amu'), consisting of three stars,⁸³ the Pleiades (xitca'), of which there are seven, the Milky Way (hatōtkēu'ṛ), and others. Near Vallecito is a deep canyon ('kwīlūphawu; 'kwītūp, look at stars canyon), from the bottom of which one can see the stars in the daytime.

The solstices (hīlyatai) are observed. My informant knows at which points on the mesa east of his house the sun will appear to rise at the solstices. The winter solstice occurs during the month xalapīsu', when the moon is at the end of its last quarter, but it is said that the summer solstice is during xalatai', which would be May, according to the calendar above.

⁸³ DuBois identifies this name with Orion (present series, VIII, 165, footnote 304, 1908); cf. Waterman, *loc. cit.*, footnote 66.