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THE DIEGUEÑOS

THE territory of the Diegueño Indians coincided with what is now San Diego county, with the exception that the northwestern corner of the county was held by the Luiseños and an area in the north-central portion by the Cupeño. Other Shoshoneans, the Cahuilla of the mountains and the desert, the latter group on the other side of the rugged Santa Rosa mountains, were north and northeast of the Diegueños. Eastward on the level floor of Salton sink, now the fertile Imperial valley, were the rancherias of the Yuman Kamia, a little-known group which may have been merely a part of what we call the southern Diegueños. Farther east, on the Colorado, were the Yuma, and below these the Cocopa. South of the Diegueños, in Lower California, were other Yumans still little known.

The entire area of Diegueño occupancy is a network of mountains. Perhaps it were better described as an elevated region breaking into fairly lofty, rounded hills, with numerous small valleys, some gorges and cañons, and occasional rugged peaks from four thousand to more than six thousand feet high. Many of the valleys and rolling hills are dotted with oaks, here and there are groves of pine. Extensive tracts on the mountainsides are tangle of manzanita and chamiso (*Adenostoma*), above which in midsummer the dwarf yucca thrusts its showy white panicles in profusion.

Mission San Diego de Alcalá, the first of the California missions, was founded by Fray Junípero Serra in 1769, and the Indians of the region, having no collective self-name, became known as Diegueños. The term is now used as convenient group-name for the Yuman inhabitants of the county. Quite homogeneous in culture, except for environmental variation, which was not great, the numerous Diegueño settlements differed considerably in language. Two dialects are recognized, a northern and a southern, but even within these divisions there is a good deal of variation, so that vocabularies recorded at two rancherias separated by only few miles may disagree surprisingly. Nevertheless, a northern and a southern Diegueño readily converse, each speaking in his own dialect. Many of the Diegueños describe themselves as Kuwák-ipaí, "South People"; some, even at Santa Ysabel, the most northerly of their reservations, where one would least expect to hear the name, as Kamiyaí (Kamia), which is the Yuma term for the

former desert-dwellers west of Colorado river, as well as for the modern southern Diegueños.

Indians of Yuman stock are not conspicuously friendly to strangers, and it is not surprising that the first efforts to Christianize them made little progress. Indeed, the mission was scarcely a month old when it was subjected to attack. One Spaniard and several natives lost their lives. Five years later the establishment near the bay was abandoned and new buildings were erected six or seven miles up San Diego river. At that time there were nearly a hundred adherents, many of whom doubtless were children; but some sort of control must have been exercised over a considerable number of Indians, for without numerous laborers buildings of the size and number constructed would have been impossible. The character of the influence wielded may be surmised from the fact that in the following year, 1775, the mission was again attacked, this time by very large force, which killed a priest and two others and set fire to the buildings. One cannot doubt that the Indians rebelled at compulsory labor, for they were not addicted to warfare. Indomitable, the Franciscans proceeded to rebuild, and thereafter the number of adherents increased rapidly, until at the close of the century there were about fifteen hundred. Of course not all, nor even a large part, of these lived in the immediate vicinity. A neophyte was a baptized Indian who occasionally attended mass and hoped for earthly blessings. A sad commentary on this period is the fact that from 1810 to 1820 the death rate among the missionized natives was thirty-five per cent. As their adherents (and laborers) increased, the padres extended the boundaries of their temporal domain, until their grain waved in many valley and their herds grazed on many hillside. One of these outlying districts was the valley of Santa Ysabel creek, where they established a visita in 1822. The Franciscans were deprived of their control of mission property in 1834, and before many years the missionized Diegueños had generally returned to their ancestral homes.

Traditional memories of mission days are thus recounted by a clan chief at Santa Ysabel:

When San Diego mission was being built, the Spaniards sent men into the mountains and forced the Indians to carry pine timbers.[1] At

1 The reference is to the year 1774, when a new group of buildings, in-

Santa Ysabel the start was made on Friday morning of each week, six men to a timber, and camp was made at El Cajon,[2] where the women gathered fagots to supply the mission with fuel. They reached the mission Saturday afternoon, and on Sunday morning after mass they received a small portion of food and returned home. Children accompanied these parties. When the chapel was built at Santa Ysabel the Indians were compelled to work in the fields. Several ox-teams plowed side by side, and woman with a burden-basket full of seed followed each plow. At a signal each woman dropped a seed. [They probably were planting corn.] Some of them as they drew the hand from the basket on the back would drop a few seeds into the woolen dress which they wore at this period, and so carried home a handful of grain. Recalcitrant men were trussed up, rolled over on the side, and whipped with bundle of oak brush heated in a fire to toughen it.

