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THE CAHUILLA INDIANS

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BY
LUCILE HOOPER
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EDITOR'S NOTE

This account of the Cahuilla, one of the largest surviving tribes in southern California, represents the work of Lucile Hooper as University of California research fellow in anthropology in 1918.

The Cahuilla occupy three contiguous but quite different habitats. The Mountain division inhabits Coahuilla reservation and certain near-by tracts, some four thousand feet above the ocean. To the north, in San Geronio Pass, are the Pass Cahuilla, at about half that elevation. These are now mostly on Morongo reservation. The Desert Cahuilla are inland from the two preceding groups, about Indio and Coachella in Torres, Martinez, and a number of other small reservations northwest of the Salton Sea. The territory of these people is almost wholly without rainfall, and lies at about sea level, in part below it. Their habitat is thus unusually specialized. Owing to late settlement of the district by Americans, this group of the Cahuilla has also best preserved its ancient customs. Miss Hooper's investigations relate chiefly to the Desert Cahuilla.

There is a considerable body of published literature on the Cahuilla and other Indian tribes of southern California, but no intensive monograph upon any one tribe nor a satisfactory comprehensive treatment of the region. The literature being so scattered, its citation would have resulted in innumerable detailed cross-references in footnotes, which the ethnological specialist in this field would scarcely need, and which would not be of much aid to the novice. The list of the more important works given at the end of this paper will probably meet the requirements of most readers.

The first comparative problem about the Desert Cahuilla has hitherto been this. They speak the same language as the Mountain and Pass divisions, and are rather closely connected in speech with the other Shoshonean groups on the west—the Luiseño, Cupeño, Juan-eño, Gabrielino, and Serrano. To the east and northeast is the home of the alien Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado River—the Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave and others, all agricultural; and of the Chemehuevi or Southern Paiute, nomads of the Great Basin. Do the cultural connections of the Cahuilla run chiefly westward like their speech affiliations, or are they as close with the Yumans and Chemehuevi? Miss Hooper's data, taken in their entirety, settle this question.

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With all their geographical proximity to the Yuma and Mohave, the Desert Cahuilla partake essentially of the native civilization of the Shoshonean coastal tribes of southern California.

ORIGIN BELIEFS¹

Birth of Mukat and Tamaioit.—In the beginning, there was no earth or sky or anything or anybody; only a dense darkness in space. This darkness seemed alive. Something like lightnings seemed to pass through it and meet each other once in a while. Two substances which looked like the white of an egg came from these lightnings. They lay side by side in the stomach of the darkness, which resembled a spider web. These substances disappeared. They were then produced again, and again they disappeared. This was called the miscarriage of the darkness. The third time they appeared, they remained, hanging there in this web in the darkness. The substances began to grow and soon were two very large eggs. When they began to hatch, they broke at the top first. Two heads came out, then shoulders, hips, knees, ankles, toes; then the shell was all gone. Two boys had emerged: Mukat and Tamaioit. They were grown men from the first, and could talk right away. As they lay there, both at the same time heard a noise like a bee buzzing. It was the song of their mother Darkness.

Attempt to create light.—Mukat said he was the first to hear the song, but Tamaioit declared that he was. They argued about this, because the first one to hear it would be considered the older, and each desired this honor.

As they lay there, they seemed to be old enough to think. Mukat suggested that they make light that they might see. Tamaioit said, "You think you are the older, now carry out your ideas." So they began creating things. Mukat reached into his mouth and took from his heart: (1) a cricket, *Shilim shilim*; (2) Papavonot, another insect; (3) a black and white lizard, *Takmeyatineyawet*; (4) a person, *Whatwhatwet*.

Mukat and Tamaioit decided to turn all these new creatures loose and let them drive away the darkness. Since Mukat had made them,

¹ The only previously recorded information on the Cahuilla origin story is the outline given by E. W. Gifford, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn.*, xiv, 188, 189, 1918. T. T. Waterman has summarized and analyzed most of the literature on the origin myths of the southern California Indians in the *American Anthropologist*, n.s., xi, 41-55, 1909.

they had almost as much power as he. Lizard tried to swallow the darkness but was not successful. Finally, all of them together managed to drive east part of the darkness and then there was a little light. But when they returned to Mukat and Tamaioit, the darkness they had driven away rushed back and they could not drive it away again.

Mukat and Tamaioit then said they should have something to smoke to remove the darkness, just as medicine men smoke now to remove disease.

Making tobacco.—They therefore planned to make tobacco. Mukat took black tobacco from his heart and Tamaioit brought forth a lighter colored tobacco. Next, they needed some way to smoke it, so they each brought forth another substance from the heart. Mukat's was dark, Tamaioit's was light. With this they made pipes. There were no holes in these pipes, so they each pulled out a whisker and pierced holes in the pipes. Mukat then took a coal of fire from his heart to light the tobacco with. Now they were ready to smoke. Mukat filled his pipe first, held it up in the air, and inhaled.

