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BY
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CHAPTER 46.

THE LUISEÑO: ELEMENTS OF CIVILIZATION.

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TERRITORY AND NUMBERS.

The Luiseño, named after the Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, occupied a somewhat irregular territory, considerably longer from north to south in the interior than on the coast and wholly west of the divide that extends south from Mount San Jacinto. To the northwest and north they had Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Serrano as neighbors; to the east the Cahuilla, and to the south the alien Diegueño of Yuman family. They were a hill rather than a mountain people, and scarcely anywhere reached the summit of the watershed.

The Luiseño lack a native tribal name. Designations like Pay-amkuchum, "westerners," were applied to the coast people by those of the interior, and perhaps by themselves in distinction from the more easterly Cahuilla and Cupeño. The Diegueño know them as Kohwai; the Colorado River tribes seem to include them with the Cahuilla; if the Cahuilla, Serrano, and Gabrielino have a designation for them it has not been recorded.

Names like Kechi and Kech-am or Hecham, sometimes cited, either mean merely "house, village," or are native designations for the vicinity of the mission.

Plate 57 shows some of the best identified places in Luiseño land. Most of these seem to have been villages, but with the concentration and subsequent dispersal of the population the old continuity of habitation was broken, and to-day most of the names refer to districts, principally the various Spanish land grants.

Place names additional to those listed on Plate 57 are: Topamal (Tapomal); Heish, Gheesh (Keish); Opla (Kwalam); Akipa, Hunalapa, Tutukwimal (near Kahpa); Washka (Woshha); Pa'auw, Wikyo (near Ta'l); Kome (Panakare); camp sites on Palomar Mountain: Wavam, Shoau, Shautushma, Malava, Wiya', Chakuli, Ashachakwo, Pahamuk, Pavla, Tokamai, Mokwonmai.

San Clemente Island, Kinki, may have been Luiseño or Gabrielino. Statements conflict. Culturally, it was certainly dependent on Santa Catalina, of which it formed, in native opinion, a sort of annex.

There are slight dialectic differences within the Luiseño range, especially between the extreme north and south, but on the whole the speech is remarkably uniform for so considerable a tract.

The ancient population is difficult to estimate: 3,000 seems rather a low figure, 4,000 a liberally allowed maximum. In 1856 the Indian Office reported over 2,500; in 1870, 1,300; in 1885, 1,150; but tribal discrimination is likely to have been inaccurate. To-day there are less than 500, according to the Federal census—an infinitely larger proportion of survivors than among the Gabrielino, but a distinctly smaller ratio than the Diegueño have succeeded in maintaining.

ETHNOBOTANY.

The following are the plants known to have been used for food by the Luiseño. It will be seen that seeds are the most numerous. Next in importance come plants whose foliage or shoots are eaten raw or boiled. In the third place are fruits and berries. Roots are of less consequence than other parts.

Seeds: *Artemisia dracunculoides*, *Layia glandulosa*, *Malacothrix californica*, *Helianthus annuus*, *Bigelovia parishii*; *Cucurbita foetidissima*; *Salvia carduacea*, *S. columbariae*, *Ramona stachyoides*, *R. polystachya*; *Opuntia* (several sp.); *Gilia staminea*; *Trifolium ciliolatum*, *T. tridentatum*; *Prunus ilicifolia*; *Lepidium nitidum*; *Calandrina caulescens*; *Chenopodium californicum*; *Arena fatua*, *Bromus maximus*. The seeds eaten by the California Indians are often spoken of as from grasses; but it appears that Compositæ and Labiatae are drawn upon more than Gramineæ. Some varieties were employed as flavoring rather than foods.

With the seeds must be reckoned acorns, for which a grinding process is also required, though leaching replaces parching. In order of esteem, the acorns from these species are taken: *Quercus californica*; *agrifolia* (oily); *chrysolepis* (hard to grind); and *engelmanni*, *wilzizeni*, and *dumosa*, used only when the others fail. The Luiseño are still essentially an acorn people; the Cahuilla are not.

Stems and leaves, or parts of them, are sometimes cooked, sometimes eaten raw: *Carduus* sp., *Sonchus asper*; *Solanum douglasii*; *Ramona polystachya*; *Phacelia ramosissima*; *Philibertia heterophylla*; *Viola pedunculata*; *Sidalcea malvaciflora*; *Psoralea orbicularis*, *Lotus strigosus*, *Lupinus* sp., *Trifolium ciliolatum*, *T. gracilentum*, *T. microcephalum*, *T. tridentatum*, *T. obtusiflorum*; *Lepidium nitidum*; *Eschscholtzia californica*; *Portulaca oleracea*, *Calandrinia caulescens*, *Montia perfoliata*; *Chenopodium album*; *Scirpus* sp.; *Yucca whipplei*, the source of baked "mescal," may also be included. Clovers are perhaps the most important in this group.

Pulpy fruits are small and not especially abundant in Luiseño habitat. Those eaten include *Sambucus glauca*; *Opuntia* sp.; *Arctostaphylos parryi*; *Vitis gir-diana*; *Rhus trilobata*; *Rubus parviflorus*, *R. vitifolius*, *Prunus demissa*, *P. ilicifolia*, *Heteromeles arbutifolia*; *Mesembryanthemum aequilaterale*; *Yucca*

mohavensis (flowers boiled, pods roasted), *Y. whipplei* (flowers). *Rosaceae* are the most numerous.

Of edible roots, the country affords *Orobanche tuberosa*, *Bloomeria aurea*, *Brodiaea capitata*, *Chlorogalum parviflorum*, and probably others, but the variety is not great.

All the California Indians used a considerable number of vegetal medicaments. Among the Luiseño, whose knowledge may be assumed typical, more than 20 species are known to have been employed. All these medicines appear to have been household remedies, whose use was not specifically associated with shamanistic practices.

Ambrosia artemisiaefolia, a species of *Adenostegia*, and one of *Malvastrum* were emetics. Wounds, ulcers, and sores were washed with an infusion of the leaves of *Baccharis douglasii*, the roots of *Psoralea macrostachya*, galls from *Quercus dumosa*, or *Woodwardia radicans* root decoction. *Echinocystis macrocarpa*, *Mirabilis californica*, and *Sisyrinchium bellum* roots served as purgatives. The flowers of *Sambucus glauca* were thought to cure women's disenses. The sap of *Solanum douglasii* berries was put on inflamed eyes. *Erythraea venusta* yielded a tea drunk in fever. *Croton californica* was reputed to produce abortion, and *Euphorbia polycarpa* to be of aid after a rattlesnake bite. *Ribes indecorum* or *malvaceum* was employed against toothache. Other medicinal plants, whose specific virtues have not been reported, are *Artemisia dracunculoides* and *heterophylla*, *Bigelovia parishii*, *Monardella lanceolata*, *Micromeria douglasii*, *Eriodictyon parryi* and *tomentosum* or *crassifolium*, *Deceya arguta*, *Oneoridium dumosum*, *Houttuynia californica*, *Rumex* sp., and *Pellaea ornithopus*.

A combined pharmaceutical and botanical study would be required to reveal what plants of therapeutic value grew in the territory but were not employed by the Luiseño. Such a determination, particularly if prosecuted to the point of an understanding of the motives which led to their neglect, would be extremely interesting.

Although knowledge is far from complete, a review of the plants used in technology may not be wasted.

Houses were thatched with *Pluchea borealis* or *Croton californicum*; near the coast, with tule, probably a species of *Scirpus*. These may be considered the typical materials; but it is scarcely open to doubt that others were also employed.

Bows were of willow, elder, ash, mountain ash, and an undetermined mountain shrub. Willow was perhaps the least esteemed but commonest for light hunting bows. Neither juniper nor cedar are mentioned. The bowstring was either of sinew or of any of the fiber cords.

The characteristic arrow was of cane, *Elymus condensatus*, with a foreshaft of greasewood, *Adenostoma fasciculatum*. This is the south central and southern Californian arrow with which the grooved straightener of soapstone is used, although different species may have replaced the above elsewhere. Inferior or smaller Luiseño arrows had the mainshaft of *Heterotheca grandifolia* or *Artemisia heterophylla*. These were straightened with the same implement. A totally distinct type of arrow, especially characteristic of the Yuman tribes of the Colorado River, was made by the Luiseño of *Pluchea borealis*. This was not foreshafted and presumably without stone point.

For string, the outer fibers of the two plants most commonly used in California, *Asclepias eriocarpa* (perhaps other species also) and *Apocynum cannabinum*, milkweed and Indian hemp, were of prime importance. The stinging nettle, *Urtica holosericea*, was also used, but less prized. *Yucca mohavensis* fiber was less employed by the Luiseño than that of *Agave deserti* by the Cahuilla, whose environment rendered them largely dependent on it.

The main or back petticoat of the women was made of the soft inner bark of either cottonwood or willow, as among the Mohave. The smaller front piece may sometimes have been constructed of the same material, but its standard form was a sheet of cords of the usual string materials.

Coiled baskets were made, as by all the Shoshoneans of southern California, on a foundation of *Epicampes rigens* grass stems, wrapped either with splints of sumac, *Rhus trilobata*, or with the stems of a species of rush, *Juncus*. The same rush was made into mats for wrapping ceremonial paraphernalia, while mats for household use were presumably of tule, where this could be obtained, although none such have been preserved. Twined baskets were apparently of another species of rush, *Juncus mertensianus*. These served for gathering food; as "sieves" or leachers; and, it is said, for cooking acorn meal. The latter type, which is entirely unknown except from description, must have been closely woven; the two former were openwork. (Pl. 73, b.) The seed beater was of sumac stems. The complete restriction of the entire art of basketry to three or four materials is significant; the attitude involved, characteristic of the California Indian generally. The Luiseño lacked the favorite hazel and redbud of the northern and central groups; but there was nothing to prevent them from employing conifer roots and willow shoots and splints.

The brush auxiliary to meal grinding was made, as in nearly all of California, of the bulb fibers of soap weed, *Chlorogalum pomeridianum*, but there is no mention of the plant for lather. Instead, the root of *Chenopodium californicum* and the ripe fruit of *Cucurbita foetidissima* served as soap.

Several woods appear to have been employed for drilling fire, but *Baccharis douglasii* was usual. Both hearth and drill were of the same material. Although such a practice is contrary to current theories among ourselves, which demand variant hardness in the two parts, it seems to have been frequent in California. The Yana and Maidu availed themselves of buckeye in this way.

The only known vegetal dye of importance was a yellow obtained by boiling the roots of *Psoralea macrostachya*. There may have been others. Blackberry juice was sometimes used to stain wooden objects. A red for rock paintings and perhaps other purposes consisted of scum from iron springs mixed with pine turpentine and oil from ground *Echinocystis macrocarpa* seeds. This mixture, which resisted weather admirably, suggests imitation of civilized technique, but the Luiseño declare that they never mixed their pigments with fat. The black of basket patterns was mineral; splints were boiled with mud and iron scum.

The juice of the berries of the black nightshade, *Solanum douglasii*, is said to have been used for tattooing. All other records for California refer to charcoal.

Gum came from pines, or more frequently from an exudation caused by a scale on the chamisal or greasewood, *Adenostoma fasciculatum*. Where it could be obtained, asphalt was probably used more than either.

The only plants known to have been employed ceremonially are tobacco, an undetermined species of *Nicotiana*; and the Jimson weed or toloache, *Datura meteloides*, mentioned in connection with so many Californian tribes.

ANIMAL FOOD.

The animals not eaten by the Luiseño included the dog, coyote, bear, tree squirrel, pigeon, dove, mud hen, eagle, buzzard, raven, lizards, frogs, and turtles. It is probably significant that snakes are not mentioned. Deer were shot, with or without decoy, or snared. A noose was laid in a runway, fastened to a bent sapling. Rabbits furnished a more regular supply of food. They were shot, knocked over with the curved stick called *wakut*, driven into long nets, or snared. Wood rats, ground squirrels, and mice were not disdained. They were sometimes taken in a deadfall of two stones held apart by a short stick stood on an acorn. Quails were shot, attracted at night by blazing cholla cactus and knocked down, or run down by boys in cold, rainy weather. Ducks were killed with the *wakut* or arrows: nets are not mentioned, and would not have been of service in the Luiseño country except on the lagoons at the entrance of streams into the sea.

Small game was broiled on coals; sometimes, too, venison and rabbits. The two latter were also cooked in an earth oven, whatever was not immediately eaten being crushed in a mortar—bones included in the case of rabbits—dried, and stored. The pounding of flesh is a habit common to most of the California Indians. Venison was sometimes boiled, though not often.

When grasshoppers were abundant in the wingless stage they were driven with branches into a pit, into which fire was then thrown.

The coast people fished from canoes or balsas with dip nets, seines, and lines of yucca fiber. The hook was of bone or cut from the central portions of haliotis shell where the grain twists. A harpoon was also used, no doubt of the customary type. Mollusks, of course, were important.

The mountain people had only a few trout and minnows, which they took by poisoning or with dip nets.

IMPLEMENTS.

The bow and arrow were of the usual southern Californian types: the one long, narrow, and unbacked, the other often of cane and generally foreshafted. Bow strings were of *Apocynum* or other cord materials, which in this case were sometimes three and four ply. Sinew bowstrings were regularly three ply, as among the Cahuilla and Mohave. The arrow hold is specifically described as the Mediterranean one; the primary release was employed only for unforeshafted or small arrows. The Mediterranean release has heretofore not been reported from North America except among the Eskimo.

Pottery and basketry need no description, being substantially identical with that of the Cahuilla.

The pipe, *hukapish*, was chiefly smoked lying down, presumably at bedtime. This is the favorite occasion for smoking among most California Indians. The pipe is described as most commonly of pottery, but shamans used ancient stone pipes in their practices.

Chisels, perhaps more accurately described as wedges, were of deer antler, driven by a stone. The present is the most southerly occurrence reported for this tool, which is the universal Californian substitute for the ax.

The Luiseño use the bedrock mortar of the northern tribes, and add a movable one. *Topal* and *arusut* are native names. The portable mortar was usually excavated in a large boulder, that might weigh 200 pounds or more, and was evidently not intended to be carried away every time residence was shifted. A coiled basket hopper set on the stone is described as intended for new and shallow mortars, being discarded as the hollow deepens. If this is correct, the southern California mortar basket is a device to save labor in stone working. The northern California form, whose twining indicates an independent origin, is an outright substitute for the mortar, never being set on anything but a flat slab.

The toloache mortar, *tamyush*, was more symmetrical, often finely polished, and sometimes ornamented with exterior grooves. It was not used for profane purposes. Its pestle, too, was neatly shaped, instead of being merely a convenient boulder. Paint mortars, also having religious association, were equally well finished, and were called "little *tamyush*," *tamya-mal*.

Some of the Luiseño profess that the metate is a Spanish importation, but their statements, which employ the name *ngohilish*, probably refer to the well-made three-legged article, introduced by the Mexicans and used by the Indians at the missions. This interpretation is confirmed by the designation of the muller, *po-ma*, "its hand," Spanish "mano." The crude grinding slab is undoubtedly native among all the tribes of southern California. The Luiseño name it *malal*, which is the same word as "metate," Aztec *metlatl*. It has been indicated above, in the chapter on the Maidu, that there is some evidence for believing the concept of the metate to have been introduced into California from Mexico. If this had happened after the Luiseño were in their present seats, they would not be designating the article by a word formed from an ancient common Uto-Aztekan stem. Nor, on the other hand, would they know the name if they had come as a metateless people into California after the metate was established there. It seems, therefore, that they always had the implement and brought it with them; in fact, it may possibly

have been the Shoshonean drift of which the Luiseño were part that introduced the metate to California; but our uncertain chronologies of national migrations and archeology forbid such a hypothesis being taken very seriously.

Besides the balsa, the coast Luiseño knew the canoe, which they called *pauhit*, "yellow pine." The same name was given to boxes hollowed out of wood as receptacles for ceremonial feathers—another of the many cultural reminiscences of the Southwest. Incidentally, the name suggests that the canoe was a dugout, not a plank-built boat as among the Gabrielino and Chumash. It is said that canoe voyages were sometimes made to San Clemente Island.

DRESS.

Clothing was of the common type—nothing for men, a back and front apron for women, with yucca fiber sandals and caps on occasion. The cap was worn chiefly with loads. The Luiseño women of to-day do not habitually wear it; and it seems that this is the old fashion. A twined cap of *Juncus* is described besides the stiff coiled one that is still to be seen. The Diegueño knew both kinds also. As everywhere, there were two names among the Luiseño for the two pieces of skirt: *shehevish*, the larger, made of inner bark, and *pishkwut*, the front piece, of twine, and partly netted. Both sexes in cold weather wore long capes or robes of woven rabbit fur, deer-skins, or sea-otter furs. The latter were highly prized.

HOUSES.

The permanent houses of the Luiseño were earth covered and built over an excavation some 2 feet deep. As in the case of the Cahuilla, accounts vary between descriptions of a conical roof resting on a few logs leaned together, and of a less peaked top supported by one or two planted posts. The inference is that both constructions were employed, the latter especially for large dwellings. For less permanent residences, the ground might not be dug out, and the dirt covering was presumably also omitted. The earth was kept from dropping through the framework of the roof by a layer of cedar bark in the mountains, of stems in the lower belt, and of tule or sedges on the coast. There was a smoke hole in the middle of the roof, but entrance was by a door, which sometimes had a short tunnel built before it. Cooking was done outdoors when possible, on the central hearth when necessary. People slept with their feet toward this.