At Santa Ysabel some men who had been punished for killing cattle escaped into the desert and persuaded the Cahuilla to raid the mission, run off the cattle, and take the girl neophytes. One of the Diegueños went to San Felipe[3] to warn his relatives there to leave, lest being in the probable line of pursuit they come to harm. Some of these then secretly went to the mission and revealed the plot, and the original informant was seized and threatened with severe punishment, but was promised immunity if he would tell all he knew. So he revealed the plan in detail. When the attacking parties, two in number, approached, they found the Spaniards armed with guns and the Indians with bows, waiting in the plaza, the women and girls being shut up in the houses. They were driven off. The Santa Ysabel men escaped in one direction, but the Cahuilla, taking another route across the mountains, were intercepted by the Mesa Grande Diegueños and many were killed. The chief himself was killed, and the war-dance was celebrated for weeks. This dance, Hârhloí, was participated in by naked women. After the battle some women of San Felipe who had previously lost relatives at the hands of the Cahuilla reviled the dead bodies, even

cluding a wooden church, was constructed.

2 A distance of twenty-five to thirty miles.

3 San Felipe river is a westerly affluent of Salton sink, east of Santa Ysabel. Diegueños occupied this watershed down to the edge of the desert.

squatting on them and inviting them to cohabit with them. The people of Santa Ysabel and Mesa Grande never had fought with the Cahuilla, but those of San Felipe, living closer to the desert, had had infrequent encounters with them.

Unlike their congeners along Colorado river, the Diegueños were not agriculturists. Their small villages, or rancherias in the local vernacular, situated in the upland valleys wherever the surroundings were favorable, were occupied as rule only in the winter. The summer was passed in roaming in search of edible products, for only by considerable diligence was subsistence to be had. This phase of activity culminated in the autumnal harvest of acorns.

Diegueño dwellings were small, elliptical huts of poles thatched with brush, grass, and earth. The earthen floor was slightly below the ground level. There was a smoke-vent at the apex, and the entrance, so low that it was necessary to creep through it, was imperfectly closed at night with a large leaching-basket. The occupants slept on beds of grass and covered themselves on occasion with rabbit-fur blankets. At the present time rectangular houses with double-slope roofs are constructed of posts, poles, and brush thatch.

The sweat-house, or temescal as the Spaniards called it, was a somewhat conical structure of poles, brush, grass, and earth, with an excavated floor and a low, narrow, open doorway. The size varied from fifteen to twenty feet. The fire was built just inside the entrance, and there, in order to deflect the heat inward, the height of the earthen wall was increased by constructing a baffle of stones and earth about two feet high and twice as long. As many as twenty-five to thirty men sat on small stones against the wall, and after about half an hour of sweating they bathed in the stream. This was done every evening, if possible.

Diegueño men wore no clothing whatever except a rabbit-fur robe about the shoulders in cold weather and agave-fibre sandals when travelling among thorns. Women had small aprons of agave-fibre or willow-bark, one before and another behind. When the mountaineers first visited their friends at the mission, the padres would give them bits of cloth to make loin-cloths, and eventually the women were taught to weave long woolen dresses. The hair of both sexes hung loose. Many women had horizontal bands tattooed on the chest and three perpendicular lines on the chin. Gypsum and iron oxide obtained

from mineral springs were used in painting body and face.

Rabbits, hares, and other rodents such as woodrats, gophers, and ground-squirrels were the most dependable form of flesh food. Deer were taken in fair numbers with bow and arrow, and antelope and mountain-sheep were less frequently brought down. Bears, mountain-lions, and wildcats were regarded as good food, but were rarely hunted. Quails were easily killed with arrows or caught in snares, and a species of large lizard was highly prized.

Acorn mush and sage-seed mush were the vegetal staples of the Diegueños, and they are still consumed in quantities.