He then decided to play a trick on Tamaioit, so he handed his pipe to him and said, "I am holding it up high," but he held it low, and in the dark, Tamaioit could not see it. However, Tamaioit was always suspicious of Mukat, so he reached low instead of high, as Mukat expected him to do, and seized the pipe. Tamaioit then got his pipe ready to smoke, held it out to Mukat and said, "I am holding it low," and really held it that way. Mukat, thinking the same trick was being played on him, reached high and of course missed it. Therefore, Tamaioit claimed he was the wiser, because he could not be fooled.

Creation of the earth.—They next took a substance from their hearts to make a huyanachet (rod). As usual, Mukat made a black one and Tamaioit a white one. These were to be the roots of the earth. When they tried to stand them up, they found a support was necessary, so they made snakes to twine around them. Even this was not enough, so they made spiders which crawled to the top of the rods and made a web from there to the corners of the darkness.

The huyanachet were then firm. Mukat and Tamaioit climbed up to the top but had to rest several times. When they reached the top, though it was dark, they could see that something like a mist or smoke was rising up from below. Mukat asked Tamaioit what it was, and he answered, "I have always told you that I am the older, but you say you are. How does it happen you do not know that that is our

after-birth coming up behind us, and that it causes all sickness and disease." Mukat then made a song about it; he never seemed to know things first, but he always thought about creating things before Tamaioit did.

While up on the top, Mukat now thought about creating earth, so suggested it to Tamaioit. Tamaioit said, "I have always told you I am the older, but you say you are. So just go ahead with your ideas and don't consult me." But he consented to help. Mukat sang his song, then both shook all over, and soon a substance poured out of their mouths, ran down the poles, and spread all over, even reaching to the top of the huyanachet.

This substance was very soft at first; in order to make it solid they created whirlwinds to dry it, and brush to make it firm. They also made many kinds of insects of various sizes for this same purpose. Many of these insects have since then been used by shamans, who take them and let them bite a person who has a pain, and that person is then cured. The whirlwinds which they took were of two kinds: teniosha, which is the worse, and tukiaiel. These whirlwinds live in ant holes, and when a fire is placed in these holes the whirlwinds whistle in their anger. They are dangerous, for they often steal souls.

After Mukat and Tamaioit made the earth, they made the ocean to hold the earth in one place. They made creatures and weeds to live in the ocean. The sky they made of metal so that it would be strong enough to stay up high and not fall. In this sky they put stars to make more light.

Creation of people.—Now that the earth was solid and ready to walk upon, Mukat asked what they should do next. Tamaioit said, "You say you are the older, so go ahead with your ideas." Mukat said that he thought it was now time to create people, for they needed someone to talk to and play with.

This they did, Mukat making dark people and Tamaioit light people. As he made them, Tamaioit placed his people in a circle around him. When his circle was nearly completed, Mukat had only enough to go half-way around him. Mukat wondered how Tamaioit could make them so fast, so he made Sun, in order to see. Sun was too hot to hold and slipped away from him and went east, so there was not very much light yet.

Mukat told Tamaioit about the escape of Sun and asked him what they had better do about it. Tamaioit said, "You insist that you are

older than I; if you are, it is strange that you have to ask me what to do all the time." However, he consented to help, and the two of them created Moon. Moon was a woman and was very bright and beautiful and white. After she was created, Mukat could see Tamaioit's people, for there was more light. He did not like the people at all.

Tamaioit's people were exactly alike on both sides. They had faces on both sides, toes pointing in both directions, breasts both in front and in back. All the fingers and toes were webbed.

Mukat said, "No wonder you could make them so fast, they don't look good at all. You should make them right; look at mine." A quarrel followed. Tamaioit said, "My people do not have to turn around to see behind them, nor will mine drop things through their fingers as yours will." Mukat said, "Mine can close their fingers when they wish to hold things." Tamaioit said that people should live always; or, if there was death, the person should return to life the next day and be young; or else people should remain young always. Mukat said it would never do not to die, for the world would get overcrowded and there would not be enough food for all. Tamaioit said they could make both more food and more room to live in. Mukat said it was intended that people should die, for after-birth's blood was meant to bring disease into the world and thus cause death.

They then said that they must create doctors to take care of the people. They had created an old wood far north and a mermaid under the water. The wood and the mermaid were the ones chosen to give power to the doctors.² They created a very short man in the north, Keketumnamtum, who was to be a medicine man and give power to the people through their dreams of North Wind or Rain. After obtaining this power, they would be able to create wind or rain.

This world is a man. Rain was created and sent to the sky. Rain is a man and makes things grow. North Wind is a man and makes things dry up.

Mukat and Tamaioit tried to decide when things should grow and ripen. First they said it should take fifty menyil (moons), but later they decided that it should be four menyil, and thus it is today.

They quarreled continually about which people had been made the proper way, and as to whether there should be death or not. Finally Tamaioit got angry and said that since his suggestions did not seem to amount to anything here, he would go to another world

² This statement is not clear, but it is as clear as my interpreter could make it.

and take his people. He said that, if he went down into the ground, the world would turn over; Mukat said he would prevent that.