Except for its smaller size and lack of a roof entrance, this dwelling resembles the earth house of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok. No direct relationship may, however, be inferred until the steps of the

connection have been ascertained. The intervening Yokuts and Gabrielino had no earth-covered lodges. The immediate linkage of the Luiseño is through the Cahuilla and Diegueño with the Mohave and Yuma structure; but the latter, which has several center posts and definite though low walls instead of an excavation, is a more advanced type. On the other hand, the conical form of the Luiseño earth lodge seems to have been rather similar to the Navaho *hogan*.

The sweat house was similar to the dwelling, except that it was smaller, elliptical, and had the door in one of the long sides. It rested on two forked posts connected by a ridge log. Men sweated in the evening, perhaps in the morning also, but did not regularly sleep in the sweat house. Perhaps it was too small an edifice to serve as a club. The heat was produced, as almost everywhere in California, directly by a wood fire.

The *wamkish* or "temple" or religious edifice was a mere round fence or *hotahish* of brush. The opening was usually to the north, although some accounts mention the east. On both sides were narrower openings for the dancers. The more esoteric actions were carried on toward the rear, if possible. Spectators looked in at the main entrance or saw what they could through and over the fence. No particular sanctity appears to have extended to the structure when not in use. Performers prepared and dressed in another but smaller circle, which stood some distance off on the side toward which the opening faced.

This unroofed ceremonial inclosure is found as far north as the Yokuts, and, for the mourning anniversary, even among the Maidu. It seems also to be distributed through the Shoshonean Plateau, and may have an ultimate connection with the Sun dance lodge of the Plains, although this, in turn, resembles the Missouri Valley earth lodge minus walls and covering, and may therefore be compared, in type if not in origin, with the Sacramento Valley ceremonial chamber and house. In California, however, the inclosure is, as its distribution shows, definitely associated with the mourning anniversary and the toloache religion. Both these religious cycles are quite undeveloped among the Colorado River tribes, especially the Mohave, and the inclosure is not known to them. It is therefore doubtful how closely the Navaho ceremonial inclosure may be historically connected with that of the southern Californians.

With the Mohave and Yuma, as with the Yokuts, the shade roof appears as a place for singing or religious exhibition, though apparently more as a convenience than with any attached idea of a definitely ritualistic structure. The shade was much used by the Luiseño and their neighbors in daily life, but not in ceremonial connections.

RELIGIOUS SCHEME.

On the side of its plan, the religious life of the Luiseño comprises two classes of ceremonies: initiations and mourning rites. These seem to be of distinct origin, but have come to be interrelated at several points. This interrelation appears to be due to their association with a relatively late form of the Jimson-weed cult, the form built around the deity Chungichnish or Changichnish, and carried to the Luiseño through the Juaneño, among whom it has already been mentioned, from its Gabrielino source, ascribed by tradition to Santa Catalina Island. Among the Luiseño this version of the Jimson-weed religion has touched the girls' adolescence rites, whose basis seems to be independent of it; and has colored the mourning observances, and even allowed these to react in some measure on itself. The god of this religion seems to be forced rather lamely into the cosmogony of the Gabrielino and Juaneño: what is said of him lacks the true mythological ring, the color of incident; the statements are abstract or rationalizing. Among the Luiseño he enters hardly if at all into narrative. The Diegueño, finally, though they have taken over most of the Luiseño practices, do not seem to know the god: at least his name has never been recorded among them, nor any synonym.

But with the Luiseño, Chungichnish is still the god who ordained the sacred practices, except the mourning ceremonies, which were instituted on the death of the more mythological divinity Wiyot; and he is also a living god, who watches and punishes. He is distinctly a Jehovah; and if it were not for the wholly native flavor of the ideas connected with the cult, and the absence of European symbols, it might be possible to think of missionary influence. At that, Christianity may well be the indirect stimulus at the root of the Chungichnish movement, since its spread into Luiseño territory went on at least in part, and may have occurred entirely, during the mission period.

This idea of a present and tremendously powerful god, dictating not only ritual but the conduct of daily life—a truly universal deity and not merely one of a class of spirits or animals—is certainly a remarkable phenomenon to have appeared natively among any American group north of Mexico.

It is clear that the Chungichnish cults are totally diverse from the elaborate rituals of the north that have been described as the *Kuksu* ceremonials, in spite of the fact that the central feature of both sets of practices is the initiation into a kind of esoteric society. The Sacramento Valley religion is conceptual only in spots; its cults as such, not any single idea permeated with some quality of grandeur, are its fundamental and subsuming element.

This conclusion of separate developments is borne out by the distribution of the two religions. They are separated by a tract of the magnitude of a third the length of California, in which indeed toloache is used in religion but Chungichnish and the symbols peculiar to him are unknown.

But before the initiation rites and then the mourning observances are described it is necessary to examine certain definite religious devices or forms, which have, it is true, become embodied in the Chungichnish cult, but seem to be neither an intrinsic nor an original part of it.

SONGS.

Luißeño ritual is complicated by the coexistence of two currents of expression. Until the relation of these is more exactly determined, the organization of the tribal religion will remain obscure at many points. On the one hand, there are ceremonies; on the other, songs. The more important ceremonies have each a set of its own songs. But there are series or kinds of songs that do not pertain specifically to any ceremony. These, as well as songs from other ceremonies, are freely introduced into almost any rite.

Thus, in the *Tauchanish*, there are sung in order the following: *Pimukvul*, *Temenganesh*, *Cham-towi*, *Kamalum*, *Kish*, *Anut*, *Nokwanish*, *Totawish*, *Monival*, *Nyachish*. In the *Wekenish*, the *Ashish* or *Wekenish* songs proper are followed by the *Cham-towi* set.

Songs forming part of a ceremony.

Totawish, name given the dancer in the *Morahash*.

Anut, "ant," from the initiatory ant ordeal.

Ashnout, "eagle," from the eagle killing.

Ashish, "first menses," from the *Wekenish* or adolescence ceremony.

Tauchanish, the memorial mourning rite with figures.

Shungamish, sung as the figures burn in the mourning ceremony.

Songs not belonging to specific ceremonies.

Pimukvul, "death."

Cham-towi, "our spirit," or *Kwinamish*, "root, origin."

Kamalum, "sons," referring to the first people.

Temenganesh, "season" (*teme-t* is "sun").

Nokwanish, sung for men dancing. First sung by the rabbit.

Tapa'sash, sung for men dancing.

Kish, "house."

Monival, "travel, tracks."

Nyachish, containing maledictions of foes.

Chatish, shamans' songs.

Numkish, shamans' songs to cause the growth of food.

Tuknish, the same in purpose, but distinct.

The "death" songs all refer to the death of Wiyot, and many are put in his mouth. Wiyot counsels the people before his departure,

or enumerates the months in which he may die. Others allude to Wiyot's death through the frog, or the digging of the pit for his funeral pyre.

"Our spirit" songs contain passages such as these:

"North, east, south, west, the hair lives." Hair is symbolic for spirit: and there is allusion to hair ropes at the four ends of the sand painting representing the world.

"North, the hair, the *wanaicut*, lives tied, fastened. My origin lives there." Presumably the other directions are also mentioned. The *wanaicut* is the sacred rope in the initiation rite.

"I thought ('hearted') at the *hayish*-racing at the moon, I thought with surprise at the moon." Death is connoted.

Another song refers to sky's heart as well as the *wanaicut* and sand painting.

From songs of "Season":

"All named *wanaicut*."

"Hid the season in the water," an act of frog and earthworm.

"The ant has his speech,

"The butterfly has his *wamkish* inclosure,

"The chipmunk has his hollow log for acorn storage."

"I am doing something." The month Nemoyil, when the animals grow fat, is mentioned or connoted.

"North the *uchanut* bears young,

"North the elk bears young,

"East the mountain sheep bears young,

"East the horned toad bears young,

"South the *awawut* bears young,

"South the *tamyasowut* bears young,

"West (the ocean) tosses.

"In the middle here the deer sheds its hair,

"The sky sheds its hair (changes color)." The reference is to the month Pahopil.

"At Malmus rose the son Sun."

"See ye that San Gorgonio mountain." Cahulla Valley, Kupa, Volcan, Pine Mountain, and Malava on Palomar Mountain are also mentioned.

Part of a "Travel" song:

"Then I do not know the tracks,

"Then I err in the tracks."

A number of places are mentioned, apparently beginning with the spot near San Gorgonio Mountain at which the ancient people could not pass through a defile and their language became different, and proceeding southward to Temecula.

An *Ashish* song beginning with the words: "I am adolescent" seems to name a similar series of mountains: San Gorgonio, San Jacinto, Kupa, Volcan, Cuyamaca, Cahulla Valley, Pine Mountain, Palomar.

The closing song of the same series begins near Bonsall, proceeds to Santa Margarita, and ends at Elsinore, where Swift and Kingbird were the first girls to be adolescent.

Another *Ashish* song refers to Deer's desire and failure to escape from death, which he found waiting at the north, east, south, and west. The same idea, but with Eagle as character, inspires a recitative in the Wiyot myth. Eagle goes from Temecula to mount San Gorgonio, Cuyamaca, Palomar, and returns to Temecula to die: the directional circuit agrees.

An "Ant" song:

"They did not wish to give their kill that they had." Puma, Jaguar (?), and Thunder Cloud seem to be referred to; Deer is their game.

A Toloache drinking song:

"*Tamyush* walked twisting." *Tamyush* is the sacred mortar from which the Jimson weed is drunk.

From shamans' *Chatish* songs:

"From my feet, from my hands, was drawn, was drawn."

"Something thundered from their feet, from their hands." This and the last refer to curative power.

"To me it comes, *Towut* comes, *Yawut* comes." *Towut* and *Yawut* are names for a fine dust or mist. This is evidently a weather shaman's song.

"Shot, shot, *towanya*." This word is from the stem of *towish*, spirit. The reference is to killing by means of the shaman's stick.

It appears that nearly all the songs except those of a specific shamanistic character consist of mythological allusions. They may be said to float in a web of tradition. Those that are not mythological are directly descriptive of the ritual to which they pertain.

Further, the songs of different series are similar not only in character but in detailed content. The rising of constellations is mentioned in *Tauchanish*, Death, and Season songs. Long enumerations of places are frequent, whatever the connection; and these frequently begin or end at the same spot, such as Mount San Gorgonio or Temecula. *Ashish* and Ant songs both refer to Deer; Death and Season songs enumerate or allude to months. The indiscriminate prevalence of a certain ritualistic phraseology is thus obvious; and this must be admitted as being patterned in a fashion that can only be called highly decorative, in the sense that it is symbolic, abbreviated, and only conventionally representative.

This strong uniformity explains the frequent transfer of Luiseño songs from one ceremony to another.

All these traits recur in undiminished or exaggerated vigor in Mohave, Yuma, and Diegueño songs. As to their northward and westward distribution, enough is indicated by the statement that

a large proportion of the songs sung by the Luiseño are in the Gabrielino language. Yokuts songs, on the other hand, as the examples quoted establish, lack all the peculiar traits of those of the south: they are more concretely picturesque, but are unmythological, ungeographical, and nearly lacking in astronomy and symbolism.

Precisely to what extent the Luiseño and Gabrielino songs of each kind constitute a series strung on a single plot can not yet be said. But it is clear that they approach closely to the song cycles of the Mohave and Yuma. On the coast, song and ceremony are two parallel developments, interconnected at innumerable points, yet essentially pursuing separate courses. In the Colorado Valley ritual has been nearly effaced, or has come to consist essentially of singing, with the choice of series dependent on the singer rather than the occasion. This allows the Mohave songs to be dreamed by the individual, in native theory, in place of being acquired by avowed tradition. The Mohave songs seem also to have reached a greater extremity of dependence on myth and wealth of geographic allusion; but, as might be anticipated from the greater poverty of ritual accompanying them, they are less permeated by metaphoric symbolism.

DANCES.

Much as songs of various kinds were introduced into the most diverse rituals, so the Luiseño had two or three standard dances which they performed on several occasions as part of their initiation as well as the mourning rites. It seems, therefore, that the dances, like the songs and in a measure the sand painting, were fixed elements upon which the ceremonies as larger wholes were built up.

The paucity of dances and abundance of song types among the Luiseño marks an approach to the method of religion of the Mohave and Yuma.

The commonest Luiseño dance to-day is the *Tatahuila*, which is always made by a single performer. *Tatahuila* is uniformly regarded by the Indians as a Spanish word. The Luiseño word is *Morash*, which means "whirling for;" the dancer is called *totawish*, which may perhaps be regarded as a dialectic form of *tobet* (Spanish for *tow-et*), the name the Juaneño are said to have given the costume. The Diegueño say *Tapakwirp*. Besides the headdress, the principal apparel is a skirt of eagle feathers, which swing effectively in the very characteristic motion of the dance, a continued and very rapid whirling. The body was painted; probably as by the Diegueño, with horizontal white bands.

The fire dance, of which the native name is not known, served as a climax and was part of the magical stock in trade of the

toloache initiates. A large fire was danced out, the performers approaching the edges, stamping the embers, falling back, rushing up once more, and sitting down to kick the blazing coals inward. The feet were bare and there seems to have been no treatment or mechanical preparation, but a certain amount of earth was pushed on the flames with the feet and when possible unobtrusively thrown on with the hands. As each dancer's attack lasted only a few seconds at a time, while he was in rapid motion, and the number of performers was great, it is probable that most of the blaze was extinguished by actual stamping. There is nothing astounding or cryptic about this exhibition, but it unquestionably was spectacular, and is described as impressive even to white people. No public fire dance is known anywhere to the north in California, and eastward it seems not to be encountered again until the Pueblos are reached.

Like the fire dance, the *Morahash* appears to have been in the hands of the toloache initiates, but both were certainly made as part of mourning rites.

The Diegueño add to these two dances a third, the *Hortloi*, which can probably be identified with the Luiseño *Tanish*, since the latter is described as the dance of the initiates or *pumal-um* in mass, which accords with the performance of the *Hortloi*; also because the songs of the latter are in the Gabrielino language. This Diegueño exhibition is the one that Americans have come to know as the "war dance," but it appears to have no reference whatever to war. The step is a forward jump with both feet, followed by a stride. To successive songs the dancers circle contraclockwise, stamp standing, and jump backward in line.

GROUND PAINTINGS.

With the Luiseño we encounter for the first time detailed references to a ritualistic device of the greatest interest, which is known to have been used also by the Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeno: the ground or sand painting. The Diegueño sand painting has also been recorded, and the Cupeño apparently used it. The Cahuilla and Chumash are in doubt. It is therefore rather clearly a development of the Shoshoneans of the coast region. It is connected with the Chungichnish form of the Jimson-weed cult, and about coterminous with it.

This sand painting of southern California is unquestionably connected with that of the Pueblos and Navahos. There can also be little doubt that it originated in the much more complex ceremonialism of these southwestern nations. But it is not a recent importation; and the history of its diffusion can only be appreciated properly with reference to the fact that not even a trace of the custom exists among the intervening tribes of the Colorado

River, nor apparently among the Pima. Like the Chungichnish religion with which it is associated, it is clear that the Californian sand painting rests upon old cultural materials common to the Southwest and southern California and probably evolved chiefly in the former region, but that its actual essential form is a purely local growth. This is not only indicated by its geographical distribution but confirmed by its subject matter, symbolism, and style, which reveal scarcely anything specifically southwestern.

The painting was made in the *wamkish* or ceremonial enclosure, the "temple" of older authors. The Luiseño brought it into the Jimson-weed initiation for boys; the *Yunish Matakish* or death rite for initiates; and the girls' adolescence ceremony. With the Diegueño the latter ceremony belongs to an old native stratum and has not been colored by Chungichnish influences as among the Luiseño. They therefore do not use the painting in this connection.

The Luiseño call the sand painting *torohaish* or *taroahash*, or in ritualistic speech, following their usage of doubling terms, *eskanish tarohaish*.

Figure 56 shows all known restorations of Luiseño and Diegueño ground paintings. In spite of the variability, which may have been nearly as great in practice as in these reproductions, a distinct tribal style as well as a fundamental uniformity are apparent. This fact renders it highly probable that the lost paintings of the Juaneño and Gabrielino were similar in tenor but also distinctive in manner.

The elements in the Luiseño and Diegueño ground paintings shown in Figure 56 are as follows: 1, Milky way. 2, Night (or sky). 3, Root (of existence), *kwinamish*. 4, Our spirit or soul. 5, World. 6, Hands (arms) of the world. 7, Blood. 8, Rattlesnake. 9, Spider. 10, Raven. 11, Bear. 12, Puma. 13, Wolf.¹ 14, *Apmikat*. 15, "Breaker." 16, Stick, wood. 17, Coyote. 18-21, Black, gopher, garter, red racer snake. 22, Sun. 23-24, New and full moon. 25, Pleiades. 26, Orion. 27, Altair. 28-29, "Cross" and "Shooting" constellations. 30, Sea. 31, Mountains. 32, Hill of *hulwul* plant. 33, Boil, abscess. 34, Coronado Island. 35, Mountain of creation. 36, San Bernardino (Gorgonio?) Mountain. 37, Santa Catalina Island. 38, Four avenging animals. 39, Ceremonial baskets. 40, Toloache mortar and pestle. (The last two may be the actual objects rather than representations.) P, Pit in center. S, Spitting hole.

In all cases, it is clear that the essential subject of the depiction is the world. The Luiseño, however, are chiefly concerned with revealing its subtler manifestations—the mysterious encircling Milky Way, the all-encompassing night or sky—or its still more spiritual phases as expressed in a symbolism of human personality: the arms, the blood, our root or origin, the spirit. Within this frame are indicated—depicted would be an exaggerated word—the punishers sent by the invisible Chungichnish: the raven, rattlesnake, spider, bear, wolf,¹ mountain lion, and the cryptic *Apmikat* and "breaker."