Acorns are first spread out to dry in a sunny place, and then one by one are cracked and laid back in the sun, which soon causes the shells to split wide open. Then the pile is beaten with a stick to remove the shells. The nuts are pounded into meal in a stone mortar, the meal is placed in leaching-basket, and water is poured through it repeatedly to remove the tannic acid. The meal is then boiled in an earthen pot into a thin mush, or gruel. A ruder method of leaching was sometimes practised. On a bed of grass was spread a layer of sand slightly depressed in the centre, and in this shallow dish the meal was placed. Properly leached, the upper part of the meal was then transferred to the cooking-pot, and the remainder, with sand adhering to it, was thrown into a dish of water, where the sand settled to the bottom and the meal, remaining near the surface, was skimmed off.

Kotúch, widely known under its Mexican name pinole (Aztec *pinolli*), is the fine flour made of the seeds of several species of sage, especially *pihltaí*, white sage, and *ephíhl* (*Salvia columbariæ*), commonly known as chia, its Mexican name. The gruel made of pinole is usually called atole, another Mexican Indian word.

The roots of tules and cattails, various bulbs, young cattail sprouts, scapes and leaf-bases of the dwarf yucca, mescal (that is, the leaf-base of agave), pine-nuts, manzanita-berries, elderberries, chokecherries, and mesquite-beans purchased from the desert folk were of greater or lesser importance. Salt was obtained from the inhabitants of Salton sink. Those near the coast had fish, shell-fish, and seaweed.

Tobacco was gathered in the mountains by organized parties under the direction of a shaman. On their return all the participants in such an expedition held a "war-dance," after which the tobacco was distributed among them. Only persons of importance used tobacco, and the

shamans fostered the belief that it was sacred.

The principal occupation of Diegueño women was the manufacture of pottery and basketry. Both arts are still practised, though they cannot be said to flourish.

The potter pulverizes clay and rock in a mortar, sifts the material through a basket, and mixes it with water. The bottom of the vessel she forms by beating out a lump of the material, and the sides by coiling a rope of it, smoothing the surfaces by means of the usual rounded stone rubbed on the inside and a wooden paddle on the outside. Usually, but not always, the vessel is painted with oxidized-iron scum from mineral springs before being placed on a bed of white-oak bark in a pit, covered with more bark, and then fired.

The cooking-pot, *askaí,* the dish, *kahét,* the water-jar, *kulkúl,* and the tobacco-pipe, *umuqín*, differ not at all from the Cahuilla pottery forms already described. The Diegueños have also a double-mouth water-jar called *chakál,* and a ladle, *ahyúhl.* The jar *kulkúl* was formerly employed also as a receptacle for the ashes of the dead.

The twining process appears in *enpún,* a tray-shape leaching-basket, and in *esqíl,* an obsolete carrying-basket provided with a bail and formerly used in gathering acorns, which were poured into the net-bag *huhlmí.* The cradle-basket was simply a lattice-work of withes, and the outdoor granary a large receptacle of interlaced willow or greasewood or other convenient brush.

With the exceptions noted above, all Diegueño baskets consist of horizontal coils of the grass *Epicampes rigens (qaiyúhl),* closely wrapped and sewed together with *Rhus trilobata (pihlchá) and Juncus (kwanaí)*. The sumac shoots are allowed to dry, so that the bark peels off, leaving white withes, which are split into two or three strands. The lower portion of the underground stock of the rush *Juncus* furnishes the material for red-brown patterns, and the upper portion is dyed black by boiling, adding to the cooled liquid black mud and crushed mistletoe, and allowing the rushes to stand thus for a month, after which they are suspended in the smoke of oak-bark.

Diegueño coiled baskets, resembling in every respect those of the Cahuilla, which have been described, include the burden-basket,*hasích,* used principally for harvesting seeds and carried on the back in a net; the bowl-shape *halích,* a food-container and parching-basket; the tray-shape winnowing-basket, *hatayíl;* the globose trinket-basket, *hatamúl;*

and the cap, *enpúhl*, which was used not only to protect the head from the pack-strap of the carrying-net, but also as a water-dipper.

Cordage was the twisted fibres of milkweed, Indian hemp, or agave, and the articles manufactured therefrom were the carrying-net, in which a burden-basket usually was borne, a long, small-mesh bag for transporting acorns from the hills to the village, agave-fibre sandals, and open-mesh shirts worn by certain dancers and intended solely as a foundation for feathers.