Tamaioit then sang his song and sank into the earth, taking all of his people. In his hurry he forgot Palm, Coyote, Duck, and Moon. Earth and Sky wanted to follow him, but Mukat knelt on the earth and held his hand up to the sky; by doing this, he prevented their going. There are now five stars in the sky where his fingers rested.

As Tamaioit went into the ground, there was a tremendous rumbling and earthquake. Mountains arose at this time and the water in the ocean shook so that it overflowed and caused the rivers and streams we now have. The sky became bent and curved. Because of this, the sun seems to stop at noon when it gets to the highest point. While the sun is making it light for us here, it is dark in the world below; when we see it go over the horizon in the evening, it is beginning to get light there and dark here.

Mukat took the people Tamaioit forgot and made them into the right shape, but he forgot the duck's feet; so they are still webbed.

While Mukat and Tamaioit were creating people, Mukat created a place in the east for the spirits of the dead to go to. He pulled out a whisker and pointed it east. This made a road. At the end of this road was a gate. Montakwet, a man who never dies, guards this gate. Just beyond this gate are two large hills constantly moving apart and then together. As they move apart, an opening is left through which the spirits may enter.

If the spirit has been wicked during its lifetime, it is caught between these moving hills and crushed; it then becomes a rock, bat, or butterfly. If it has lived a good life, it gets through this opening safely and passes into the regions beyond, known as Telmekish.

Because this road over which the spirits travel is toward the east, one must never lie with his head in that direction while sleeping; death might result. It is well enough to do this when old, for an old person can live only a short while longer anyway.

Life of Mukat and his people.—Mukat and his people lived in one big house. Animals were human then. They were all very happy here. Moon taught the people many games and they loved her very much. Every morning she took her people far away to the water, and here they played all day long, returning to Mukat's house late in the evening.

She taught them how to make things. "Cat's eradle" was one of the games she taught them. It was a game played by making fig-

ures by means of string twined around the fingers. There were many figures they had to know. Later when they died and went to Telmekish, they had to know how to make these figures and tell Montakwet, the guardian. If they could not do this, they were not admitted.

Moon taught them that they would be getting married after a while, and explained to them what this meant. She said they would have children; that they must name their children and have songs for them. She said these children should be instructed in the right way to live; that the old people were the best instructors.

Rattlesnake was the only one that remained at home all day with Mukat. He stayed at the door of Mukat's house all day long. When the people returned at night, there was one man among them who always danced on and around the snake. This was To, the funny man whom they all loved; he was very tiny. To made fun of Rattlesnake and made his head flat, by dancing on him; it is still flat. Rattlesnake complained to Mukat and asked him what to do.

At this time Rattlesnake was not poisonous, for he had no teeth. Mukat decided that Rattlesnake should have teeth. He tried many ways of making them for him, but none succeeded until he pulled some of his whiskers out and used them for teeth. He then made the teeth poisonous and told Rattlesnake to bite To when To came home that night and danced on him, and then he must run away to the rocks so that no one could find him. Accordingly, when the people returned that night, very happy as usual, To began dancing on Rattlesnake, but Rattlesnake bit him and then ran away. Rattlesnake was the first to leave the big house and not return.

Moon was very beautiful. One night Mukat seemed to notice this for the first time, and desired her as his wife. He did not tell her, but she knew it, and it made her feel very sad, for he was her father. She decided to leave, and told her people. She told them that there were a great many games she had not yet taught them, but that it was now too late. She said she would never die or have diseases as other people had, for Tamaioit had helped to create her. She told the women how to care for themselves during menstruation and pregnancy; they must not eat salt, meat, or fat, or drink cold water. She showed them certain herbs to use if they became ill.

That night she left and got beetles and ants to crawl over her tracks so that no one would follow her. Everyone felt very badly and tried to find her. Coyote went to the water where they always bathed to

look for her. He saw her reflection in the water and thought it was she. He jumped in after her but couldn't find her. When he climbed out and looked in again, he was sure he saw her and again he jumped in, with the same result. As he came out this time, Moon, who had gone to the sky, spat on him. He looked up to see where the spit had come from, and he saw her. He begged her to return but she would not talk, only smiled. He then returned to the others to tell them where their beloved playmate and teacher had gone. He felt very sad, so he hung his head as he said, "Here she is, here she is." The people looked down where he was looking, but of course could not see. Finally someone happened to look up and there saw Moon in the sky. She seemed very far away and they all wept. Each night, for a long time, she went higher up, until she was where we now see her.³

Soon Mukat decided he wanted to have a little more fun with his people. For several days he thought about it. Then one day Sun rose out of the east. As soon as it was fully light, the people all talked in different languages and could not understand each other. Sun made them hot and many ran in search of shade. Many turned into trees or animals or birds. This probably was meant to happen from the beginning. Those that looked for water and found water, turned into sea animals. Those that looked for shade turned into trees. The people who stayed with Mukat remained human.