¹ Or jaguar (?).

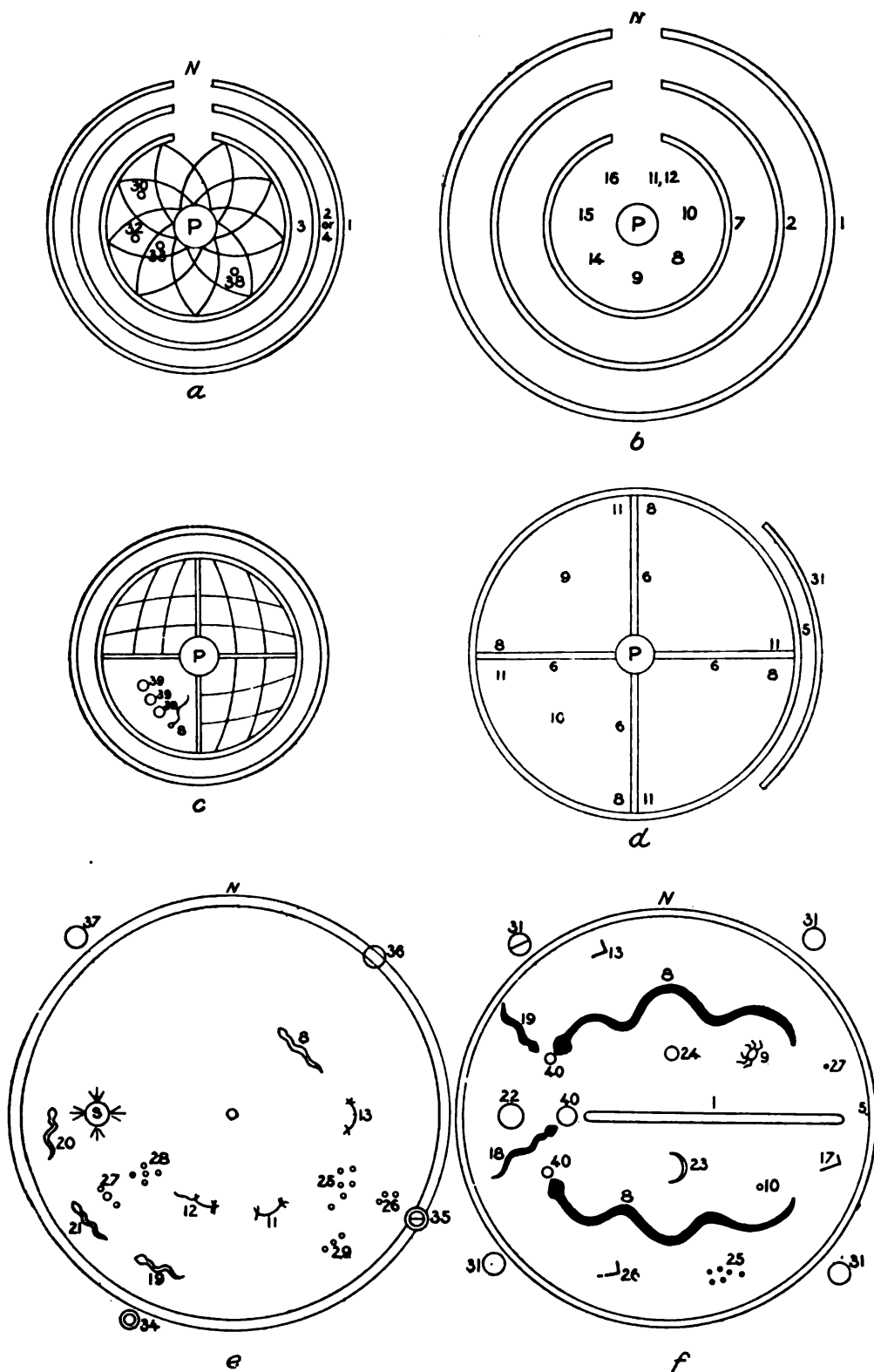


FIG. 56.—Southern California ground paintings (altars). a-d, Luiseno; e-f, Diegueño.

In the very center is the hole symbolical of death and of the burial of human ashes: called *tolmar* or *tolmal*, the abode of the dead; or the navel—of the universe.

To the Diegueño this abstruseness and mystic craving are foreign. They paint the world indeed; but it is the visible universe. The enclosing circle is merely the horizon or the edge of the earth. The figures within it are a downright map of the mundane surface and the celestial sphere. The Milky Way stretches across the middle as it bisects the heavens. On one side are the summer constellations Aquila and Cygnus, on the other Orion and the Pleiades of winter—each group identifiable by its form. The sun and moon are too conspicuously visible overhead to be omitted: so they are represented. To the Luiseño the luminaries mean nothing, because Chungichnish symbolism does not include them. The navel of death, again, is an idea, not a feature of land or sky—the Diegueño omits it. His mountains, too, are not vague harborers of the messengers and avengers of a cult, but actual named peaks; and the four in figure *e* stand in very nearly the relative geographical position, with Diegueño land as a center, that they occupy in the painting.

Having mapped his world, the Diegueño proceeds to fill it with living beings. These are not mere heaps of pigment to which an old man can point while naming dangerous animals in his sermon on the punishment of disobedience, but actual representations: excessively crude, it is true, even abbreviated to a few strokes, but still pictures. The spider can be distinguished from the snake, the snake from the wolf. This is not the case in any Luiseño painting. For good measure, as it were, perhaps because their drawing is easily effective, the Diegueño add to the dread rattlesnake (whose eyes are of halotis and whose diamond-back pattern is carefully indicated) sketches of several harmless species, whose symbolic significance is unknown and probably slighter.

Among the Luiseño, two styles of painting are discernible, which appear to pertain respectively to the girls' adolescence rite and to the boys' initiation. The painting for the girls (*a* and probably *b*) has three concentric circles, open to the north; within, the several avengers are indicated in a more or less circular arrangement. The painting for the boys (*c*, *d*) perhaps lacks the gateway to the north, has only one or possibly two enclosing circles, and is quartered. The representations of the avengers seem to predominate in the western half. At the same time the network of interior lines in *a* and *c* is not very different, and may be intended for an identical pattern.

The diameter of the ground painting is described as being 2 to 3 feet for the girls' painting (*a*), and 4 (*c*), 12, 15, or 18 feet (*d*, *e*, *f*) for the boys. The materials include ashes and powdered soapstone for white; charcoal; reddish iron rust or scum; yellow may also have been used; and variously colored "sands" and "earths" are mentioned more vaguely. The harmless snakes in the Diegueño paintings were of "seeds."

There is some mention of cords of human hair leading from the Luisefio painting to sticks or canes planted in four little mounds on each of the cardinal sides: these tied the world and probably the human spirit also. It is not certain whether these objects were actual or only painted: the former seems more likely, since ropes that were pulled are mentioned of the Fernandefio ground painting.

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

The *pa'lut* was perhaps the most showy of Luisefio religious regalia. This was a net tied around the waist, from the lowest loops of which hung eagle or condor feathers. It was worn in the *morahash* dance, as part of what the Juanefio would call the *tobet* costume, and its free swishing added to the effect of the rapidly turning dancer. (Pls. 42, c; 61.)

Headdresses are simple, but the native recognition of types is not altogether clear. The commonest form was a bunch of owl or spotted hawk feathers, more or less slashed, and mounted on a stick. These appear to be called *cheyat*. They were worn in pairs, one at each side of the head, held by a band. The *hainit*, Juanefio *eneat*, apparently was a band or upright row of feathers encircling the head. The *apuma* is mentioned as an erect eagle feather headdress. Not one of these pieces was notably brilliant, large, or elaborate.

The *yukish* was an ancient headdress of human hair, held in place by a cord of the same material. Its form is not clear. It may have corresponded to the Juanefio *emeck*. Hair was very sacred to the southern Californians, and the Luisefio used it with evident reference to the idea of human personality and employed the name *yula* as a constant metaphor for "spirit."

The yellow-hammer forehead band typical of central California is not found in most of the southern part of the State. The Luisefio, however, made *tuminut*, long bandollers of dark feathers, less trimmed than in the central Californian ornament, but, like them, laid in opposite directions and sewn through. (Pl. 58.) Similar pieces have been found among the Koso and in an ancient cave cache in Gabrielino territory. The occasions on which they were worn are not known.

The *paviut* was a hand wand a foot and a half long, associated with the Chungichnish cult. It consisted of a board more or less pointed below, somewhat flaring at the upper end, where it was inlaid with hallotis, and tipped with a crystal or large flint.

The *elat* was also a board, a foot long, painted red, with snake rattles or the like attached, held upright by the feathered *cheyat* band against the forehead of the *pula* when he doctored, made rain, or juggled. The employment of this standardized piece of costume by the shaman is one of many links that closely ally him with the initiate or *pumal*.

Wooden "swords," that is, really, flexible wands, were swallowed either by the *pula* or the *pumal*, probably the former. This is a southwestern trick of which little is heard in central and northern California.

The rattle was a turtle shell on a stick, the openings wound with cord. Wild cherry pits made the sound. The deer-hoof rattle associated in northern California with the girls' adolescence ceremony was known to the Luisefio, but used only, it seems, in hunters' rites. Neither the clap stick nor the cocoon rattle of central California was employed.

The whistle of *huikish*, *Elymus* cane, stopped with asphalt, was blown by the men who sang and danced about the boys undergoing the ant ordeal. It was called *pahal*.

The bull-roarer, *momlahpish*, is a crude board, whirled as a summons to religious assembly and as a starting and stopping signal. Its size—from 1 foot to nearly 2—stamps it as an implement for outdoor use. (Pl. 44.)

Two traits characterize the religious regalia of the southern Californians as typified by the Luiseño.

First, they are simple and comparatively somber. Although of feathers, they lack the bright colors and showy forms that characterize the area of the Kuksu religion and of the northwestern open-air dances. There is not a trace of anything like a mask or a disguise of the performer. These qualities are a reflex of the toloache religion, which at least in its Luiseño form knew a god too lofty and pervading to be impersonated, but no nearer spirits other than animals. Hence while the initiates constituted a body that must unquestionably be considered as a sort of organization, they did without the masking which is so frequent an accompaniment of the esoteric society in aboriginal America. The comparative simplicity of dance costume is already observable among the Yokuts, the most northerly of the toloache-using tribes.

Second, the powerful psychic effect of the Jimson weed caused the cult based upon it to take on a specifically inward character. There are innumerable references to the human spirit, to the relation of life and death. What we should call the soul is constantly being symbolized or alluded to. The Maidu and Wintun have very little to say about the soul of man, but more about the spirits or minor gods that populate the world or helped to shape it. Thus their ritual is comparatively dramatic, representative, spectacular, its costuming diversified, picturesque, impressive; but both are symbolic in only minimum degree. The southerners thought of life as such, not of events. Their concepts must of needs be ritualized; yet as their abstractions were better expressible in the sand painting, in the *wanawut* representation of the grave, or in the burying of the dead *puma*'s badge than in any apparel of feathers and sticks, the costume, like their dance movements and cries, became wholly unrepresentative. It was worn because ancient tradition so ordained, not because it illustrated. Its form, therefore, crystallized largely along lines of simple convenience, and it came to matter little whether the regalia were diverse or the same for all occasions, as long as their conformity to custom indicated the sanctity of the occasion. The history of dance costume in southern California can accordingly not be traced from anything intrinsic to religious thought or feeling.

In general, then, ceremonial paraphernalia and dance actions stand apart from religious beliefs in southern California. Songs and ground paintings directly reflect concepts and myths, but run a course largely independent of ritualistic actions. Hence all four

sets of elements are made use of in the scheme or organization of religion almost as if they were foreign matter.

ESOTERIC NAMES.

The Luiseño consistently employ a distinctive device in their ritualistic designations. A double name, consisting of a pair of juxtaposed synonyms or approximate synonyms, is given to many ideas. So strong is this inclination that where two words are not available, as for animals, two of these are coupled as if they were one: compare "bear mountain-lion" in the little sermon quoted in the section headed Morality. The cosmogonies outlined also offer abundant illustrations. *Yunish matakish*, *eskanish tarohaish*, *wanal wanawut*, *antish tivihayish*, *kimal chehenish* are other examples; also the star names *pivish ahuta* and *ngoiwut chawochmush*; and *sivut paviut*, the crystal-tipped stick. There are indications of a similar habit among the Juaneño, as in the various names of *Chingichnich*: *Wiamot*, *Kwawar*, *Saor*, *Tobet*, and in the two terms *ano* and *takwe* applied to the ceremonial cannibal. Among the Luiseño even place names are usually coupled in myth or song: *Pawi Chawimai*, Cahuilla Valley, *Kupa Kawimal*, "Kupa little hill," *Ehva Temeku*, Temecula; two spots in the same vicinity appear to be treated as one.

CHAPTER 47.

THE LUISEÑO: ORGANIZATION OF CIVILIZATION.

The toloache initiation, 668; the wanawut, 671; the ant ordeal, 672; the Yunish Matakish, 672; the girls' ceremony, 673; mourning ceremonies, 675; cosmogony, 677; the soul, 679; shamanism, 680; calendar and astronomy, 682; morality, 683; society, 685.

THE TOLOACHE INITIATION.

The toloache ritual is the heart of the Chungichnish religion. In the main, it consists of a series of acts initiating boys, but there is also a feature that is rather uncommon in American Indian esoteric associations, a mourning observance for dead members. As is frequent, however, among primitive people, there is no formal ritual for adherents as such. The normal function of the society is to perpetuate itself rather than accomplish some clearly realized end.

The initial and most significant proceeding in the initiation, as the natives seem to see it, is the taking of the *Datura* drug. This act is called *pa'nish mani*, or *mani pa'ash*, or simply *mani*. As *pa-* means "to drink," *mani* appears to denote Jimson weed, which in fact is the meaning of the stem throughout the Shoshonean dialects of southern California. The Luiseño, it is true, call the plant itself *naktomush*. It is therefore probable either that *mani* has become with them a synonym of exclusively religious denotation or that *mani* means the principle or decoction.

The drinking takes place at night. All uninitiated boys are gathered and brought together. Small boys are sometimes carried in asleep. Any man who may have escaped initiation in his youth, or alien resident, is given the drug with the youngsters. A fire is lighted in the *wamkish*, and the people begin to gather there. The various *tamyush* or toloache mortars are dug from their hiding places, repainted, and set in the *wamkish*. Only the mortar actually to be used, together with a *tukmal* or flat basket, are brought to the small or preparatory enclosure which stands near the *wamkish*. It is in this smaller place, unlit and without audience of the uninitiated, that the toloache is drunk, and there the boys are taken. One of the *paha'*, ceremonial chiefs or managers, pounds the dried roots in the reserved mortar, to a sacred song or recitative, after which

the potion is prepared with hot water. The usual way seems to have been to sift the powder from the basket back into the mortar and add the water, which was allowed to stand for a while. In other cases the hot water was poured over the basket, or the powder boiled in a pottery jar. The drinking itself, however, was from the mortar in which the plant was crushed, the boys kneeling before it. The manager held the forehead of each in turn, to pull it back when he had drunk enough. The drug was powerful, and the Luiseño tell of cases of fatal result.

Meanwhile one of the managers has gone three times to the large inclosure to notify the people there that *mani* is coming. Each boy, after the drinking, is taken in charge by a man who appears to direct and steady him. The procession to the *wamkish* seems to be performed crawling on hands and knees, by the men at least, each of whom utters the cry of an animal. Possibly this act takes place on later days of the ceremony. The mortar and baskets are believed to march along. There may have been a simple legerdemain to produce this effect. The party divides in two, each half making a three-quarter turn about the enclosure and entering by one of the side gates. They then march or stand the boys around the fire, apparently dancing the *tanish*. The youths soon begin to sway and reel and have to be supported under the armpits. Before long they fall and become entirely unconscious, and are then carried to the smaller enclosure, where they lie in complete stupefaction, watched only by a few men. The other adult members remain in the *wamkish*, dancing the *tanish* until morning. They seem to stand in a semicircle back of the fire, with a line of seated men singers facing them across it, and women, also singing, behind the men. Still farther back, outside the main entrance, stand the spectators.

The duration of complete narcosis is not quite certain. The Diegueño appear to reckon it one night, and speak of quantities of warm water being given the boys in the morning to remove the remaining effect of the drug. A Luiseño account speaks of two or three nights, and of a stupefaction of four being excessive. It is probable that the period was variable: there was no definite measure to the bulk of root used nor was accurate control possible of the quantity of liquid drunk by each novice; besides which, the boys were of different ages and their constitutional resistance to the drug must have varied individually. It may be added that the ceremony was not performed annually or at a fixed season, but every few years, as the old men might decide that there was a sufficient crop of fresh boys. Nor did anyone drink toloache twice.

The so-called intoxication is in any event the cardinal feature of the entire initiation, and therefore the heart of the cult. There is

no doubt that its sacredness and supernatural basis lie to the native mind in the physiological effect of the drug. It produces visions or dreams as well as stupor; and what the boys see in their sleep becomes of lifelong intimate sanctity to them. This vision is usually an animal, and at least at times they learn from it a song which they keep as their own. It seems also that they will not kill any individual of the species. It is clear that the concept of the vision corresponds exactly with what among certain primitive tribes has been unfortunately denominated the "personal totem." It is certain that a special and individual relation of a supernatural kind is believed to exist forever after between the dreamer and the dream. The similarity to shamanism is also obvious; but it would be as misleading to name the Luiseño institution outright "shamanistic" or "totemic."