The Diegueño bow was fashioned of the half of a willow branch. This wood is easily worked, but becomes very tough with age. The bow was reinforced with deer-sinew, which was fastened at the ends and in the middle with pine-pitch boiled on a potsherd and made black by adding charcoal and the flowers of greasewood, or red by adding iron oxide. Quail-feathers were matted into the pitch before the sinew was applied, a detail which is said to have resulted in a more adhesive binder. Between the points where pitch was applied both bow and sinew were wrapped with sinew thread. For ordinary purposes the arrow was a cane shaft with a point of greasewood hardened in fire and embedded in hot pine-pitch. Sinew wrapping was employed to insure a firm union. The arrow for large game and for fighting had an obsidian point set into the end of the cane shaft. The instrument for straightening and smoothing arrow-shafts was a piece of stone with a transverse groove. It was heated before use, and straightening and smoothing were accomplished in one operation.

Besides arrow-points the Diegueños employed stone for mortars and pestles, metates and mullers, and sometimes, instead of clay, for tobacco-pipes. Although they made transportable mortars, acorns were pounded also in holes gradually worn in the face of immovable bowlders.

The bullroarer, the four-hole elder flute, the cane whistle, and the gourd or tortoise-shell rattle were the musical instruments of the region.

Like the Luiseños the Diegueños have localized, patrilineal clans, and marriage must be exogamous even if blood-relationship cannot be traced. The hereditary clan chief, *qaipaí,* inaugurates ceremonies and is

the official host for the occasion.[4]

A Diegueño woman during pregnancy is subject to many restrictions of the nature heretofore noted as Luiseño practice, and especially she abstains from meat, salt, and cold water. After the severing of the navel-cord, the stump is coiled on the child's abdomen, a warm, flat stone is laid on the umbilicus, and the infant is bathed with warm water, wrapped in nettle-bark fibre, and lashed on a cradle-basket. The sloughed cord is buried. For about four weeks after childbirth the mother spends most of the time, day and night, lying on a bed of white-sage above a layer of hot stones. The stones are reheated and the sage is renewed each evening. Some women still faithfully adhere to these customs. During the same period the father avoids all activity, and, like the woman, eats neither meat nor salt.

Children were usually named for natural objects. Typical names for boys are Samaí (a kind of grass), Hulyomaí ("smoky rock"), Sasán ("sunstroke"). Children nowadays always receive Spanish baptismal names and clan surnames.

At the age of puberty most boys, but not all, were initiated into the toloache cult, and all girls experienced a long course of treatment intended to make them strong, industrious women, healthy and prolific mothers.

In the ceremony for girls, Atonúk, a pit was dug, the bottom was lined with stones, and fire was kept burning on them until they were sufficiently hot. The heated stones were covered with green stalks of a plant called *ahpúp,* and the girls, only one of whom necessarily was experiencing her first menses, came naked to the pit, received a drink of warm water containing a small quantity of tobacco, and lay down on the herbs. They were covered with ragweed, *haquhá,* except the feet, where thistle-sage, *hálulu,* was used.[5] Blankets were then spread over them, and large baskets were inverted above their faces. There they

4 An informant at Santa Ysabel gives *qaipaí* as the title of an hereditary village chief in charge of inaugurating ceremonies, and *kohmí* as the clan chief.

5 Waterman, The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.,* Vol. 8, No. 6, 1910, page 286, says that white-sage, thistle-sage, and ragweed were used. In this, as in more important matters, local practice doubtless varied.

remained all day and all night, and each morning the heat and the herbs were renewed. Only at that time and at brief intervals during the day were the girls taken from the pit. People from other villages came to the ceremony, and some of these visiting women danced two by two beside the pit, day and night, while the men sang. The relatives of the girls sometimes threw clothing and other articles into the pit, and the visitors took them as payment for their assistance.

The first song after placing the girls in their sudatory was sung by

Umát	*quhwáhl*	*humô,*	*miyú?*	*Il*	*kupaích*	*humô,*	*miyú?*
earth	the one	no	where	wood	the one	no	where
	to dig	more	are you		to carry	more	are you

a woman:

Waiu-miyú, waiu-miyú, waiu-miyú?
where are you
There is no one to dig the earth. Where are you?
There is no one to carry wood. Where are you?
Where are you, where are you, where are you?"