Mukat taught them how to make bows and arrows; just what kind of material to use, how to dry it, and how to make arrowheads out of rock. When the people put them down, after making them, the arrows made a queer noise. It frightened the people and they would not touch them. Mukat had showed them how to use these arrows and had promised that the arrows would not hurt them, but they were afraid when they heard this sound. One among them, Takwich, picked up an arrow, and said, "Why be afraid of this? It will not hurt you." He put one right through his stomach and then pulled it out and it left no opening. When they saw this, the others were afraid no longer.

Mukat lined them up on two sides and they shot at each other, as he had shown them how to do. The dust became very thick, so they stopped, and then they saw that several of their number were

³ Formerly, the Cahuilla would not look at the full moon, for fear of disease. If they ate during an eclipse, they were likely to eat a "moon spirit." Whoever died during an eclipse was thought to have eaten one of these moon spirits.

dead. They wept, for they could not bring them to life. Mukat told them not to worry; that the dead would return.

At night the people heard them return, but it was only their spirits. These spirits could not find their abiding place; they had hunted in all directions. Finally they thought of Tamaioit. They started down into the earth to find him. Tamaioit heard them coming and stopped them before they got there. He told them that he was sorry for them, that he had wanted the people to live always, but that he saw now why Mukat had made them as he did. It was so there would be sorrow in the world. Tamaioit said that, since they were not his people, he could do nothing for them. He said his people were all happy and he did not want any other kind down there. However, he could tell them something that might bring them back to life. They should go to the water and smear mud all over themselves and twine brush around their bodies. They did as he advised them, but it did no good.

The spirits then returned to Mukat and asked him where to go. He told them about Telmekish and that there was no sickness or sorrow there. He said this world was just to raise children in; Telmekish, the next world, would last forever.

At the time Sun came the people turned different colors. The Negroes are those who stayed close to Sun. White people ran farther away than anyone else. Indians went only a short distance, so they are brown.

Death of Mukat.—Mukat had now done three things which made his people very angry. He had made Rattlesnake bite one of them, had insulted Moon, which made her leave; and had given the people bows and arrows and let them kill each other, after promising them no harm should come to them. So they decided to kill Mukat, but did not know how to do it. They asked Bear and Puma to do so; but they refused, saying it would be better for someone to bewitch his spirit.

Now Mukat lived right in the middle of his big house and was never seen to leave there. They were anxious to find out what he did at night. For this purpose, they appointed the white lizard, that runs up mesquite trees, to get on top of the house and watch from above at night. Nobody saw Lizard go up. This is what he saw. Mukat smoked until the smoke was very thick and all the people were asleep; he then went outside to defecate. Lizard heard the excrement drop three times. Mukat then returned to the house.

Next day, Lizard told the people what he had seen. They then decided how they would kill Mukat. They put small animals under the log to catch his droppings, but they were unable to do so. Frog said he would try. That night, when Mukat went outside as usual to defecate, Frog caught the droppings in his mouth. Mukat did not hear anything drop as he usually did, so he put his cane down, to find out what was the matter. In feeling around, he struck frog on the back; the marks can still be seen on Frog's back.

Right away, Mukat knew that something was wrong, for he felt very ill and weak; he felt as though his soul had left him. However, he pretended that he did know what caused his illness and asked many questions concerning it.

Shamans pretended to help him, but they did not really try, for they wanted him to die. He asked his people to get North Wind to come and cure him. They sent Swallow to tell North Wind that his Creator wanted his help. North Wind said he would come in the afternoon and for them to turn the Creator around with his head to the north. When the wind came, he blew dust all over Mukat. It seemed to help drive away the fever for awhile, but Mukat could not endure the dust in his eyes and ears. He wanted something to eat, so he sent Crow to get *piyatam* (something like snails). Crow found plenty, but just stayed there and would not bring them to Mukat. Mukat next sent Dove to the mountains for pine nuts and Dove really brought some back. He wanted meat and sent Hawk after it, but Hawk never returned. Mukat said his people had forsaken him and he was very sad. He asked his people, the Locusts, to sing to him and cheer him up. This helped him for a time, but soon he tired and asked them to stop. He was anxious to die now; he said death was so slow in coming.

All the time Mukat was ill, Coyote stayed right by his side. He watched him every minute and ate all of his expectorations and excretions. Mukat was afraid of Coyote; he was afraid Coyote would eat his body when he died. Because of this, he asked his people to send Coyote far away to get fire to light his pyre, for he felt that death was very near. Coyote did not want to go, but they told him it was his duty to do so, since he was the fastest runner.

Mukat kept wondering in what moon he would die, and repeated the names of the moons over and over. He sang all the time, knowing he was dying. This was to send his spirit to *Telmekish*. This is the reason people sing now when one of their number is dying.