The duration of the ceremony is not clear, and may not have been fixed. A Luiseño account speaks of men from other villages dancing with the boys for four or five nights after the first one, painting and instructing them, and teaching them their songs. A Diegueño version is to the same effect, adding that each boy thus acquired a kind of proprietorship over certain alien songs in addition to those given him by his kinsmen; but this account makes the visitors come in only after six nights of dancing with the home people.

At any rate, a fast is observed by all the boys for about six days, complete at first, and relaxed later to a limited amount of acorn mush, but no meat or salt under any circumstances; and they dance—apparently the *tanish*—nightly and sleep during the day.

The first period is followed by a more temperate one of perhaps a month, and a third and still milder one of another month, during which the night dancing continues, but for briefer hours, and the novices are allowed all the acorn or sage-meal gruel they wish.

Even after this time has elapsed, the boys are forbidden meat for several months, and are then encouraged to refrain from it, or at least to eat it sparingly, for as much longer as possible. This commencement with the main act of the ceremony and gradual dying away of the ritualistic observances without definite end, instead of a climax, recurs also in the girl's initiation, and seems characteristic of Luiseño procedure.

Various other things are taught or half revealed to the boys, probably during the first intensive period of initiation. These include the fire dance, with its appearance of magic; the putting of feather headdresses into the flames and taking them out whole; the shooting of men; the cutting off of one's tongue; and the like. These tricks are at any rate performed; and while it is not likely that they are deliberately and wholly exposed to the youths at this time, they are no doubt carried out for them to know something about.

That some sort of progress in knowledge is made by the boys is likely from a Diegueño account of the boys instead of the men crawling to the *wamkish* on the second, third, and fourth days of the initiation.

A month or so after the toloache drinking, the boys dispose of the belts which they have heretofore worn on account of their hunger, and run a foot race back to the *wamkish*. At the end of the second month they are presented each with a feather headdress and a painted dance stick, which, though lacking the sacred crystal, is a sort of imitation of the *paviut*. After this the ground painting is made and then comes the final rite of the *wanawut*. A different account speaks of this being performed three days after the drinking, but all other informants agree that the *wanawut* act takes place after the period of fasting.

The ground painting is made in the *wamkish*, and has been described before. As its meaning is explained, the boys are given an elaborate lecture, passages from which are quoted below in the section on Morality. At the last, a lump of sage meal and salt is put in each boy's mouth, after having been touched against several parts of his body as in the girls' rite, and is spat by him into the central hole of the painting. This is then erased by pushing the pigments into the hole, so that no uninitiated may see the figure.

THE WANAWUT.

Either the same day or the next, toward the end of the afternoon, the *wanawut* rite takes place. Ceremonially this object is called *wanal wanawut* or *yula wanawut*, *wanal* being a seine or long net, *yula* hair or spirit. The *wanawut* is a long mesh of milkweed or nettle twine, the size of a man, and having head, legs, arms, and perhaps a tail. Its name is undoubtedly a derivative from *wanal*; its association with *yula* is probably only symbolic of spirituality, but may mean that the object was sometimes made of hair. In the net are three flat stones, or according to another statement, four are set upon it. The entire figure is laid in a trench, the feet apparently to the north: the Diegueño say east.

Each boy in turn now enters the trench, supported by the old man who has acted as his sponsor, and at a signal leaps from stone to stone. Should he slip, it is an indication that he will die soon. Very small boys are partially assisted by the old men. When all have jumped, they help the old men push the earth into the trench, burying the figure.

The symbolism of this strange rite clearly refers to life and death. The trench represents the grave: the Luiseño cremated their corpses over a pit which was filled when the embers and bones had sunk in.

The figure is human. It is specifically said to denote the Milky Way—otherwise a symbol of the spirit or soul. There seems also to be present the idea that the spirit of the dead is to be tied, perhaps to the sky, at any rate away from earth; and the cordage of the object is probably significant in this regard. It is obvious that there existed a rich though perhaps but half-expressed symbolism in connection with the *wanawut*, of which only fragments are known to us.

When the *wanawut* is finally buried, the *tanish* is commenced for the last time and danced through the night, ending toward daybreak with the fire dance. There are some references to burning the *wam-kish* about this time, or part of it for the whole. It may be conjectured that it is the brush enclosure that furnishes the fuel for the final fire dance. At any rate, this destruction of the sacred enclosure marks the termination of the collective acts of the initiation.

THE ANT ORDEAL.

The *Antish* (literally “anting,” from *anut*, “red ant”), also called *Tivihayish*, was an ordeal for boys or young men, probably made within the toloache initiation, but perhaps held as a separate supplement. In the latter event, many features of the initiation were repeated, such as fasting, the foot race, and the ground painting. The rite itself was carried out with secrecy toward the public.

The boys were laid on ant hills, or put into a hole containing ants. More of the insects were shaken over them from baskets in which they had been gathered. The sting or bite of the large ant smarts intensely, and the ordeal was a severe one, and rather doubtfully ameliorated when at the conclusion the ants were whipped from the body with nettles.

There are special *anut* or *antish* songs, whose use, however, following Luiseño custom, is not restricted to this ceremony.

Ant bites were used medicinally as far away as the Yokuts, but an ant ceremony has not been reported from farther north than the Juaneño and probably did not extend beyond the Gabrielino at most. The animal is, however, very distinctive of southwestern ceremonialism. Many of the Pueblos have ant fraternities, and among probably all of them there exist esoteric rituals for curing sickness brought on by ants. These particular concepts are of course not Luiseño; but there can be little doubt that the southern California ordeal has at least received its impetus from the same source that caused the growth of the Pueblo ant ceremonies.

THE YUNISH MATAKISH.

The Yunish Matakish appears to be held as part of the mourning anniversary, but is a specific Chungichnish rite, of which the central feature is the burial, in the central hole of the ground painting,

of the feather headdress and other ceremonial paraphernalia which the dead man has had since initiation. The ritual seems to come on the last afternoon of the mourning, just preceding the night in which the images are burned. The painting is made in the *wamkish*, the sacred toloache mortars and baskets are set out, and the general aspect of events is similar to those which marked the entrance of the member into the religious life of his people years before.

His late companions have gathered at the small enclosure, and amid wailing by the spectators approach one by one toward the *wamkish*, imitating the deceased as well as they can. Finally, among the Diegueño, the whole membership crawls into the *wamkish*, each man painted with the footprint of the animal that he saw in his own toloache vision, and uttering its cry. It is very probable that the practice of the Luiseño is the same.

After the men are seated about the ground painting they grunt and blow, the feathers are placed in the central pit, and then the company buries them by pushing the painting into the hole.

The "grunting" is an element of all Luiseño ceremonies. It is a ritualistic sound, sometimes described as a groan or growl, ending in a marked expulsion of the breath, and accompanied by an exclamation *mwau* or *wiau*. It seems always to occur in threes and to have symbolic reference to the spirit or soul.

THE GIRLS' CEREMONY.

The *Wekenish* or girls' ceremony has as its central feature an act practiced by all the Shoshoneans of southern California: the "roasting."

The ceremony, according to established Luiseño practice, was called and financed by the home village, but its direction was in the hands of the ceremonial head of another village or "clan." Several girls of one "clan" were usually treated at once, only one, however, being at the actual physiological period indicated by the word *ash*. As it is said that they did not undergo the rite a second time, the number of performances of the ceremony in each locality can have been only a fraction as numerous as the arrivals at womanhood. Perhaps the wealthiest or most prominent men had the ritual made as their daughters reached the requisite period, while other parents availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered their younger girls to participate. Among small and poor hill tribes, having few public rituals to occupy them, the coming to age of each young woman may have furnished a welcome occasion for a general gathering. To relatively populous groups like those of southern California, with wider range of acquaintance and alliance and frequent festivals produced on a large

scale, an equal attention accorded to every female member of the tribe would be likely to be monotonous, if not burdensome. Two alternatives are open: to maintain the ceremony as an important one but reduce its frequency by grouping the girls, or to minimize the significance of the rite, leaving it an affair for kinsmen and fellow residents rather than the larger community. The southern Californians followed the former plan; the Yurok and Hupa, and the Mohave, the latter.

The first step in the ceremony was to make the girls swallow balls of tobacco as an ordeal. Only those who did not vomit were considered virtuous. As the Indians say, this was a hard test.

The girls were then placed on their backs in a pit that had previously been lined with stones, heated, and then carpeted with tussock grass and sedge. Two warmed flat stones were put on the abdomen of each maiden. The girls lay as still as possible for three days. At night men and in the day women danced around the pit. Each girl had her head covered with an openwork basket to keep the flies off, the Luiseño say—perhaps to prevent undue and prejudicial movement. Northern Californians give as the reason for a similar veiling the balefulness of the young woman's glance at this time. Such ideas are, however, in the background if they enter the southern Californian's mind at all. It is an interesting case of an identical act having almost contrary import according to cultural attitude.

Scratching with the finger nails would be very bad. In former days the girls were therefore furnished with scratchers of haliotis.

The girls did not wholly fast, but refrained from meat, fish, and salt. Once every 24 hours they left the pit, which was then reheated.

When finally taken out the girls had their faces painted by the wife of the officiating chief. Bracelets and anklets of human hair and necklaces of *Echinocystis macrocarpa* were put upon them. They were now free to go about, but the food restrictions endured another month or several, and might be voluntarily prolonged for a year or two. Cold water was especially to be avoided.

At the end of the first month the sand painting is made, and its explanation is combined with a sermon by the ceremonial chief on the subject of good conduct in life and its rewards, as quoted below. Each girl then has her head, shoulders, arms, breast, and knees touched with a ball of sage meal and salt, whereupon this is put in her mouth. Leaning on hands and knees she spits this mess into the central hole of the painting. The painting itself is then shoved into the hole by the men seated about it, exactly as in the *yunish matakish* for dead initiates, and as the *wanawut* trench is filled in the boys' initiation.

The girls, accompanied by friends, thereupon run a race—another ceremonial device of which the Luiseño are fond. The chief's wife then again paints them. With the same paint she makes a large geometrical pattern upon a rock, or according to another account, the girls themselves do so. Their hair ornaments are deposited on the rock.

This face and rock painting is performed monthly three or four times. The last occasion marks the final act of the ceremony.

At some time in the period of the observances the girls are tattooed.

MOURNING CEREMONIES.

The impress of death is heavy on the mind of the California Indian. He thinks of it, speaks of it, tries to die where he has lived, saves property for years for his funeral, weeps unrestrainedly when the recollection of his dear ones makes him think of his own end. He wails for days for his kin, cuts his hair, and shudders at their mention, but lavishes his wealth in their memory. It is no wonder that he institutes public observances for them. In the north, indeed, these are scarcely developed; but from the Maidu south, the mourning anniversary has followed the course of our description with growing intensity. The Luiseño practiced at least half a dozen mourning ceremonies after the cremation of the body.

The relation of these is not altogether clear. The *Tuvish* appears to be first in order and simplest. This hinges about a ritualistic washing of the clothes of the deceased, as part of a night of singing, declaiming, and dancing in the ceremonial inclosure. Kin and fellow residents participate; the rite is for an individual. It is held soon after death, and its purpose is to banish the spirit from its familiar haunts.

The *Chuchamish* came next and ran a similar course. Here the clothing was burned and the dead instructed to depart to the sky.

The *Tauchanish* is the great public observance for the dead of the year, or several years, marked, as among many other tribes, by the exhibition and burning of images of the dead, rude figures of rushes, but often hung with valuable clothing and beads. The signal to start and stop the songs to which the images are carried is given with a bull-roarer. The rite is instituted and provided for by the chief, but conducted by the ceremonial leaders of invited clans or villages. The guests receive presents, and are privileged to despoil the images. This observance is not part of the Chungichnish cult, and is probably far older: in fact according to the Diegueño it was the first ceremony in the world; but, like almost everything in Luiseño religion, it has been affected by the Chungichnish worship.

The *Notush* was a local correlative of the *Tauchanish*, perhaps introduced from the Gabrielino to the northern Luiseño. It does not seem to have become established among the southern Luiseño in the mountains, but was brought to mission San Luis Rey probably in the time of the padres. It is described as a more elaborate and costly rite than the *Tauchanish*. The use of images is not mentioned. The characteristic feature was a tall painted pole representing the spirit of the dead person and called *kutumit*, Fernandean *kotumut*, in Luiseño esoteric language *kimal chehenish*, that is, "little-house appearances." Each portion of the pole denoted a part of the body, but there seems to have been no attempt at actual representation. The top was painted white and bore a raven skin, called *levalwush*, "wide;" below this were baskets and other valuables, which apparently became the property of those who succeeded in climbing to them. Contests were a distinctive feature of the *Notush*, as the following "origin" tradition of the ritual reveals.

The first *Notush* ceremony was held between Pala and Temecula. Sea fog erected the great pole, and the uplanders of the east gathered to contend with the westerners of the coast. Squirrel alone climbed to the top, cut the string, and won the baskets for his mountain companions. *Mechish*, who crawls in the sea, carried off the great sack in which was all the gathered food, but this victory was in turn balanced by wide-mouthed Nighthawk, who was the only one able to devour the mass. Then the owl and a fish stared at each other; but at last the bird blinked and the west was victorious. The raven skin was hanging on the pole, the two sides were getting angry, and a fight portended. Thunder cloud roared, but failed to uproot Sea fog's house, but when Sea fog's wind blew, the mountain houses went down. They then raced to La Jolla in the mountains. Many became exhausted, but Eagle, Chickenhawk, and Raven now won for the east from Butterfly and Grasshopper. Another race was north to San Geronio Mountain, through the open country, and Antelope of the plains beat Deer of the mountains. A second match led through the rugged hills, and Deer earned his revenge. So they contested in the first *Notush*. The Yokuts have faintly reminiscent tales of contests between hill and valley people.

The *Ashwut maknash* or eagle killing was an anniversary held for chiefs—the Diegueño say for their dance leaders. Probably both accounts are correct for both tribes. Eagle and condor nests were personal and hereditary property. The young were taken from them and reared. In the ceremony, made at night in the *wamkish*, the eagle was danced with, and finally "shot" to death with a magic stick. Actually his heart was pressed in, but the trick was known only to the toloache initiates. The relatives of the dead man wailed and his successor gave away property to the invited performers. This arrangement pervades all Luiseño mourning rites: the home village issues the invitation and provides food and gifts, the guests perform

the ceremony and receive the presents. The eagle's body was ritually burned or buried.

The *Yunish matakish* has already been described.

COSMOGONY.

The basis of the Luiseño origin tradition is a group of ideas that are widespread in southern California. But in the ritualistic cosmogony these appear in a very specialized shape. First, the concept of prime origins by birth, instead of a process of making, is more thoroughly worked out than by perhaps any other American tribe except possibly some of the Pueblos. Secondly, there is a remarkable attempt at abstract conceptualizing, which, though it falls short of success, leaves an impression of boldness and of a rude but vast grandeur of thought. The result is that the beginning of the Luiseño genesis reads far more, in spirit at least, like the opening of a Polynesian cosmogonic chant than like an American Indian tradition of the world origin.

It is a gratification to record this fact, and perhaps worth while remembering it, since it reveals the cultural worth that lies exposed but overlooked in the achievements of many an obscure tribe. The civilization of the California Indians was so nearly equally rudimentary that the temptation is great to regard it as a unitary if not a negligible datum. But we need only approach this civilization in a spirit free from haste, and it becomes apparent as endlessly diversified instead of monotonously homogeneous, flowering in the most unexpected places, and with all its childlikeness not devoid here and there of elements of subtlety and nobility. Few California tribes may have reached the attainments of the Luiseño; but each was possessed of its cultural individuality and endowed with potentialities that have now been cut off but which must continue to summon respect.

This is the story:

The first were *Kyuvish*, "vacant," and *Atahvish*, "empty," male and female, brother and sister. Successively, these called themselves and became *Omat*, "not alive," and *Yamai*, "not in existence"; *Whaikut Piwukut*, "white pale," the Milky Way, and *Harurai Chatutai*, "boring lowering"; *Tukomit*, "night," with the implication of "sky," and *Tamayowut*, "earth." She lay with her feet to the north; he sat by her right side; and she spoke: "I am stretched, I am extended. I shake, I resound. I am diminished, I am earthquake. I revolve, I roll. I disappear." Then he answered: "I am night, I am inverted (the arch of the heavens). I cover. I rise, I ascend. I devour, I drain (as death). I seize, I send away (the souls of men). I cut, I sever (life)."

These attributes were not yet; but they would be. The four double existences were not successive generations: they were transitions, manifestations of continuing beings.

Then as the brother took hold of her and questioned, she named each part of her body, until they were united. He assisted the births with the sacred

paviut stick, and the following came forth singly or in pairs, ceremonial objects, religious acts, and avenging animals:

Hair (symbolical of the spirit) and *Nahut* (the mystic *wanawut* figure?)

Rush basket and throwing stick.

Paint of rust from springs and paint of pond scum.

Water and mud.

Rose and blackberry, which sting for *Chungichnish*.

Tussock grass and sedge, with which the sacred pits for girls were lined.

Salt grass (and grass?)

Bleeding and first periods.