Another song was this:

"Crushing herbs, crushing herbs, crushing herbs."

The first song obviously refers to the preparation of the pit and heating the stones, the second to the fact that the girls are now re clining on their bed of herbs.

Throughout the ceremony numerous songs were sung, most of them referring to the acts which they accompanied. The girls remained in the pit as long as they could stand it, or until the food was exhausted and the visitors departed. This usually was about week. During their confinement the girls received only unsalted sage-seed mush and warm water. Scratching the body, and particularly the scalp, with the nails would cause violent skin eruptions, therefore bone scratchers were

provided. For at least several weeks meat and salt were not eaten.[6]

The initiation of boys into the toloache cult was like the Luiseño ceremony. In fact, traditions of both tribes agree that the Diegueños were initiated into the cult by the Luiseños, and most of the songs are in a Shoshonean dialect. The toloache initiates really composed a pseudo-fraternity, for they received instruction in shamanistic magic and a distinguishing badge, and only they could participate in the so-called war-dance, the eagle-dance, and the fire-dance. Sometimes an adult man, not an initiate, was permitted to take part in these affairs after rubbing toloache on his arms and legs. A synopsis of the toloache rites follows.

The chief in charge, *qaipaí,* and four or more assistants, *kapoñél,* met at night in a ceremonial enclosure, *qusíchñuwa* ("drinkers-house"), where they powdered the narcotic roots, *kúsi,* in small stone mortar reserved for that purpose. At other times such mortars were kept buried. Water was poured on the powdered roots and strained off through a leaching-basket into a basketry cap, from which the boys drank, or, in some localities, they drank directly from the mortar. They were then conducted by the *kapoñél* to a larger brush enclosure, *himúk*, or *himáwajus,* where old men voluntarily attached themselves as *ñuhút*, godfathers or sponsors, to the novitiates, supporting them as they moved in circle about the fire, teaching them the songs, and generally guiding them throughout the course of the rites. Soon becoming too narcotized to stand any longer, the boys were carried out to sleep and receive the dreams which were the principal object of the cult.

In the morning, having slept off their intoxication, they were made to sit in the sun and to drink warm water. In the evening a *kapoñél* went about among the houses carrying two staffs, each of which had two crow-feathers attached to it. Returning to the dance-place, he planted them in the ground and at the point thus selected the families of the boys brought sage-seed mush, a bowl of which was held in front of each boy. But it was quickly snatched away, and any boy who was

6 Waterman, *op. cit.,* page 286, describes, and illustrates with a photographic reproduction, "a ceremonial crescent shaped stone ... warmed at the fire and placed in turn between the legs of each girl close against her body." Several men questioned at Mesa Grande and at Santa Ysabel professed ignorance of the custom.

sluggish received not even the one handful that he could at best secure. At the end of six days of partial fasting they were taught dancing each evening by their sponsors. The *kapoñél* kept close watch during the month the initiates were under their charge, lest they run away and drink cold water, which it was believed would be fatal. Morning, noon, and night they drank warm water. Each morning they were taken apart from the village, and the unmarried girls who acted as singers in the ceremony rubbed them with warm water. They were then brought to the dance-place, where the same girls smeared the boys' bodies with charcoal. At the end of the ceremony a mosaic was made on the ground with colored earths, representing the Diegueño conception of the universe and its principal creatures, and each boy received from his ceremonial father as a symbol of his new status a pointed, sword-like stick and a bunch of owl-feathers.

Diegueño youths sometimes were subjected to the ordeal of being confined in a house with masticated mescal smeared over their bodies, which were then exposed to the attacks of myriads of red ants previously collected in jars. To make themselves strong and healthy, young men practised competitive running at each new moon.

There was no formal marriage rite. A favorite method of getting a wife was to seek the desired female while she gathered seeds or roots, and then take her home. In other cases some male relative of the man went to the girl's house to negotiate for her. The parents themselves apparently had nothing to say about the matter: if her brothers and her uncles on both sides consented, the girl was taken without further ado. Presents of food were sent back, and her family responded in kind. The couple always lived with the husband's people.