Soon he could not move, and then he died. The people dug a hole in the ground and placed his body in it. Animals with big claws dug this hole. The Quail carried the wood for the fire, on their heads, to the pit. Fly then made fire by rubbing small pieces of wood between his feet; he has been rubbing his feet together in this manner ever since. When the fire was lighted, the people gathered round it.

During this time, Coyote was on his way for the fire, but kept looking back constantly. Soon he saw the smoke and knew that they were burning Mukat. He ran back as fast as he could. As he drew near, he pushed his way through the crowd, and jumped over several. All of the body had burned, except a small piece of the heart, which is always the last to burn. Coyote jumped for it, and as he landed on it, it splashed blood. He then ran to the mountains. The blood stains can still be seen there.

The people all wanted to kill Coyote when he ran off with Mukat's heart, but they could not run fast enough to catch him.

Conclusion.—Before Mukat died, he told his people they should hold a *fiesta* once a year, in memory of their dead. He said they should make an effigy of each one who had died and with these they should dance. This *fiesta* was to be held in the winter, when they had time. He further explained that it would take six nights; that during the singing of the songs which he had taught them, all should sit quietly on the ground, around the fire. One man must be appointed as the leader of the singing. He promised them that during the *fiesta* the spirits of the dead would return for the last time and would know just what was going on. All of the facts concerning Mukat and Tamaioit must be kept secret; anyone telling them would either die or become very ill.

They planned to make a *fiesta* for Mukat, as he had told them to do, but they did not invite Coyote. He found out about it, however, and came. By that time, the people were no longer angry at him. When he returned he was very thin.

All were sad after Mukat died. Coyote said, "Let's live in a different house and burn this one, so as not to think about Mukat so much." This they decided to do.

When they were ready to hold the *fiesta*, Coyote told them he knew what to make effigies of, and offered to go to the end of the world to get it. Misvut (a seaweed) was what he got. It grew far under the water. It had probably been made in the beginning for this purpose.

After Coyote made the body out of this, he made the eyes out of shells and decorated the body with feathers. Then they held a *fiesta* and Coyote was Net (chief). They have been doing this ever since, when a person dies.

In the new house the people now lived in, Coyote became one of the pillars (?). However, they did not like that, so they made a roof of him. Before that, Coyote sang a great deal; he divided the songs into Mukat or Wildeat songs, and Tamaioit or Coyote songs. Because of this, the Wildeat people sing Mukat songs, and the Coyote people sing Tamaioit songs. During the time that Mukat and Tamaioit were in the stomach of the darkness, they had decided that Mukat would be a Tukut (wildeat person), Tamaioit an Isil (coyote person).

During that first *fiesta*, the Isil people wanted some more *mīsvut*. When they went to get it, the water bubbled and made a queer noise. It was talking to them, but they could not understand it at first. Soon they understood that *Mīsvut* was asking them what they wanted. They told him they wanted the big stone, *sharvōvōshal*, which was to pound things on, more *mīsvut*, and a pipe made of rock. The *mīsvut* was always kept rolled up and had a stone pipe in it. Net had given a feast in order to get this pipe, for Mukat had told them that this was necessary. This pipe is used only at *fiestas* and can be obtained only after the Net has given a feast.

As soon as the new home that Coyote had suggested was built, the people scattered. When they got tired of wandering some turned into trees and deer. A few went out at midnight and therefore became dark-skinned. Some went in the daylight and so were white. Some went early in the morning and are brown-skinned.

After Mukat died, Crow returned to where he had been burned, fell down into the pit, and thus became black. Buzzard also did this, and his head has been bald ever since. The white-spotted hawk fell in and became a mottled color.

One day, Buzzard saw a lot of queer looking things growing out of the pit where Mukat's body had been burned. He told the people about them. These things were different kinds of vegetables, but they had never heard of such things, and did not know what to do with them. They decided to send *Palmechewet*, the man who never slept, to Mukat to ask him what they were for.

Palmechewet started out to find Mukat, and as he was going through the brush and mountains, he constantly prayed to Mukat to guide him to his abode. Finally he heard Mukat but could not see

him. Mukat said, "Those things are to eat. You killed me before I had a chance to teach you about them. Tobacco is for the old people to smoke. The melons grow from my skull; pumpkins from my stomach; corn from my teeth.⁴ Return to my people and tell them that all of these things are good." Palmeehewet returned to the people and repeated these words. They had never eaten vegetables before.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

MOURNING COMMEMORATION AND FIESTA WEEK

The most important ceremony of the Cahuilla always has been and still is the annual tribal mourning gathering, known as Nukil, or Hemmukuwin. This ceremony is held because Mukat told the people they should have one each year in memory of their dead. It was the first ceremony they ever held; the first time it was held was after the death of Mukat. Mukat had told them just how many nights to have it and what to do each night. It is very sacred to them.

Each clan has a hereditary chief called a Net, whose chief duties are in connection with the mourning ceremonies. The chief has two ceremonial assistants, Paha and Takwa.