These were human; and so were the next born, the mountains and rocks and things of wood now on the earth; and then followed the badger; Altair the buzzard; the feared meteor *Takwish*; the subterranean water monster *Choricut*; *twish*, the spirit of man that survives the corpse; the black oak; "yellow-pine-canoe cottonwood" (a receptacle for feathers); *kimal chehenish*, the pole and offerings of the *Notush* mourning; the ash tree; the plant *tsla*; the large brake fern; the black rattlesnake; the red rattlesnake; spider; tarantula hawk; raven; bear; sting ray; *tukmal*, the winnowing basket used in initiation; *shomkul papatwish*, sea fish and urine for ceremonial sprinkling; *topal tamyush*, mortar and toloache mortar.

All these were the first people, touching one another in the obscurity, far in the north. They traveled to Darkening Dusk, where something high stopped them; then to Hill Climbing, the impassably narrow canyon; then to the lake at Elsinore; then to Temecula. There *Hainit Yunenkit* made the sun and the first people raised him in a net four times to the sky. There also Wiyot, bewitched by Frog, sickened and after long illness died. Under the direction of Kingbird, he was burned, but only after Coyote had stolen his heart. Kingbird announced his return: "Wiyot rises, Wiyot the moon," and all saw him in the west, soon to appear in the east. Eagle, knowing what was now in the world, went or sent his spirit north, east, south, west to escape, but finding *pi'mukvul*, death, everywhere, returned to Temecula, and, accepting his future fate of being danced with and killed, died. Deer, too, after a long evasion, resigned himself to death when he was told of the feathers that would wing the arrows sped after him. And last, Night, here at Temecula, divided the people, gave them the languages which they have now, and sent them to their fixed abodes.

Other versions, as among almost all tribes, vary indefinitely in minor content. The long list of sacred births in particular is never given alike. But the tenor of the conceptualizing is always the same; and every old man knows at least phases of this cosmogony, and is aware of their place and significance. We face, in short, more than the philosophizing of a gifted individual endeavoring to rise above the concrete and naive crudities of his age and land. The cultural creation of a nation lies before us.

Besides the migration legends embodied in the story of the origin of things, the Luiseño tell traditions that are primarily geographical.

Nahachish, "glutton, the disease consumption, old age, or male," a great man at Temecula, had the hook broken down on which he hung his abundance of food, and, starving, began to travel. Near Aguanga he was given gruel (which is light gray), so, saying "My stomach is *picha* (whitish)" he named the place Pichanga. On Palomar he was again fed, until his belly burned,

and he uttered "My stomach is nettle, *shakishla*," and the place became Shakishna. At Kayawahana he knelt and drank and left his footprints. Sovoyami he named because he was chilled, Pumai because he whistled, Yapi-chai for a feast witnessed, and Tomka because he was fed. Where he drank he called the place Pala, "water," and Pamai, "small water," and a muddy spot Yuhwamai. Below Pala, seeds were ground for him into meal too fine to handle, and he was poisoned. Perishing, he turned homeward, but died and became a rock just before he could arrive.

There are probably many other tales of this strange character—trivial or meaningless to us, surcharged with associations to the native.

THE SOUL.

The life or soul was called *shun*, Juaneño *-suni*, "heart." This was the part of the person believed to go to the stars.

The *towish*, Juaneño *touch*, was the ghost, and was applied both to a corpse and to the spirit detached from it. Its translation as "devil" is of course inaccurate, but yet not wholly of wrong implication, since a haunting ghost would work harm; otherwise it would not have been feared so vigorously and directed to depart. It is probable that it was the *towish* which went into the ground to what was known as *tolmar* or *tolmal*, which was also the name given to the symbolic pit in the center of the ground painting. As to the meaning of *tolmal*, compare the phrase *ha-tolmik*, translated as "infierno," but said literally to mean "he is gone."

Kwinamish, "root" or "origin," is much used to designate the spirit, apparently as such, or in the living, without the implication of death which attaches to *towish*.

Yula, "hair," has already been mentioned as a frequent symbolic designation of the spiritual.

The Juaneño *piuch* or "breath" should, on the analogy of *touch-towish*, appear in Luiseño as *piwish*. This word is actually found as a name of the Milky Way, particularly where this is coordinated, as in the ground painting, with the *towish* and *kwinamish*.

Huhlewish is said to have the signifi-
cance of "religion" or "sacred matters."

Potish is a dream. The shamans are said to have their "dreams" tell them how to proceed with the treatment of a patient. Just what this may or may not imply as to a conception of a guardian spirit is not certain.

The word used in the sense of Algonkin *manitou*, Siouan *wakan*, Iroquois *orenda*, Yokuts *tipin*, and our "supernatural," is not known, except for one mention of *towauya*, evidently from the stem of *towish*.

Takwish, literally "eater" or "eating," denotes not so much a class of spirits as one particular monster or divinity that makes his home

on San Jacinto Mountain, carries off and devours human beings, and appears usually as a low-flying meteor or ball of lightning, but also in birdlike form or as a man in feathers. Sight of him portends disaster and death. He also enters prominently into myth, but as an independently acting being, unassociated either positively or negatively with Wiyot or Chungichnish. His origin is thought to have been in Diegueño land, where he is known as *Chaup*, and Poway is mentioned as his birthplace. Part of his career was run among the Luiseño, especially in association with Temecula, so often mentioned in song and story; and his final abode is the great peak San Jacinto, where Cahuilla, Serrano, and Luiseño territory met. The Luiseño leave the first part of his history to the Diegueño, but narrate freely his later actions. There is a wideness of international outlook in these relations that is characteristic of the southern Californians, but unheard of elsewhere in the State.

Wite, *witiak*, or *witiako* was a sort of greeting spoken when one encountered a raven, the messenger of Chungichnish.

SHAMANISM.

None of the several investigators who have recorded information on the Luiseño make very clear mention of a belief in the familiar or guardian spirit. The same holds true of all other southern California tribes, whereas north of Tehachapi the guardian spirit is regularly and specifically referred to as the source of shamanistic power. Knowledge for the south is admittedly imperfect; but the tenor of the sources on the two regions is too uniformly distinct to allow of any inference but that the attitude of the cultures differed. For the Yuma and Mohave, indeed, it can be asserted positively that they did not know this class of spirits. Now it is interesting that no mention of personally owned spirits is made in any account of the several Pueblo groups. Nor is there anything definite from the Navaho. As to the Apache, there exists an extensive monograph on their medicine men; and it is significant that while this describes numerous charms, and discusses the practice of magic, it nowhere alludes in unmistakable manner to guardian spirits. For the Pima, statements as to guardian spirits are also somewhat indefinite, whereas it is specifically stated that the most important shamans are those who receive their ability from their fathers.

It may be concluded, therefore, that in the area which includes the Southwest and southern California, the idea of the guardian spirit, which is so basic in the conception of shamanism among the American Indians at large, is either lacking or very imperfectly developed.

Among the Pueblos the organized fraternities cure disease and may likely have crowded not only the guardian spirit belief but

the shaman himself out of the culture. With the river Yumans, the shaman dreams indeed, but of an ancient divinity; and other men who do not practice medicine dream of him too, and quite similarly. For the Juaneño, Boscana reports that the toloache initiates had the animal or being visioned in their intoxication as protector through life. This is an undoubted approach to the guardian spirit idea. But the drug was drunk as part of a cult, initiation into which marked civic and religious maturity; it was not taken by individuals to acquire medical faculties. It seems, therefore, that the factors which have displaced the guardian spirit belief vary locally. The inference is that the concept, for some unknown reason, lacked vigor throughout the area, and that in consequence substitutes for it arose independently among several groups.

An alternative interpretation would be that the organizing of religion and intrusting of its exercise to official priests suppressed the guardian spirit type of individualistic shamanism among the Pueblos, and that this negative influence spread from this culturally most advanced group to other southwestern tribes as far as the Pacific, local groups of the tribes substituting diverse customs more or less of their own devising.

There is, it is true, one Luiseño statement to the effect that shamans dream of "a rock, a mountain, a person, or something similar" and receive songs from this object of their dream. But this reference is too vague to count for much. The mountain or person might be mythological, as among the Mohave; that is, an ancient bestowing divinity rather than a present and controllable spirit.

On the other hand, it is significant that of the three special classes of shamans known to all the Indians of central California, the bear doctors, rain doctors, and rattlesnake doctors, the latter are the only ones not known to the Luiseño and their neighbors.

The practices of the curing shamans are the conventional ones, in spite of the difference in conceptual attitude. They suck, blow tobacco smoke, spurt water or saliva over the patient, rub, or wave feathers over him. Sickness is considered to be largely the result of witchcraft—that is, of malevolent shamans—and counter-bewitchings and outright slayings were frequent. Sympathetic and perhaps imitative magic were liberally practiced in this connection; hair, nails, and blood carefully concealed. As in the remainder of California, except on the Colorado, disease was thought to be caused by the presence of a physical object in the body rather than by an affection of the soul. Thus sucking was the foremost reliance of the physician. True, there are monsters or water spirits, the *pawawut*, *koyul*, and *yuyungviwut*, that not only drown people but steal their souls and make them sick; but the immediate cause of the

illness in native opinion is perhaps the diet of frogs that the *yuyungviwut* imposes upon his or her captive and enforced spouse.

The shaman, Spanish hechizero, is called *pula*; the toloache initiate, *pumal*. The probable etymological connection of these two words has already been commented on in the chapter on the Juaneño.

CALENDAR AND ASTRONOMY.

The Luiseño had more star names than most Californians. This superiority may be connected with their belief that the dead turned into stars. In all southern California constellations are named in ritual, and particularly in song, much more frequently than in the northern part of the State, and play a more important part even than in the ceremonies of the Southwest. But where the Mohave and Yuma sing over and over of Orion and the Pleiades, the Luiseño appear to have had designations for all first-magnitude stars. The known appellations are: *Hula'ch-um*, Orion's belt, and *Chehay-am*, the Pleiades, usually mentioned together; *Nukulish*, Antares; *Nukulish po-ma*, "his hand," Arcturus; *Yungavish*, "buzzard," Altair; *Yungavish po-ma*, Vega; *Yungavish po-cheya*, "his headdress," a star near Altair; *Waunish*, Spica; *Ngoiwut chawochmush*, Fomalhaut; *Tukmi iwut-um pom-shun*, "night wolves' their hearts," the North Star, which does not move. The Pleiades were girls once, and Aldebaran is their pursuer Coyote.

The only planet recognized was Venus, called *Eluchah*, "leavings," as of food over night.

The Milky Way, *piwish* or *ahuta*, had several esoteric designations, and was more than the mere ghosts' road of most Californians. It was symbolically associated with the spirit of dead man, *towish*, with the sacred cord *wanawut*—itself representative of life—and probably with the mystic being *Whaikut Piwikut*, "white grayish," one of the preexistences of Night and Earth.

The Luiseño calendar has been preserved, but is not well understood. Eight periods are named. None of the terms has been translated; and their season and order are not certain. They are *Tasmoyil* (grass is green), *Tawut*, *Tausanal* (grass sere), *Tovakal* (fallen leaves), *Novanut*, *Pahoyil*, *Nemoyil* (deer are fat), *Somoyil*. Each has two divisions, the first designated by a diminutive form with *alu'mal*, "lean," the second by the addition of *mokat*, "large." Thus, *Tasmoi-mal alu'mal* and *Tasmoyil mokat*. The "lean" and "large" evidently refer to the appearance of the moon. If we add to eight lunar months two longer unnamed or overlooked periods at the solstices, we have a calendar similar in plan to the peculiar

¹ There are no wolves in southern California; but *iwut* is from the stem of *tell*, coyote. Possibly the word has come to denote the Jaguar.

one described from the Juaneño. But a comparison of the names of the periods fails to reveal the least verbal resemblance; and the Luiseño names may have been seasonal without exact lunar correlation.

MORALITY.

A nation's ethical practices can best be judged by the foreigner; its code, by its own statements. We are fortunate in possessing extended addresses, recorded in the native dialect, of the kind that the Luiseño were wont to deliver to their boys and girls. The occasion was ritualistic, but it marked also the entry of the young people into manhood and womanhood, and much of what is enjoined is purely ethical with reference to daily life. The avengers are supernatural and determined by the prevailing cult, the punishment is concretely physical. One must respect his elders, listen to them, give them food freely, not eat meals secretly, refrain from anger, be cordial and polite to one's relatives-in-law. Then one will be stout, warm, and long haired, will grow old in good health and have children to whom to pass on counsel, be talked of when death comes, and have one's spirit go to the sky to live. The disobedient and heedless will be bitten by the rattlesnake or spider, they will vomit blood, swell up, go lame, fall into wasting cough; their eyes will granulate, their children be sickly. Fortune or misfortune hangs over every act. Virtue is far from being its own reward—it is the only path that leads to prosperity. Back of all hovers the unnamed figure of Chungichnish, whose messengers and instruments execute many of the punishments. But the afflictions are stated as inevitable facts: there is no allusion to the deity's will or pleasure, nor any outright reference to his anger. He is very far from being as personal as Yahweh; yet there is no concept of any law, nothing that we should call a principle, only an inexorable causality manifest in innumerable specific but endlessly varying instances. One does not reason about this sequence nor stop to bow before an omnipotent personality behind it. One merely adjusts himself to events as to the stress of nature, and takes measures for a wise arrangement of life instead of a series of troubles, in the same spirit as one might provide against storm and starvation. The Luiseño made efforts, indeed, to wrestle with the mysteries of the spiritual, but he attempted them through myth and religion; in his morality and aspect of life he is without exaltation, fatalistic, and a resigned materialist like most American Indians.

On the purely ethical side, one trait stands out which is also a general American rather than a tribal characteristic. There is no provision against theft, assault, rape, witchcraft, or murder, nor any

mention of them. Such violent extremes are too obvious for condemnation, as incest was to the ancient Aryans. It is only with written codes that such horrid violations of the bases of morality seem to demand attention—not because they become more frequent, but because then silence concerning them would in the nature of things be an avowed condonation. The Indian, beyond taboos and cult observances, centers his attention on the trivial but unremitting factors of personal intercourse; affability, liberality, restraint of anger and jealousy, politeness. He, whom we are wont to regard as dark, reserved, and latent with cruelties and passions, sets up an open, even, unruffled, slow, and pleasant existence as his ideal. He preaches a code of manners rather than morals. He thinks of character, of its expression in the innumerable but little relations of daily life, not of right or wrong in our sense. It is significant that these words do not exist in his language. In California, at least, the Indian speaks only of “good” and “bad”; elsewhere he may add the terms “straight” and “crooked.”

A part of the sermon addressed to boys over the sand painting:

See these, these are alive, this is bear-mountain lion; these are going to catch you if you are not good and do not respect your elder relatives and grown-up people. And if you do not believe, these are going to kill you; but if you do believe, everybody is going to see your goodness and you then will kill bear-mountain lion. And you will gain fame and be praised, and your name will be heard everywhere.

See this, this is the raven, who will shoot you with bow and arrow if you do not put out your winnowing basket. Harken, do not be a dissembler, do not be heedless, do not eat food of overnight (i. e., do not secretly eat food left after the last meal of the day). Also you will not get angry when you eat, nor must you be angry with your elder relations.

The earth hears you, the sky and wood mountain see you. If you will believe this you will grow old. And you will see your sons and daughters, and you will counsel them in this manner, when you reach your old age. And if when hunting you should kill a hare or rabbit or deer, and an old man should ask you for it, you will hand it to him at once. Do not be angry when you give it, and do not throw it to him. And when he goes home he will praise you, and you will kill many, and you will be able to shoot straight with the bow. . . .

When you die your spirit will rise to the sky and people will blow (three times) and will make rise your spirit. And everywhere it will be heard that you have died. And you will drink bitter medicine, and will vomit, and your inside will be clean, and illness will pass you by, and you will grow old, if you heed this speech. This is what the people of long ago used to talk, that they used to counsel their sons and daughters. In this manner you will counsel your sons and daughters. . . .

This is the breaker; this will kill you. Heed this speech and you will grow old. And they will say of you: He grew old because he heeded what he was told. And when you die you will be spoken of as those of the sky, like the stars. Those it is said were people, who went to the sky and escaped death. And like those will rise your soul (*towish*). . . .

The counsel to girls is similar:

See, these are alive; these will think well of you if you believe; and if you do not believe, they are going to kill you; if you are heedless, a dissembler, or stingy. You must not look sideways, must not receive a person in your house with anger; it is not proper. You will drink hot water when you menstruate, and when you are pregnant you will drink bitter medicine.

This will cause you to have your child quickly, as your inside will be clean. And you will roast yourself at the fire (after childbirth), and then your son or daughter will grow up quickly, and sickness will not approach you. But if you are heedless you will not bear your child quickly, and people will speak of your heedlessness.

Your elder relatives you must think well of; you will also welcome your daughters-in-law and your brothers-in-law when they arrive at your house. Pay heed to this speech, and at some future time you will go to their house, and they are going to welcome you politely at their house. Do not rob food of overnight; if you have a child it will make him costive; it is also going to make your stomach swell; your eyes are also going to granulate. Pay attention to this speech; do not eat venison or jack rabbit, or your eyes will granulate, and people will know by your eyes what you have done. And as your son or daughter will grow up, you will bathe in water, and your hair will grow long, and you will not feel cold, and you will be fat, if you bathe in water. And after the adolescence rite you will not scratch yourself with your hands; you will scratch yourself with a stick; your body will have pimples if you scratch yourself with your hands. Do not neglect to paint yourself, and people will see, and you will grow old, if you pay attention to this speech, and you will see your sons and daughters.