Linguistic evidence points to the former existence among the Diegueños of a widespread custom, that is, the marriage of a widow to her deceased husband's brother and of a widower to his deceased wife's sister: for the terms for stepmother and mother's sister are identical, as are those for stepfather and father's brother.

The limitation of conversation and association between a man and his mother-in-law, as well as his daughter-in-law, to the absolutely essential was formerly very strictly enjoined.

The Diegueños never organized for war, and the only fighting was the result of petty brawls between the small local groups over the question of territorial rights.

The favorite form of gambling was *humárp,* the hand-game, commonly known in this region as peón. It is still played. There are four men on each side, and each has two cylinders of bone or white wood, one with a black band around the middle. These the Mexicans call peones. One side having concealed these markers in their hands, their opponents' leader endeavors to indicate the position of the white ones. Each man "killed" drops out of the game for the remainder of the inning, which continues until the last of the four is "dead," when the other side take their turn at concealing their markers. For every wrong guess one of the fifteen tally-sticks is taken by the winning side, and the game continues, perhaps for several nights, until all are in possession of one side.

Upúk, a game of dice, was played by women. Four flat, wooden sticks, marked in pairs by designs incised on one surface, were stood on end on a stone disc and were swept off with the hand. The score was recorded by covering with pebbles the indicated number of holes in a circle of fifteen.

Mutúrp, the hoop-and-pole game, was played by the northern Diegueños until about the year 1900**,** and is said to be still in vogue at some of the southern rancherias.

Diegueño men became shamans by dreaming, not by instruction nor by deliberately sought visions. The usual method of removing occult sickness by sucking and by incantation prevailed.

Like all other Yumans, and indeed nearly all California Indians, the Diegueños cremated the dead. As soon as the death-wail was raised, all the people assembled at the house, and with little delay a hole was dug and a funeral pyre built over it. Then the corpse was carried out, and the people stood about the pyre, wailing as the flames consumed the body. It is said that the heart was always difficult to burn,[7] and some of the men would prod it with sticks in order to reduce it more quickly to ashes. The ashes and bits of bone were placed in a water-jar, which was buried in the pit or concealed among the rocks. Then followed a feast at the bereaved home, the people carried off all the unconsumed food, and the house was burned. But the clothing and other personal

7 Cf. the mythology of this region, pages 121-123, in which the heart of the creator and of Táqish remained unconsumed.

possessions of the deceased person were kept for use in the memorial rites. Close relatives cut their hair, and if any others were especially grief-stricken they had the hair shorn by the dead person's mother, for which act of honor to the dead a new basket was received. The hair was preserved until the next memorial ceremony, when it was used in making effigies of the dead. The greatest care was exercised to keep this hair secure from theft by a shaman, who might desire it for use in bewitching its owner.

It is believed that the soul flies through the air to the place where people were created, that is, the mountain Wíkami in southern Nevada.

The mourning rites usually occurred a year after the death of him whose spirit was thus to be sent permanently away, and the families of all persons deceased within the past year joined in the ceremony, unless some of them had not the necessary supplies of food; in which case they might subsequently accumulate food and repeat the ceremony later in the year. The first feature of the rites was the burning of the clothing of the deceased persons, which occurred at night, following a prior night of lamentation. On the next morning, and again in the late afternoon, provided one of the lamented had been a toloache initiate, occurred Tápakwírp ("whirling"), which might be repeated on the two following days before the people dispersed. This was the dance known to the Luiseños as Mârahish and to local white residents as tatahuila. At the close of the afternoon performance of the whirling dance the old toloache initiates entered the ceremonial enclosure one by one, imitated the action of their lamented comrade, and passed out. Then all together returned, crawling like animals and imitating the sound of the animals of which they severally had dreamed while intoxicated with toloache at their initiation. They formed a circle about a bunch of feathers, the dead man's insignia of initiation, which they proceeded with ceremonial gestures and upward expulsions of breath to bury.

This might be followed by the so-called war-dance, Hârhloí, which however was not restricted to such occasions. Participation was a prerogative of toloache initiates. Although the Diegueños did not practise organized warfare and their logical right to a war-dance is therefore open to question, it must be noted that Hârhloí is said to have been danced repeatedly after the killing of certain Cahuilla who attempted to destroy the mission establishment at Santa Ysabel. The numerous

songs of this dance consist of Shoshonean words, and it is clearly a component part of the toloache cult. Each of the dancers wore a headband of owl-feathers, in which he inserted his feather insignia of initiation, and at certain times they shook their raised fists in a gesture apparently threatening.