The Net has complete charge of the *fiesta*. The Paha has charge of the singing and of leading the ceremonies; he starts everything. Takwa superintends the gathering and distribution of food. He lets each member of the clan know how much food he is expected to furnish and sees that it is actually provided. At the *fiesta* at Agua Caliente, old Orenes was Takwa. He and his helpers skinned hundreds of rabbits which the young men had killed. The first three mornings of the *fiesta* week, the young men hunt rabbits. While I was there, the skins were being saved for an old woman who was going to weave blankets from them.

The *fiesta* is always held in the fall or winter when the people have plenty of leisure.

Several months beforehand, the Net gathers the old men of the clan together and they decide what people they will "call" to participate in the *fiesta*. After this is decided, the Net appoints one man

⁴These are the characteristic plants of native agriculture. The Cahuilla have never been reported as having farmed before the advent of the Spaniards, but the neighboring Yuman tribes on the Colorado River grew these plants, except perhaps melons.

to inform these people that they have been "called." In return, this man is given some article or money, which means that the invitation is accepted. This is then given to the Net. The next year, when the Net is invited to a fiesta at that place, he returns the gift.

The *fiesta* is held in the kishumnawat, which is the ceremonial house. At the present time it is made of arrow-weed and palma leaves plastered together, with a thin covering of adobe. It is a circular house; the roof is very high in the center and slopes down at the sides to within about four feet of the ground. There is a small smoke hole in the top. Upright forked posts support the roof beams inside. This kishumnawat is about fifty feet in diameter. At the back of this house a door opens into a very small room in which are kept the ceremonial objects. This is also where the food for the *fiesta* is stored several days before it is to be used.

The way in which the Cahuilla used to greet their guests is no longer followed. They knew about what time in the afternoon to expect those who had been invited. A runner was appointed to watch down the road for them. Here he would wait until he saw them approaching. He wore no clothes, only a breech clout. As soon as he saw them, he would run to the village where his people had gathered and would cry, "Wake up, they come." They would then all run down the road to meet the approaching guests. Certain ones who had been appointed would shoot their arrows up into the air and all would shout. Often the guests brought gifts with them. The gifts were returned to them later.

Aside from this greeting, the *fiesta* of today is practically the same as it has been for many years.

When the guests arrive, they go to the homes in which they are to stay for the week and from there proceed to the kishumnawat. Here the Paha shows each one where to seat himself on the benches around the wall. Many guests come, but only certain ones have been "called" to take part in the ceremonies.

As soon as they are seated, the Net goes to each one who has been "called," kneels in front of him, tells him he is welcome, talks for a minute in a low voice, then gives him a package of tobacco, and each of them rolls a cigarette. The guest gives him something tied up in a handkerchief in return. Sometimes it is shell money or even real money.

After each one has been welcomed in this way, the Paha tells all of them to come and eat. No matter what time of day it is, they

sit down at a long table and eat. The table is there in the kishumnawat. The food is usually bread, coffee, and a rabbit stew. It is prepared in one corner of the house by the old women, over a fire built on the ground. Very little talking goes on at this time. It seems to be quite a serious affair with them.

The *fiesta* begins on Monday night and continues for six nights. The first three nights, the old people gather around the fire in the kishumnawat. A tobacco can is passed around constantly and both men and women smoke all night. The Paha starts the songs. During these nights, the Creation story is sung in a queer minor chanting tone. They stop every few minutes; the Paha utters a queer grunting sound, throws his head back and blows up in the air. The others do the same thing after him. After two or three minutes they continue singing. Occasionally, during these three nights, the medicine men dance.

I attended two *fiestas*, one at the Torres reservation, the first week in January, the other at Agua Caliente in Palm Springs Valley⁵ in February. At the *fiesta* at Torres, the medicine men performed several wonderful tricks. The natives still consider them to have supernatural power, and all have the greatest faith in them. The one I saw perform was Casimiro. He got up and tied a band around his head. In this, he stuck three bunches of owl feathers and held one bunch in his hand. He then began to jump up and down and shuffle around the fire, constantly singing his song and occasionally stopping to grunt and blow up in the air three times, motioning upwards with his hands at the same time. When he did this, the others all imitated him. After singing for a certain length of time, he began to shake so hard that he could scarcely stand. It was a sort of even trembling all over. The bunch of owl feathers which he held in his hand was fastened to a stick about eight inches long and half an inch in diameter. This he stuck down his throat three times. The third time, he brought out of his throat a small black-looking object and held it down by the fire so that we might all see it. I could not see it well enough to tell what it was. When I inquired later, I was told that it was something taken from his heart, probably a lizard. The shaking always occurs before they take things out of their "heart": it is caused by the desire of this object in the heart to get out. As soon as it is removed, the shaking ceases. This object is

⁵ This Agua Caliente must not be confused with the old Cupeño settlement of Agua Caliente on Warner's Ranch in San Diego County.

called a takwia. One takwia does not always look like another, for different medicine men have different objects in their hearts.