See these old men and women; these are those who paid attention to this counsel, which is of the grown-up people, and they have already reached old age. Do not forget this that I am telling you; pay heed to this speech, and when you are old like these old people, you will counsel your sons and daughters in like manner, and you will die old. And your spirit will rise northwards to the sky, like the stars, moon, and sun. Perhaps they will speak of you and will blow (three times) and (thereby) cause to rise your spirit and soul to the sky.

Sermons somewhat like those of the Luiseño were probably preached in other parts of California; but they have not been preserved. The harangues of the Wintun chiefs are somewhat similar, but vaguer in tenor, fuller of repetitions, and thoroughly tedious to us for their unceasing injunctions to do what the occasion of itself demands to be done. The Luiseño did not revel quite so untiringly in the obvious when they talked to the young people for their good.

SOCIETY.

Luiseño society presents a somewhat confused picture. Some of its subdivisions exercise religious functions; their relations to the soil have been disturbed by the invasion of Spaniard and American; and wasting of numbers has caused an irregular consolidation of groups.

The totemic moieties of the Serrano and of central California are lacking, except possibly on the northern border about Saboba. There

are patrilinear family groups, and unions of these into ceremonial groups. Both bear nontotemic names, which are totally different in each locality.

The patrilinear family groups or "clans" are known as *tunglam*, "names," or *kamalum*, "sons, children," in distinction from the *kecham* ("houses"?), the larger territorial or national groups. People married into neither the father's nor the mother's "clan." This suggests that these clans consisted of actual kinsmen. Their number confirms this interpretation; some 80 are known, with part of Luiseño territory unaccounted for. On this basis the average "clan" would comprise only 25 or 30 souls, a number well within the limits of traceable blood. The total distinctness of the "clan" names in each district also argues for their being families of local origin.

The clan names are now borne by the Indians as if they were Spanish family names. They have a varied character. Many are verbal, some descriptive, some denote animals or objects, or occasionally places.

Thus, at Rincon, there are the *Omish*, "bloody," *Kalak*, "quickly," *Michah*, "rammed, stuffed," *Ngesikat*, "scrapers, grazers," *Shovenish*, "disagreeable," *Chevish*, "pulling apart," and *Kewewish*, "fox"; at Pauma the *Mahlanga*, "palm place," *Kengish*, "ground squirrel," *Shokchum*, "scratchers," *Chat*, "white owl," *Ayal*, "know(?)," and *Pauval*. It may be that some of these appellations are of nickname quality.

The religious groups or "parties" are known to the Luiseño as *not* or *nota* (plural *nonotum*), which is also the word for "chief." They are described as consisting of a chief, his "clan," members of other clans that are chief-less or greatly reduced, and individuals who have quarreled and broken with their proper "party." Their number is therefore less, their size greater, than that of the "clans." This may also have been true in ancient times. All ceremonies are in the hands of these "parties," each of which, however, generally performs the same rites as all the others. They might therefore be described as a series of parallel religious societies, resting on a clan basis, or more exactly, on consanguinity or personal affiliation with a chief who is at once head of a group of coresident kinsmen and a responsible undertaker of rituals. There is, however, no inherent relation between the social bodies and the ceremonies—nothing in any public rite that is peculiar to a social group. The families and parties built around them have merely been utilized as a means of executing ceremonies.

The present Rincon and former Kuka organizations are:

Anoyum, "coyotes," so called on account of reputed greediness at gatherings; proper name, *Kengichum*, "ground squirrels." *Omish* clan or family; also *Torik* and *Suvish* families, which formerly acted independently but now have no chiefs.

Ivangawish, "sitting apart," also a nickname; originally called *Nahyam*, from the ancestor of the *Kalak* family, *Nahnahkwis*—*nahat* means walking stick or cane.

Ehvayum or *Temekwiyum*, "Temeculas"—*Ehva* and *Temeku*' both denoting that place. *Ngesikat* family.

Sengyum, "gravels," or *Sereyum*. *Shorenish* family, said to have come from a gravelly place.

Naryam, "prickly pears," or *Siwakum*. *Siwak* family. Now extinct.

The *Michah*, *Chevish*, and *Keowewish* families adhere to the foregoing ceremonial groups.

At Pauma the three parties are the *Mahlangum*, *Sokchum*, and *Pauvalum*, all named after families. Pichanga, which is said once to have had 17 families, has two religious organizations, the *Seyingoish* and the *Kiungahoish*, the latter founded in 1915 and given the name of an extinct Temecula party.

Occasionally rites are said to be the property of particular organizations. Thus at Rincon, the *morahash* dance belongs to the *Anoyum*, the *tanish* to the *Ivangawish*. This condition seems to be a result of the dwindling of ceremonies, or their becoming identified, for a period and within a locality, with individuals of particular interest or ability. A division of function is clearly not the essential purpose of the "parties." The *morahash* is danced by the *Luiसेño* of all districts, as well as by their neighbors, so that it can not be regarded as the specific rite characteristic of one local society. So far as such association exists, it must be due to a temporary or recent loss of this or that ceremony by other societies.

But the basic parallelism of the "parties" did not prevent certain songs, localized migration traditions, landmarks, and perhaps territorial claims, from being the property of particular families or societies. Such possessions seem eminently characteristic of "clans" or organizations centered on lines of descent. The public rituals were essentially communal or national, however completely their performances may have been entrusted to family societies.

It is clear that the chief was the fulcrum of *Luiसेño* society. The religious group was called "a chief," the social group was "the children." A chief ordered ceremonies, his assistant, the *paha'*, executed them. A chief-less family was nothing but a body of individuals, dependent for religious activity on personal affiliation with other groups: a family with a chief was *ipso facto* a religious society. It is conceivable that many of the surnames which the *Luiसेño* now possess are the personal names of chiefs in authority when this European habit was adopted. The one thing that is wholly obscure is the relation of the chief to the territorial or political group. There can scarcely have been several family chiefs of equal standing at the head of such a group, and the families were so small that they

could not have been the sole political units. Possibly there were always chief-less families, and in a large community the chief of a certain family may have been accorded primacy over his colleagues. The hereditary principle was strong. In default of male heirs, a woman sometimes succeeded, and a widow might exercise a sort of regency for her son. Nothing is on record concerning the chief's riches. This omission is in itself significant. It is not unlikely that the chief was kept in position to entertain and lead by contributions from his "children." If so, his office brought him wealth. It is clear that it was not his property that made him chief.

There was a definite installation of a new chief, a night rite called *unanisha noti*, held in the *wamkish*, with singing, dancing, eating, and no doubt long speeches.

Gifts or payments were expected by a bride's family, but a reputation for industry or ability in the hunt weighed for as much as the wealth formally tendered as basis to marriage. The usual Californian semicouvade was in force: fasting from meat and quiescence were enjoined on both parents for 20 to 40 days, on pain of the child's physical welfare. The umbilical cord was buried. Women withdrew each month from the house and slept and ate apart for a few days. Parent-in-law taboos seem unknown. Hunters ate no game of their own killing, on pain of losing their luck. A violation could be amended by public confession.

CHAPTER 48.

THE CUPEÑO AND CAHUILLA.

THE CUPEÑO: Tribal relations, 689; social organization, 690; religion, 691. **THE CAHUILLA:** History and habitat, 692; plant foods, 694; mortar and metate, 696; basketry, 698; pottery, 702; houses, 703; weapons, 704; various utensils, 704; society, 705; religion, 707.

THE CUPEÑO.

TRIBAL RELATIONS.

The Cupeño are one of the smallest distinct groups in California. They state that they possessed only two permanent villages: Kupa—whence their Spanish name—near the famous hot springs of Warner's ranch, usually called merely Agua Caliente, a designation that has also been applied to the tribe; and Wilakal, in Luiseño Wolak, at San Ysidro. The Diegueño call the two sites Hakupin and Ephi. The entire territory controlled by the inhabitants of these two settlements is a mountainous district on the headwaters of the San Luis Rey, not over 10 miles by 5 in extent—a sort of Doris in an Indian Greece.

The Cupeño appear to have no name for themselves, other than Kupa-ngakitom, "Kupa-people," and perhaps Wilaka-ngakitom. Their language they call Panahil. The Diegueño call them Hekwach, which is a generic Yuman designation for the Cahuilla. The Cupeño name the Serrano Tamankamyam, the Cahuilla Tamikochem, the Diegueño Kichamkochem, the Luiseño Kawikochem, perhaps all of them terms based on the cardinal directions.

The hot springs seem to have drawn the residence of various Indians for two or three generations, and some years ago the Cupeño were removed, with several other settlements, to Pala. Indian censuses, being more frequently based on location than on exact tribal discrimination, have therefore either ignored the Cupeño or exaggerated their strength. In 1910 there were not far from 200. Anciently, 500 must be set as their maximum.

It is above all their speech that warrants a separate recognition of the Cupeño. This is of the Luiseño-Cahuilla branch of Shoshonean, but more than a mere dialect of either of these tongues. Luiseño and Cahuilla have many words in common which in Cupeño are quite

different. When Cupeño agrees with one and differs from the other, the resemblance is more frequently with Cahuilla. In accord with this fact is the Diegueño name of the tribe, which classes it with the Cahuilla. So small a body of people as the Cupeño could not, however, have developed so distinctive an idiom while in their recent intimate juxtaposition to two larger groups of the same origin. A former period of isolation, or of special contact with aliens, is indicated. We must infer, accordingly, that the Cupeño detached themselves from the still somewhat undifferentiated Luiseño-Cahuilla group at some former time, moved to their present abode, and later were overtaken by their more numerous kinsmen; or, that they represent a southerly advance guard which was crowded back into intimacy with its congeners by an expansion of the Diegueño. In either event, relations with the Diegueño appear to have been an important factor in Cupeño tribal history.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Cupeño scheme of society is less disintegrated than the Luiseño, but appears also to have been modified in the past century. Its present form is this:

Moieties.	Clans.	Ceremonial groups.
1. <i>Istam</i> ("Coyotes").....	1. <i>Nauwilot</i> ("body louse").....	"Party" 1.
	2. <i>Changalangalish</i>	
	3. <i>Kauval</i>	"Party" 2.
	4. <i>Po-tama-toligish</i> ("his tooth black")..	
2. <i>Tuktum</i> ("Wild cats")..	5. <i>Aulingawish, Auliat</i> ("blood —")...	"Party" 3.
	6. <i>Sivimoat</i>	
	7. <i>Djutnika</i>	

The totem of the moiety is called *wala*, "great-great-grandparent," but there is no belief in descent from the totem animal. A sort of good-natured opposition is recognized between the moieties, whose members frequently taunt each other with being unsteady and slow witted, respectively. Mourning ceremonies are made by moieties, but the complementary moiety always participates. Throughout California the contact of the moiety scheme with religion was largely on the side of mourning rites. There is an association here which is undoubtedly of historical significance.

The nature of the "clans" is less clear. As there were several, and the Cupeño had only two villages, they can scarcely have been local bodies. Their appellations also do not seem to be based on place

names. They are used as outright family names by the modern Indians; but this can hardly be old practice. The functions of the clans are said to have been chiefly religious. In recent years, as some of them dwindled in numbers, their members ceased their own ceremonies and affiliated themselves with other clans, most of the Cupeño say: in this way the "parties" became established. Others regard the "clans" as only synonymous designations of the religious "party" units. At any rate, the Cupeño designate both clan and party by the latter term in speaking English, and call them both *nout* in their own language. This word also means chief, and is found, as *nota* and *net*, among the Luiseño and Cahuilla. Each clan had its chief, it is said, and there were neither village nor moiety chiefs. At present there is a chief for each "party," besides a tribal political head chosen at the instigation of the whites. Each *nout* had a *paha* or ceremonial director, as among the Luiseño and Ser-rano; also a *kutvorosh*, who seems to have served as his speaker, messenger, fire tender, and assistant.

RELIGION.

The Cupeño call the toloache initiation *manit paninil*, "Jimson weed drinking." The director of this holds his post through inheritance, it is said, and is also known as *nout*. The *morahash* whirling dance was called *pukavihat*. The girls' adolescence rite, *aulinil* or *ülunika*, included the usual "roasting," and a ring dance in which the people were grouped by moieties. This ceremony is described as made by the girl's clan, but the statement may refer rather to her patrilinear kinsmen, who would generally constitute at least a considerable portion of a clan. *Piniwahat* is the singing of maledictions against "clan" enemies.

The mourning ceremonies are the *pisatuil*, *süshomnil*, and *nangawil*, apparently corresponding to the Luiseño *tuvisk*, *chuchamish*, and *tauchanish*. The moieties constantly function in these. Each rite is made by the moiety to which the dead person belonged, and the other is invited. In all of them the guests sing during the early part of the night, the rite makers after midnight. In both the *süshomnil* and *nangawil* property is thrown away as well as burned, and this is seized and kept by members of the opposite moiety. The materials for the figures in the *nangawil* are prepared by the mourning moiety, and then assembled—for pay—by the invited one. This ceremony is said to last three days. The eagle killing ceremony is also in the hands of one moiety at a time, with the other present as guests. This organization by moieties must give the Cupeño mourning ceremonies a different color from those of the nonmoiety Luiseño, which in other respects they appear to resemble closely.

Cupeño mythology is closest to that of the Cahuilla, it would seem, and even perhaps more closely related to that of the Serrano than to that of the adjacent Luiseño. Tumayowit ("earth") and Mukat were the first deities and the creators or progenitors of everything in it. They led mankind southward to their approximate present seats. Either identified or associated with these two gods were Coyote and Wild Cat, who emerged from the halves of a primeval bag hanging in space. Mankind was already in existence, but in mud and darkness. Tumayowit and Mukat disagreed. The former wished death to be and finally descended to a lower world. Mukat caused people to quarrel, and was finally poisoned, by the wish of men, through Frog eating his voidings. Coyote was sent away on a pretext, but returned and seized Mukat's heart from the funeral pyre. The Cupeño were exterminated by their neighbors, only one baby boy, Hübüyak, escaping with his Diegueño mother. As he grew up, he rejoined his kinsmen of Coyote moiety and Kauval clan who had remained at Saboba (in historic Luiseño territory), returned to Kupa, slaughtered the destroyers of his people, and settled there with two Luiseño wives, to become the progenitor of the Cupeño of today. The Wild Cat moiety came to Kupa later.

Mukat is obviously the equivalent of Wiyot, but Tumayowit, the earth mother, appears here, as among the Cahuilla, as a man, if there is no error. This part of the myth suggests the Diegueño and Yuman belief in two first hostile brother gods.

THE CAHUILLA.

HISTORY AND HABITAT.

The Cahuilla, with 750 souls, are to-day one of the important tribes of California. Originally they may have numbered 2,500. They are Catholic and speak Spanish; but, although generally included among the Mission Indians, they were only to a slight extent brought under mission control in the first third of the nineteenth century. The western division may have been partially affiliated with the submission at San Bernardino, and those from the vicinity of Cahuilla Valley, or some of them, appear to have been within the sphere of San Luis Rey or its station at Pala. After secularization, many of the Cahuilla entered into relations with the Spaniards on the grants in the fertile portion of southern California, either as seasonal visitors or more permanent peons. This brought them in some numbers into Serrano and Gabrielino territory and has led to the attribution of part of the habitat of the former people to the Cahuilla by some authorities. Of late years this westward movement from the desert and mountains has slackened. The Government has developed water

and protected Indian rights, and the Cahuilla live regularly in their old homes—an instance of the enduring attachment of the California nations to their ancestral soil. There are fewer reservations than there once were villages; but they are rather fairly distributed through the same regions.

The name Cahuilla is in universal use, but its origin is obscure. Reid, our principal authority on the Gabrielino, says that the word means "masters"; but this has not been confirmed. Indians of all tribes regard the designation as of Spanish origin. The Yuman group about Ensenada Bay in Baja California, who are practically one people with the Diegueño, have sometimes been called Cahuillas; but whatever basis of local or official usage this appellation may have, it is unfortunate, since speech proves the Bajeños to have no connection at all with the American Cahuilla. There is also a Yokuts Kawia tribe, on Kaweah River, whose name, however, seems to be a coincidence. The Yokuts say Kā'wia or Gā'wia, while Cahuilla is of course Kawi'a. This is its universal pronunciation. The spellings Coahuilla and Coahuila, although the more frequent and established in government usage, are therefore erroneous; they would be pronounced Kwawia or Kwawila. The latter seems a mere confusion with the name of the Mexican State of Coahuila.

The Cahuilla are called Yuhikt-om or Kwimkuch-um ("easterners") by the Luiseño, Tamikoch-em by the Cupeño, Kitanemun-um by the Serrano proper, Kwitanem-um by the Chemehuevi, Hakwicha by the Mohave, and a dialectic equivalent of Hakwicha by the other Yuman groups that know them.

Cahuilla territory is somewhat irregular, but may be defined as the inland basin between the San Bernardino Range and the range extending southward from Mount San Jacinto; with a few spillings over into the headwaters of coast drainage. There are three natural topographical divisions.

The first comprises San Gorgonio Pass, lying nestled between the giant peaks of Mounts San Bernardino, San Gorgonio, and San Jacinto, all over 10,000 feet high. With this belongs Palms Springs Canyon, and the westward draining San Timoteo Canyon.¹ The elevation of the inhabited sites is between 1,500 and 2,500 feet. Serrano and Luiseño adjoin. The natives of this district, who are here

¹ This is in error. San Gorgonio Pass and San Timoteo Canyon were in Serrano possession, as set forth in the footnote appended to the section on the Serrano. Palm Springs Canyon thus remains as the focus of this Cahuilla group, and their boundary should be run northward or northeastward from Mount San Jacinto instead of forming the westward arm shown in Plates 1 and 57. The hill near White Water probably marked their limit against the Serrano and not against the Desert Cahuilla. The Serrano do not reckon the Palm Springs division as Cahuillas. They are said to call them Wanupiapayum and Tūpamukiyam; which, however, appear also as names of Serrano local groups.

designated as the Western or Pass Cahuilla, speak a somewhat different though intelligible dialect to the remainder of the group. Their range extended to Kawishmu, a hill a little east of Whitewater.