When effigies representing the dead were to be burned, a small hemispherical booth, open to the east, the direction of the spirit world, was built for housing them. The effigies were made by clanswomen of the mourners. Six nights passed in singing and dancing, while the effigies were carried around the fire. At the end of the sixth night they were returned to the booth, clothing, baskets, and other articles were piled over them, and the entire mass was burned. This concluded the period of mourning. The words of the songs for this occasion are Diegueño, hence the rite is not to be regarded as a feature of the adopted toloache cult.

In memory of a deceased chief, Uhpá-imá ("eagle dance"), or Uhpá-hamóchh ("eagle kill"), was performed. An eagle, always obtained in some more or less distant locality, was killed, ostensibly by magic exerted through the pointing of a stick at the bird and, of course, through numerous songs. Actually the deed was accomplished by pressure of the thumb over the eagle's heart.

All toloache initiates were taught the secret of handling embers without being burned. This act was a feature attached to several dances or ceremonies, such as the toloache initiation, the mourning rites of burning clothing, and Hârhloí. After singing and dancing in a circle about the fire, the performers scattered the brands and coals with their feet, continued to dance while the heat somewhat abated, and then resumed the attack with their feet, thus finally extinguishing the fire. Sometimes a single man, squatting beside the fire, scattered the coals with a stick, and some of the dancers stamped on them, others placed embers in their mouths. In preparation for this dance they chewed gypsum, *chahâr,* and sprayed it over their feet and bodies.

The Diegueño account of the creation is clearly related to the Mohave myth. From the union of Earth and the superimposed Water

were born two brothers, who pushed the water up and thus formed the sky. They created the celestial luminaries and human beings. This occurred at Wíkami.[8] A ceremony was planned, and having built the brush enclosure the people sent to the ocean for a monster serpent, in whose body was all knowledge. When the serpent had coiled himself in the enclosure they set fire to it, and his body exploded, scattering among the people languages, songs, institutions, and customs. The elder brother then fell sick and died. They burned his body, thus establishing the custom of cremation, and Coyote ran away with the heart. The younger brother, after making many transformations in the earth and its inhabitants, went into the sky. He is identified with the phenomenon of ball-lightning.

The foregoing is the summary of a version recorded at Capitan Grande in Northern Diegueño territory. Considerable confusion seems to prevail, even among the raconteurs, regarding the names of the two creators. At Capitan Grande they are Chakopá and Chakomát, who are described respectively as *mutuwíhl* (" elder") and *qusánk* ("younger"); but at Mesa Grande, farther north, they are Tochaipá-mutuwíhl and Qusánkyokomát. With these names compare Mohave Matóchipa and Kókomat. Gifford, writing of the southern Diegueños, gives Tcaipakomat and Tcakumat as alternative names for the male partner of the pair created by "the god Maiyoha," who was the elder of two brothers existent in the water.[9] DuBois names Tuchaipa, the elder brother, and Yokomat, the younger, and says that they are sometimes named as one, Chaipakomat.[10] Waterman, in a Southern Diegueño version, has the same dual form, Tcaipakomat, as the name of the elder of two brothers existent under the water, but does not name the younger brother.[11]

8 This is the Avikomé of Mohave mythology, a mountain identified with a peak in southern Nevada. On being asked to repeat the name carefully Diegueño usually says Uwíkami.

9 *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1918, pages 170-171. "Maiyoha" is Umaí-uhá ("sky water"), which as Umá-yuhá was heard by the present writer at Mesa Grande as the name of the creator of the first human pair.

10 *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXI, 1908, page 229.

11 *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.,* Vol. 8, No. 6, 1910, page 338.

From all this, and considering the evidence of Mohave, Yuma, and Maricopa mythology, it appears probable that the two creators, born of Earth and Sky (Water), are properly Tochaipá and Yokomát; that the two names are frequently conjoined into Chaipákomat, in the same manner as Umaí (sky) and Uhá (water) into Gifford's Maiyoha; and that Chakopá and Chakomát are variants of Tochaipá and Yokomát, derived probably from Chaipákomat.

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