After Casimiro took the dark object from his heart, he reached into the fire with his foot and kicked out a few coals. One of these he picked up: it was about the size of a dollar. He immediately put it into his mouth. I was only a few feet away and one of the sparks from his mouth, as he blew, fell on my hand, so I can testify that they were hot. The glow from the coal could be seen on the roof of his mouth. He swallowed it in about a minute. He swallowed three coals in this way. I saw two other men do the same thing.

The medicine men claim they get the power to do such things from a special guardian spirit. They have first to sing a song which is a sort of prayer to that spirit. They assert that they are never burned.

During these three nights, young men often dance for the first time. They put the feathers in their hair in the same way and sing.

One night, while I was watching them, an old man by the name of Omega got up to dance. He danced and sang for a while, then stopped, said a few words to the Paha, and sat down, to the surprise, apparently, of every one present. My interpreter explained to me that Omega had intended to eat fire, but that his song had not gone right; he had forgotten part of it, no doubt due to some disturbing influence among those watching, or perhaps because of some spirit preventing his success. Since his song did not go right, he could do nothing. He was a man who usually did great things.

The next three nights are given over to the guests to sing their own songs. They sing all night long. A great many go to sleep before morning, but there are always a few who sing the night through. The women and children lie around on the floor asleep, behind the men who are singing.

On the last night, just before sunrise, the dance of the effigies is held. During the week, effigies of the people who have died during the past year and for whom the *festa* is being held, are made. The immediate families of the deceased make the images. They are made just the size of the dead persons whom they represent. They are made out of matting or cloth, stuffed with grass, and dressed. Buttons or coins are used to represent eyes; nose and ears are made of cloth and sewed on. A human hair wig is made and placed on each effigy. They are dressed in considerable finery. I saw one with earrings and a hat and veil. These images are kept hidden until the time for the dance.

The ceremony begins before sunrise in the kishumnawat (big house). It is started by giving presents to the guests. When I was a witness, the women wore large aprons, and four pans of mesquite meal were turned into each woman's apron.

The effigies are then brought out, each one carried by a female relative. They form a procession led by the Net. The women carrying the effigies follow him, two by two, the other people following closely. This procession goes around the interior of the big house and back—then out into the enclosure that surrounds it. During this part of the ceremony, a low chant is sung, with an occasional wail here and there. While walking in this procession, they come down more firmly on one foot than the other, keeping time with the music.

When they stop marching, the women holding the effigies gather in a circle just outside the big house. Here they dance and sing amid great wailing on all sides. The dance consists in stooping over, drawing themselves up on their toes, and coming down on their heels rather hard, while they are singing. After they have done this for a few minutes, the other members of the clan throw money and calico on the images. This is done as a sign of respect to the dead. No member of the clan may pick up the money or calico, but outsiders are not slow in doing so. Many yards of calico are thrown away at this time. I saw one small white boy go right in among them and pick up money as fast as it was thrown. After it was over, he had eleven dollars in small change. There was a great deal more than that thrown, for many others were picking up the money, too. As fast as it was thrown, people grabbed for it.

They dance a while longer, then the women with the effigies march out in single file to the graveyard and there burn them. No one is allowed to witness this, so I do not know what is done there.

After the women have gone to the graveyard, the Net goes to each one who has been "called" to the *fiesta* and presents him with a long string of shell money. These shells are small round disks. They say that these strings have been handed down for many generations and are considered very valuable. The ones who receive the strings of shells thank the Net. They then depart. The *fiesta* is over.

The next year, these shell strings are returned in the same way in which they were received. In this way the shells pass from one village to another.

Often cooking utensils are given to the women when they leave. The givers may have received these same utensils the year before from the same ones to whom they are now returning them.

During *fiesta* week, the ceremonies have been carried on and attended to by the old people only. While they are singing and dancing in the kishumnawat, the younger people play tepanish or peon, as the native gambling game is known in Spanish. This has become part of the *fiesta*, and appears to have a religious significance. Peon has been previously described.⁹ They play it all night and a great deal of money is put up. It is an intensely interesting game, even to the spectator.

During these six nights, lunch counters are run by the Indians. They sell tamales, pie, and coffee. On the cold winter nights the coffee serves to keep one not only warm but awake.

SHAMANISM

The Cahuilla retain to this day the greatest faith in the shaman. These medicine men are still common among them and continue the practice of healing through supernatural power much as they used to do long ago.

As a rule, the Indians speak of a shaman as a "witch-man" in English, or "hechizero" in Spanish. The Cahuilla name is pul. They have absolute faith in his power. Even the young people, who have had the advantage of an excellent education and many years of contact with white people, retain this confidence.

There seem to be more shamans among the Desert Cahuilla than among the Pass Cahuilla, at least more who are still keeping up their practice. This may be accounted for by the fact that the entire manner of living is more primitive in the desert; also there is not such intimate contact with white people, for the desert reservations are more isolated than other reservations.

In the beginning, before Mukat died, it is said that he gave to certain individuals special powers, such as curing disease—to each one the power of curing a certain disease. There were specialists in those days even as now. He also taught them the language of animals and birds and gave them powers with reference to spirits and death.