Southeastward is the Colorado Desert, partly below sea level, and forming an old arm of the Gulf of California. The southern end of this totally arid valley, occasionally watered by overflows from the great Colorado into New River—which looks on the map like an affluent but is really a spillway flowing in opposite direction from the main stream—was in the possession of the Kamia or other Yuman groups. The northern end, down to about Salton Sea, was Cahuilla. Most of this district is exceedingly fertile under irrigation, and has been partly reclaimed. In native times it appeared most forbiddingly desert. But its tremendous depression brought the ground waters near the surface, so that in many localities mesquite trees thrive and the Cahuilla obtained water in comparatively shallow wells. The people here are the Kitanemun-um of the Serano, our Desert Cahuilla.

The third division lived in the mountains south of San Jacinto Peak, chiefly in fairly watered canyons well up the less favored side of the range, overlooking the inland desert, as at Santa Rosa, Los Coyotes, and San Ygnacio. At one point these people were across the divide, in Pacific Ocean drainage. This is the district centering in the patch now known as "Coahuila Reservation"—though it harbors only a small minority of the entire group—on the head of the Santa Margarita. The elevation of these habitats is from 3,000 to 4,000 feet. The speech is said to be distinguishable from that of the desert; but the difference is insignificant, and the desert and mountain divisions might be grouped together.

Plate 57 shows a few important sites in part of the habitat of the Cahuilla. Other place names are: Kavinish, Indian Wells; Pal tewat, Indio; Pal seta, Cabezón; Temalwahish, La Mesa; Sokut Menyil, Martinez; Lawilvan or Sivel, Alamo; Tova, Agua Dulce; Wewutnowhu, Santa Rosa. San Ygnacio is both Pachawal and Sapela. Most of these seem to be old names of specific villages, but now refer to tracts or reservations. Other sites are mentioned in the list of clans under "Society" below.

PLANT FOODS.

The principal supplies of food drawn from plants by the Cahuilla are rather accurately known, and while somewhat more varied than usual owing to the range of the group from low desert to high and fairly watered mountains, may be considered typical of the Indians of the southern part of the State.

Oaks, of course, require reasonable precipitation and moderate elevation, so that they are available in quantities to only a part of the Cahuilla; but the

acorns were utilized wherever obtainable and treated as by the other Californians. *Quercus lobata* was the species that the Cahuilla had most frequently accessible to them.

In the sunken desert, where the roots of the mesquite can in many places penetrate to ground water, the fruit of this tree was the staple food. Both the bean or honey and the screw mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora* and *pubescens*) were employed, the whole fruits being ground in wooden mortars. The former variety was the more important; the latter is sweeter.

Agaves and yuccas were less vital to the Cahuilla than to the mountain tribes of western Arizona and probably the Chemehuevi and Koso, but were made use of in the same way. The thick, short, succulent, sweet stalks were roasted in stone-lined and covered pits. The waxy flowers as well as the fruits of some species were eaten cooked.

Nearly every variety of cactus was made use of. Most generally the fruit was consumed, but the fleshy stalks or leaves of some species helped out when diet became scant, and sometimes buds or seeds are edible.

The native palm bears clusters of a small fruit which was not neglected.

Nearly every conifer, from pine to juniper, had its seeds eaten. The most important variety is the Nevada nut pine, *Pinus monophylla*, seeds of which were harvested by the Cahuilla in the same manner as by the Koso, the cones being roasted to extract the nuts.

Many plants furnished what is usually known by its Mexican name pinole—the Aztec original *pinolli* is significant of the wide distribution of the food habit—that is, seed flour. The most important kind was chia, *Salvia columbariae*, Cahuilla *pasal*. Other sages and a variety of plants were also made use of: *Atriplex lentiformis*, *Artemisia tridentata*, *Sisymbrium canescens*, *Lasthenia glabrata*, *Chenopodium fremontii*. These were all gathered with the seed beater (Fig. 57), parched or roasted with coals shaken in a basket or pottery tray, and ground. The meal was eaten dry, boiled, or baked into heavy doughy cakes, according to species.

California is nowhere a berry country. The Cahuilla have available several varieties which are rather of the nature of small fruits. In some of these the seeds are perhaps of more food value than the flesh. Thus, in the wild plum, *Prunus*, Cahuilla *chamish*, Mexican *yslay*, the kernel of the pit is crushed, leached, and boiled like acorn flour. Manzanita, *Arctostaphylos*, is treated similarly. The berries of the elder, *Sambucus mexicana*, and of sumac, *Rhus trilobata*, are also dried. The influence of acorn-seed processes in the use of these food materials is evident. The arid to subarid climate of California produces fruits whose paucity of juicy pulp allows them to be made into meal; but a people unaccustomed to grinding would hardly have applied the process to varieties consumable otherwise.

Root parts of plants are of little service to the Cahuilla, whose dry habitat allows but a sparse growth of the lily-like bulb plants that are important farther north in the State. Flowers, on the other hand, are often thick and sappy.

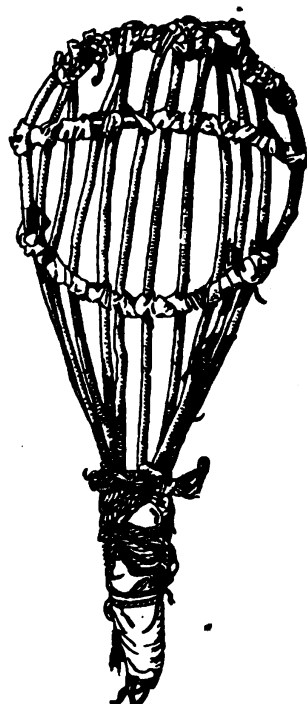


FIG. 57. — Cahuilla seed beater.

Those of species of yucca, agave, sumac, and ocatilla (*Fouquieria spinosa*) if boiled, either fresh or after drying.

Altogether, more than 60 varieties of plants are known to have served the Cahuilla as food in one form or another, and the whole number may have been twice as great. It is obvious that a non-farming people living in a country of little game and limited fertility would be likely to leave no source of wild plant food idle which lay within their capacity to utilize. The value of ethnobotanical studies lies in a comprehension of the processes followed, and a determination of the manner in which these have positively and negatively affected methods of securing food. It is clear that a few well-developed processes were applied to the limits of applicability, rather than that the best possible method was independently devised for each product of nature. Thus grinding and drying stand out among the Cahuilla; the seed beater is more important than the digging stick. The true significance of the processes, of course, is clear only with the totality of the botanical environment in view. For this reason the plants and parts not utilized are as important to an interpretative understanding as those made use of; but on this side little information has been recorded.

MORTAR AND METATE.

The Cahuilla do not neatly square their metates, as the Mohave do, but use an irregularly rectangular or oval slab. Most specimens have only part of their surfaces worn, obviously by a circular motion. The rub stone sometimes is only a boulder ground flat. Another form is dressed into an oval, and rather thin. This type could also be used for rotary grinding. In general, the implement is of the California type, as described in the chapters on the Maidu and Luiseño, and is more properly designated "grinding slab" than "metate."

But there are many "manos" that are as evenly squared as a brick, and even longer and narrower. These can be utilized only with a back and forth motion. Some metates, too, show that they have been rubbed with such a stone. Now the Cahuilla of to-day often grind wheat; and it is therefore a question whether this southwestern type of metate was frequent among them anciently, or whether its use has been stimulated by contact with Mexicans. The settlers from Mexico must have brought many metates of lava with them, or manufactured them after their arrival. Apparently the utensil was in daily service in every poorer Spanish Californian household for several generations; and from this source it penetrated, in its standard Mexican form with three legs, to the Indians. Occasional examples are still in use in Indian hands in central as well as southern California. Fragments have even been discovered in the surface layers of the San

Francisco Bay shell mounds and in graves on the Santa Barbara coast.

The southern California mortar is a block of stone hollowed out, when new, some 2 or 3 inches, but gradually wearing deeper. The hopper is by no means always employed. If present, it is always attached with asphalt or gum. Neither of the two central and northern types of mortar is known—the bedrock hole and the slab with loose, superposed hopper.

The pestle, as in central California, is frequently only a long cobble, sometimes slightly dressed at the grinding end or along one side (Fig. 58, *b*).

For mesquite beans and perhaps other foods, the desert Cahuilla use a deep wooden mortar sunk into the ground. This has its counterpart on the Colorado River; but the Cahuilla form appears to average a more extended section of log and deeper hole. A pestle of unusual

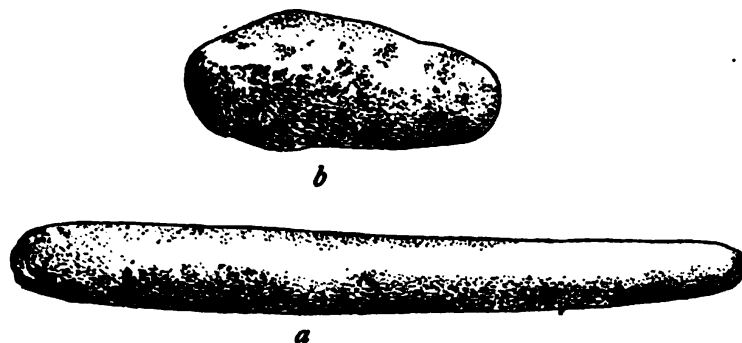


FIG. 58.—Cahuilla stone pestles for wooden (*a*) and for stone (*b*) mortar.

length, often 2 feet, is necessitated. To prevent undue weight, this must be made slender; and in turn, dressing is involved (Fig. 58, *a*). The pestle for the wooden mortar is therefore quite different from the much more roughly shaped form used on stone.

It is doubtful if the Cahuilla-Mohave wooden mortar is connected with that of the valley Wintun and Yokuts. One is used for mesquite, the other for acorns. The former has a deep, pointed pit; the other contains a broad bowl-shaped basin, in the center of which is a small shallow excavation in which all the actual pounding is done. The southern mortar of wood is perhaps a device to meet some particular quality of the mesquite bean; that of central California is clearly a substitute for a more general form in stone.

Somewhere in acornless southeastern California, probably from the Chemehuevi to the Eastern Mono, and in parts of Nevada, a very large and deep cone-shaped mortar of stone occurs, worked with a long and sharp but thick pestle of extraordinary weight. This seems to be connected with the wooden mortar of southern California.

The mountain Cahuilla, as well as the Luiseño and Diegueño, have acorns but no mesquite, have not been observed to use wooden mortars; and no pestle of wood has been reported in California except from the Mohave.

BASKETRY.

Cahuilla basketry is that of all the "Mission Indians" of southern California. Chumash ware alone was somewhat different, though clearly of the same type. It is a rather heavy but regular basket coiled on bundles of *Epicampes* grass stems, the wrapping being either sumac splints or *Juncus* rush. The varying shades of the latter produce a mottled effect, which is pleasing to most civilized people, though it is not certain that the natives sought it equally. But they obviously appreciated the lustrous texture of the rush.

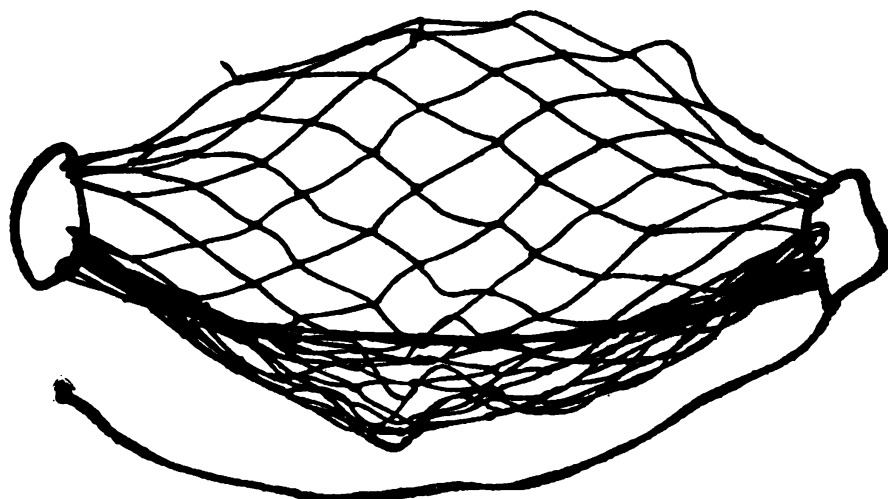


FIG. 59.—Cahuilla carrying net. (Cf. FIG. 53.)

which, as used for the groundwork, is normally buff in color, while red or brown lengths of stem serve for designs, and even olive and distinctly yellow shades can be obtained. Only black was produced by dyeing. The prevailing pattern arrangement is one of encircling bands.

The forms are as standardized and nearly as few as the materials. They are nearly flat plates; shallow flaring bowls; a large deeper basket; a small receptacle with slightly constricted mouth, the equivalent of the Chumash-Yokuts-Chemehuevi "bottle-neck," but without trace of a shoulder; and the woman's cap.

The large basket serves for storage and carriage. It differs fundamentally from the carrying basket of all central and northern California. It is close coiled instead of open twined; is flat bottomed instead of an inverted cone; and broader than deep. It is obviously not a form that originated for transport, but a receptacle or pot put

secondarily to burden use. The explanation is found in the carrying form of the net, which renders the precise shape of the contained basket of little moment.

The net has the form of a small hammock with a mesh of from 3 to 5 inches, the ends being gathered on heavy loops, which are joined by an adjustable rope passing across the cap-protected forehead (Fig. 59). Similar nets are found in central California to as far north as the Pomo without an accompanying alteration of the carrying basket from its conical form. The inference is that the central Californians employed the net only occasionally, the southern Shoshoneans regularly. All that is actually known of the use of the implement corroborates this conclusion. The net must therefore be regarded as of southern origin. It is a localized device: the adjacent Southwest reverts to the basket or employs the carrying frame; the Shoshonean Plateau appears to use the Californian cone basket.

It may be added that the Pomo carrying net has the headband woven in, so that the capacity can not be altered—a fact which indicates that it is designed only for certain specific usages.

The large, coiled, fairly deep storage and transport basket of the south may therefore be regarded as probably an original cooking vessel, and is certainly a form which elsewhere is used for cooking. It is not so used by the Cahuilla to-day, as indeed is not to be expected of a pottery making people. The history of the vessel can hardly be understood in full without more precise knowledge of the baskets in which the inland Gabrielino—who made no pots and were too remote from steatite to use it generally—did their cooking.

The same vessel undoubtedly served formerly, as it does to-day, for a general receptacle; but that it was not primarily a store basket is suggested by two circumstances. The first is that the ancient Chumash possessed a taller, larger, and distinctly bellied basket, similar to that of northwestern California in form, but coiled instead of twined. This was indubitably made for storing only. The second fact is that the Cahuilla (Pl. 60), the Mohave, and apparently the Luisefño also, make an outdoor granary. This is not set vertically and worked into posts, as among the Sierra tribes, but laid flat on the ground, on a rock, or on a scaffold. It is made of long stalks of wormwood, *Artemisia*, among the Cahuilla, or arrow weed, *Pluchea*, with the Mohave, and put together in bundles much on the plan of a bird's nest, without textile process. The Mohave and desert Cahuilla form is up to 6 feet in diameter, generally low, and without bottom. This type is mostly used to hold mesquite. The mountain Cahuilla make a smaller but taller form with bottom for their acorns. The entire device is obviously one that is serviceable only in an arid climate: there is no thatch or provision for cover except horizontally

laid stalks that would not turn rain. This granary, together with the opportunities afforded by rock crevices in a dry country, make a true storage basket unnecessary in most of southern California. The large "mission" basket would be convenient to contain as much food as might be wanted about the house; it was not intended to hold provisions for the winter, nor was it serviceable for the purpose.

The small and more or less globular basket of the Cahuilla and their neighbors was no doubt sometimes useful as a deposit for awls and other little things; it must also have served particularly as a gift and as an offering in the mourning anniversary.

The basketry cap of southern California has the shape of a fairly tall frustum. Except for material and texture, it is identical with the Yokuts and Koso cap. This southern coiled form appears to have only a remote historical connection with the overlay-twined cap of northernmost California, which is low and more or less convex in profile, and whose range, toward the south at least, is exactly coterminous with that of the basket art that does not know coiling. The northern cap is worn habitually; southern women don theirs when they carry a load. The intervening tribes, such as Maidu, Miwok, and Pomo, use no headwear. A third type is represented in California among the Chemehuevi, and appears to be representative of the Shoshonean Plateau. This is diagonally twined, peaked, and sometimes has the design painted on. It seems that this form links the northern and southern California types geographically, rendering the distribution of the object continuous over an arc of territory. This arc and the Pacific Ocean inclose the north central Californian capless area. A distribution of this kind makes it obvious that it is a specific reason, and not mere failure of diffusion, that has kept the central Californians from use of the cap; and establishes some possibility that they once wore it and subsequently abandoned the custom.

The Great Basin type of cap is found among Cahuilla and Diegueño beside the coiled form. Both are shown in Plate 73, *d*.

The mortar hopper of the Cahuilla and other southerners is started on a hoop. Here is a truly interrupted distribution. The north twines its hopper, the south coils, the middle area dispenses with the article.

Uniformity of technique, material, pattern, and even fineness of finish of all coiled ware, irrespective of the nature of the basket, is almost absolute among the Cahuilla and their neighbors, and is one of the most marked traits of their art.

The commonest twined basket of southern California is a small or moderate sized openwork vessel of *Juncus* stems, used both as a receptacle and, after lining with leaves or similar material, for

leaching. The weave is essentially simple twining, with considerable doubling and zigzagging of warp. The introduction of these variants seems random, the only apparent purpose being to keep the interstices approximately equal in area. No attention is paid to uniformity of mesh or to an even surface. The result is a basket that seems deliberately crude and unworkmanlike.

The seed beater has become a frame rather than a basket with the Cahuilla. It is nothing but a bundle of three, six, or a dozen sticks, wrapped together at one end to form a handle, and more or less spread fanwise at the other end over a hoop. A single cross-piece may bisect the circle and give stiffness, but is not always introduced. Modern pieces have the fan and hoop very roughly lashed together with cord, rag strips, or wire. As no old specimens have been preserved, this imperfect workmanship may possibly be ascribable to modern degeneracy. But the analogous crudeness of the openwork basket, as contrasted with the full maintenance of careful finish in all coiled ware to the present time, suggests that the Cahuilla beater was always made hastily and imperfectly. This is the more likely because on the one hand it is scarcely a true basket and on the other reaches its southernmost known range in southern California. The concept has become feeble, its execution half-hearted. (Fig. 57.)

The only other twined vessel known to have been made in the region of "mission" basketry is the pitched or asphalted water jug with constricted neck, and the occurrence of this is doubtful for the Cahuilla. The Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu manufacture a coated jug in diagonal twining and with pointed or round bottom, a type belonging to the Shoshonean Plateau and the western part of the Southwest. The Chumash made a bellied bottle that would stand up, and used simple twining. The Gabrielino, who also had no pottery, may have had the same type; the preserved description of their water vessel unfortunately is not clear. The Chumash and Chemehuevi forms probably met in the Serrano region, although here also exact knowledge fails. For Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño there is only a single and vague reference; and as these peoples made pottery, the occurrence of the basketry water bottle among them must be considered somewhat doubtful, and was probably at most occasional.

The southern California basket art thus reveals these traits. Twining is remarkably undeveloped. Types that are twined elsewhere in the State are either lacking in the south, replaced by coiled substitutes, or amazingly crude. The center of the art rests in coiling to a much higher degree than elsewhere. The coiled ware is connected with that of central California, especially of the San Joaquin Valley, but is reduced to a single well-maintained manner universally ap-

plied. The occurrence of pottery among the Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño has unquestionably contributed to this condition of their basketry. As soon as neighboring regions without pottery are entered, such as the Santa Barbara Channel or Tehachapi Mountain district, the rigid restriction to a single style ceases, and twining flourishes beside coiling.

POTTERY.

The pottery made by the Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño, which did not extend to the Gabrielino but probably to the Serrano, apparently had its immediate origin in the lower Colorado Valley, from which it continues also in the opposite direction to the Seri. It is a coiled and smoothed unslipped ware, made of clay that burns red, with tempering of crushed rock; very thin walled, light, but fragile and porous. Patterns are linear, solid areas being confined chiefly to fillings in of the favorite acute angle; and are painted on in yellow ocher, which fires to a somewhat deeper red than the clay. The Cahuilla and Luiseño more frequently omit designs, but when they add them, do so in typical Mohave style, which is suggestive of tattoo and face-paint patterns; but they employ a red substance in place of yellow ocher. Black designs occur (Pl. 62), and though rare are of interest because unknown to the Mohave. They are said to have been produced with black mineral; the surface is more highly polished and the lines finer. The forms of vessels seem to have been less numerous than with the Mohave; at least, spoons, plates, and oval platters have not been found. The moderns occasionally make specialties, like jars with three or four mouths, which do not occur among the Mohave, where the art remained vigorous in purely native condition until recently; but these may be fanciful inventions under American stimulus. Something similar has occurred among the Yuma, whose old pottery seems to have nearly disappeared before crude and bastard forms made as curiosities.

The introduction of this art from the Colorado River to the desert and the coast is not altogether recent, as the presence of sherds in the upper layers of an ancient site at La Jolla proves. The apparent absence of pottery from the lower deposits can not yet be stressed, because examination has been too far from exhaustive to make negative conclusions dependable. On the other hand, it can not be doubted that the art came to the coast from the east at no very remote period.

That the ultimate source of the pottery industry of the entire region is from the Southwest proper is also certain. But again, hasty conclusions must be avoided. Nothing like the Mohave-Luiseño ware

has been found in any ancient or recent Pueblo culture; an area wholly or nearly without pottery separates the Colorado River from the westerly edge of the district of Pueblo architecture; and from the river to the coast there are no traces of any other form of the art.

The ware most nearly resembling that of southern California seems to be a red pottery with one-colored pattern found up the Gila and at least as far into Sonora as the Papago country. This similarity, together with the modern Seri one, points to Sonora rather than the Pueblos as the specific source of the southern California art.

HOUSES.

The Cahuilla house is thatched. Its original form has not been satisfactorily determined. At present it is rectangular and set on forked posts. There is a distinct ridge and considerable slope to the roof. The walls may be plastered with mud or adobe. This type of dwelling has unquestionably been influenced by the Mexican *jacal* or the American house; but to what degree is uncertain. On the desert larger and more nearly square houses with nearly flat roof and without sharp corners may be seen which somewhat suggest the Mohave house minus its covering of sand. These are probably more nearly aboriginal. The mud coating of the walls of the pitched-roof houses is certainly not native. The Mohave follow the same practice, but it is positively known to be recent with them.

In the mountains a type survived until recently which lacks walls. Two, four, or six posts are set up rather close together and connected across their crotched tops by short logs. From these, poles are then radiated to the ground, and some sort of thatch bound on. Such a dwelling suggests a reduction of the Miwok semisubterranean house or assembly chamber, but is probably more immediately connected with the Luiseño and Mohave houses; a covering of earth could be easily added or omitted. Stumps in abandoned settlements at the edge of the desert conform to this structural plan. But the question remains whether this type of house was built by all the Cahuilla or restricted to those in a certain topography; and further, whether it represents the standard house, or a form used in summer or for temporary purposes.

Uncertainty also surrounds the sweat house. The Serrano and Pass Cahuilla made this chamber. For the Mountain Cahuilla the sweat house has not been mentioned; but they may have had it. For the Desert Cahuilla the case is more doubtful. The next tribes to the east, those of the Colorado River, do not know the sweat house.²

² A recent study of the Cahuilla by L. Hooper (see bibliography) leaves the use of sweat houses and earth-covered houses somewhat obscure, but establishes the existence of sweat houses.

The sweat house of the Pass region is oval and small, about 12 by 8 feet, and of a man's height in the middle (Pl. 60). The only opening is the door on ground level. Inside from this is the fireplace, and beyond, two center posts, connected by a transverse beam. From this poles run down to the edge of the rather shallow excavation. The whole is then laid with brush and earth. The structure is too small for dancing or assemblies: all through southern California the sweat house is used only for sweating.

This sweat house agrees closely in plan with the old type of Cahuilla dwelling that has been discussed.

The ramada or shade is of the usual type: a roof of foliage on posts. In the desert it forms a sort of porch in front of the door, and is frequently surrounded in whole or part by a windbreak—both devices known also to the Mohave.

The brush inclosure for ceremonial purposes has not been reported from the Cahuilla, but may have been made by them.

WEAPONS.

The Cahuilla bow is that of all southern California—long, narrow, thick, and unbacked. It is made of mesquite, inferior specimens of willow, or palm-leaf stem; in the mountains probably of other materials. The arrow is of two kinds: cane with a wooden foreshaft, as among the Chemehuevi and Yokuts, or a single sharpened stem of *Artemisia*, without head, the Mohave type. The grooved straightener and polisher of steatite, which was heated, occurs throughout the south, and has already been mentioned as the regular accompaniment of the cane or reed arrow.

The thrusting war club with thick cylindrical head was used by the Cahuilla. This is a form found from the Pueblos to the Gabrielino.

The curved flat rabbit-killing stick of southwestern type was known to all the southern Californians (Fig. 55).

VARIOUS UTENSILS.

The Cahuilla cradle was a ladderlike frame like that of the Mohave and Diegueño. The relation of this generic southern California type to the other forms found in California has been discussed in the section dealing with the Yokuts. Whether the Cahuilla used a hooplike wickerwork hood of splints such as the Mohave attach to their frames is not recorded, but seems likely. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The hammock-shaped carrying net (Fig. 59) is often suspended in the house to hold a sleeping baby. This may be an aboriginal custom, but there is no certainty on the point.

The desert habitat of most of the Cahuilla is probably responsible for their nonuse of the two commonest Californian string materials, *Apocynum* and *Asclepias*. Instead they employ the leaf fibers of the mescal, *Agave deserti*, and the bark of the reed, *Phragmites communis*. The latter plant is called *wish*, but this word in Luiseño denotes *Apocynum cannabinum*.

The mealing brush of soaproot fibers, *Chlorogalum pomeridianum*, is also replaced by one of agave among the Cahuilla.

The straight flute has four holes usually set roughly in two pairs by rule of thumb or eye, and therefore productive of arbitrary intervals rendering the instrument unsuited for accompaniment to the voice.

For strung shell money the Cahuilla are known to have used the *Olivella* type of thin, curving disks, but the more massive currency of clam must also have reached them.

SOCIETY.

The social organization of the Cahuilla has been less broken and altered in the past century than that of the Luiseño, and may therefore afford a truer picture of the society of the latter people than their own present institutions. At the same time the information about the Cahuilla is not wholly clear. As among the Serrano, the moieties stand out definitely, the "clans" are less certain.

The Cahuilla moieties are patrilinear, totemic, and exogamous. They are called *Istam*, after *isil*, the coyote, and *Tuktum*, after the wild cat, *tukut*; -am, -um, is the plural ending. Endogamy occurs now and then, as among the Miwok; it may or may not have been tolerated in native days.

The "clans" are very numerous, small, and associated with localities or named after places. All clan members insist on their direct kinship and descent in the male line from a comparatively recent ancestor. No recorded clan names and village names agree. Two or more clans might inhabit one village. The members of a single clan sometimes live in different villages, and the Cahuilla do not seem to regard this condition as a modern innovation. All this leaves it doubtful whether the clans are bodies of the kind usually implied by this term, or only families of actual blood kindred named after a spot with which they are or once were associated. Their moiety affiliations prove nothing in this matter, since under patrilinear moieties either patrilinear clans or patrilinear families must automatically form part of the moieties.

The recorded Cahuilla clans are nearly all from the desert division:

Coyote moiety.

Sawala-kiktum. Formerly with the Wild Cat *Nanha-yum* and *Ayelmukut* and Coyote *Ikoni-kiktum* in the village of Ekwawinet at La Mesa, 2 miles south of Coachella. Now at Torros Reservation.

Ikoni-kiktum. See last.

Taukat-im. Southwest of Coachella.

Wora'i-kiktum. At Indio.

Sewakil. South of Indio.

Masurich-um. On Martinez Reservation. The name is said to refer to a sandy place.

Wiit-am, "grasshoppers." On Martinez Reservation.

Mumlait-im. On Martinez Reservation.

Wansau-wum. On Martinez Reservation. Named from *wanyish*, stream, because once flooded out.

Iviat-um. At Agua Dulce.

Sasalma-yum. At Agua Dulce.

Kaunakal-kiktum. At Agua Dulce. This group is said once to have lived at a place where *kaunakal* shrubs grew.

Kauwistamila-kiktum. At Agua Dulce.

A'atsat-um, "good ones." Formerly at Indian Wells.

Wanisticau-yam. At Mecca.

Tevi-nga-kiktum. At Alamo.

Wiyist-am. At San Ysidro.

Havinawich-um. At Palm Springs.

Amna'avich-um, "large ones." Northwest of Palm Springs.

Hunavati-kiktum. Southeast of Banning. Perhaps Serrano.

Wild Cat moiety.

Palkausinakela, "seepage from a spring." Figtree John, west of Salton Sea.

Panatka-kiktum. Now at Thermal; came from west of there.

Tui-kiktum. Southeast of Thermal.

Isil-sivayaurich-um. South of Coachella.

Wanki-nga-kiktum. South of Coachella.

Nanha-yum, Tel-kiktum, and *Ayelmukut.* At La Mesa, south of Coachella.

Panasa-kiktum. Southeast of Coachella.

Wansinga-tamyangahuch-um. Northeast of Coachella.

Walpunidi-kiktum. At Alamo.

Palpunwikt-um. At Alamo.

Tamula-kiktum. Near Alamo.

Tamolanich-im. At Agua Dulce.

A'cal-im, "dogs," a nickname. At Martinez.

Autaat-em. West or southwest of Coachella; now at Martinez.

Waricht-em—icarish, mesquite. At Indian Wells; now at Thermal and Mecca.

Kauwis-paumtyarich-em, "living in the rocks at Kauwis," i. e. at Palm Springs. Now at Mecca.

Kauwis-i-kiktum, "living at Kauwis." Perhaps one group with the last. Now at Palm Springs and Coachella.

Kilyi-nga-kiktum. On Mission Creek. Perhaps Serrano.

Iswet-um, "wolves," a nickname; in Spanish, Lobos, used in the form Lugo, as a modern family name. On Cahuilla Reservation. This is the only mountain Cahuilla clan recorded, and is so prominent on its reservation as to give the impression that *Iswetum* may have been a synonym for all the people of the district. The wolf is not an inhabitant of southern California.

Wakwai-kiktum. Formerly near Warner's ranch, that is, neighbors of the Cupeño. Now at Wakwi or Maulim on Torros Reservation.

The ending *-kiktum* on many of these names is from the stem *ki*, "live" or "house."

The Cahuilla word for "clan" is *tahelo*, which is probably from the stem *tah*, *atah*, "person," occurring in several Shoshonean languages of southern California.

The chief, *net*, and his assistant or ceremonial director, *paha*, held office in the clan, it is said.

The totemism of the moieties extends to ritual and myth. Images for the *nukil* or mourning anniversary are made by each moiety for the other. Temayowit and Mukat, the first gods, born in the Milky Way, are thought to have been companions of Coyote and Wild Cat, respectively. The moon is a woman of Coyote moiety, made by Temayowit, the sun a Wild Cat man who went to the sky.

Their possession of names and affiliation with the moieties render it probable that the enumerated groups of the Cahuilla approached the nature of clans. But the relation of the clans to the local or political units, to the moieties, to blood families, and to chieftainship and religious groups is far from clear for any of the southern California Shoshoneans.

RELIGION.

Considering the importance of the Cahuilla, their strength in survivors, and the interest attaching both on account of their varied environment and their position midway between the Gabrielino and the Mohave ceremonial foci, regrettably little is known of their religion.

Their creation myth seems to have been of Serrano type, but with the deities named as among the Cupeño.

The mourning anniversary was called *Nukil* or *Hemnukuwin*. Images were used.

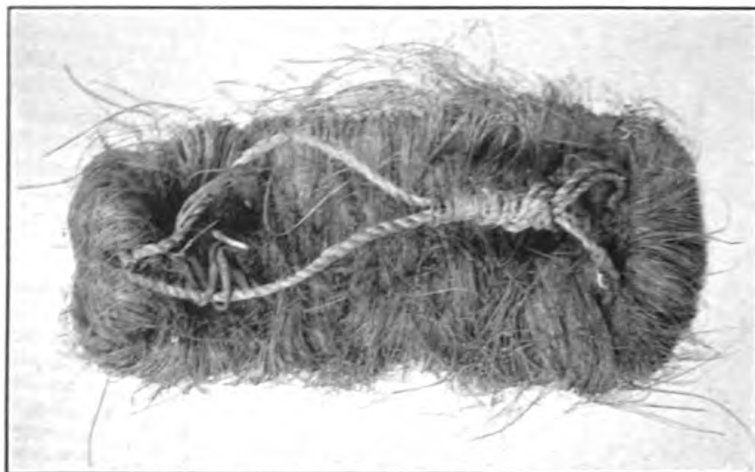
The same may be said of the adolescence rite, *Aulolil* or *Pem-iwobuniwom*, in which the girl was "roasted."

Whether the Chungichnish religion reached the Cahuilla of the pass is not certain. It probably obtained some foothold among those of the mountains. It did not exist in the desert. The Cahuilla there do not know Chungichnish, drink no toloache publicly, make no sand paintings, and hold no eagle ceremony. According to the Mohave, they sing several cycles analogous to their own song series.

There may be some forced native equating in this statement, but there is probably at least some basis of fact. The desert Cahuilla knew the toloache plant and admit that they drank it, but apparently only as occasional individuals intent on wealth or some other special aspect of fortune. This is very nearly the Mohave attitude toward the drug.³

On the whole, therefore, it would seem that the Cahuilla possessed the basic and generalized elements of southern California religion; lacked—at least in their most characteristic habitat—its developed Chungichnish form; and had come instead under a certain degree of Mohave or Colorado River influence. This influence is likely to have been indirect, since there is practically no mention of outright communications between the Cahuilla and the Mohave.

³L. Hooper, *The Cahuilla Indians* (see bibliography), gives, among other new data, an account of a Jimson-weed initiation which appears to refer to the Pass division.



CAHUILLA SANDAL OF YUCCA FIBER



CAHUILLA PAINTED POTTERY JAR