⁹ C. G. DuBois, present series, VIII, 167, 1908; P. S. Sparkman, *ibid.*, 212, 1908; T. T. Waterman, *ibid.*, 330, 1910.

Takwich was the first medicine man appointed by Mukat, and the most powerful. He still holds an important place, which is discussed under Tales and Beliefs.

Mukat is still giving supernatural power to individuals. This he now does in their dreams, through the medium of a guardian spirit. This spirit visits the future medicine man in his dreams. The connection thus established between them is the source and basis of the shaman's power. From it, he receives the song which must always precede a supernatural act, the knowledge which enables him to remove disease, and gives him the power to do and endure what other men can not.

Takwich seems to be the guardian spirit of most of the medicine men, though many get their power from other spirits.

Contradictory accounts were told me as to when these dreams first occur. Several times I was told that they occur in early childhood. When this happens, the child never relates the dream. He is usually a sick child or cries a great deal. If an old man attempts to cure him by the sucking process, he sucks the power out of him and the boy will never become a medicine man. The child dreams the same thing many times. In the dream is revealed what he will be able to do and just how to do it; for instance, how to eat fire. When he becomes a young man of about eighteen or twenty years he tells his grandparents that he wishes to dance and his grandparents tell the Net. A gathering of the village is then called at the kishumnawat, the ceremonial house. Here the young man gives a feast to the people. If he does not do this, he will not be successful when he dances and he may die.

After the feast he must dance or some evil will befall him. He is usually very timid about it. He is given three nights. The first night he dances and sings one song, the second night two songs, and the third night three songs. If he can successfully sing these three songs, and dance, he is reputed a witch-man. From that time he can do many things which others can not do. At first, he can do only a few things, but the older he gets, the more powerful he becomes. Whenever he is called upon to cure a sick person, he must go, no matter what the hour may be. He may not accept pay in return, while he is young. When he becomes old, he may do so, for he will then need the aid. He must never reveal the secrets learned in the dreams.

Shamans can usually tell when they look at children whether they will be medicine men when they grow up or not, but may not make this known.

Old Ambrosio, the famous fire-eater, told me that he did not dream when he was a child. He said it was not until he was about forty years old that he dreamed and then at once he could eat fire and perform many marvelous tricks. He also said that the first time that he sang his songs and performed his tricks was in the kishumawat before all the people, that he had not had to practice them alone beforehand as I had been told all witch-men did.

One informant stated that a shaman got his power by dreaming during childhood, and that when he grew up he usually met his guardian spirit while out hunting and all alone. It was then that he was given directions as to what to do. This was the only information I had of the acquiring of power by the Cahuilla through the "waking vision."

In their dreams, the shamans are taught what herbs to use in specific diseases. There appear to be two kinds of medicine men: the herb doctor and the "spell" doctor; but the herb doctor often resorts to the methods employed by the spell doctor, and vice versa.

The method of curing disease or pain most often practiced is that of sucking. Disease here, as among so many primitive people, is held to be the result of some small material object entering the body in a supernatural way.

The sucking is performed directly by the mouth upon the part of the body affected. Sometimes they pretend to draw out dark fluid; more often it is a small black object. Several times it was described to me as looking like flakes of snow. There are many ideas on the subject. It is extracted by the witch-man without an incision or trace of its passage. No one but he can see plainly what he has taken out by this sucking. This is because only he can see spirits or supernatural objects. Others have at times caught a hasty glimpse of the object.

Occasionally pain is caused by what we should call an organic disease. This must be cured by sucking, too. Lee Orenes and his wife are well educated Indians of Agna Caliente. She was very ill with stomach trouble, and went to Dr. Coffman, a white man, for help. He gave her some pills but she became worse. She then went to her father-in-law, old Orenes. He placed his mouth on her stomach and not only sucked away the pain but the pills which Dr. Coffman had given her.

There was a Mexican woman who lived near the Indians. She had some kind of brain trouble and suffered a great deal. The

Mexican doctors could do nothing for her, so she asked an Indian medicine man to help her. He sucked out the bad part of her brain and put it on a plate and showed it to her. She became well at once, the informant deposes.

A snake bite is always treated in this way.

Sucking, however, is not the only method of cure employed. Blowing or spitting over patients and stroking or rubbing their bodies were also resorted to. A fever was usually treated by blowing on the body. Many cases of immediate cures in this way were related to me.

There was one woman who had not menstruated for many months. She went to Francisco Torres to be cured. The next time it was new moon, he inserted a long stick in his nose and caused his nose to bleed. This blood he caught in his hands and rubbed on her abdomen. The next day, she menstruated and had no trouble thereafter. The moon is said to have influence over menses.

One man at Martinez had a unique method of driving away the disease pain. This was by butting with his head against the body of his patient, at the same time uttering sounds and going through certain motions with his hands.

In my discussion of the *fiesta* week, I have described the fire-eating ceremony. This, more than anything else, seems to hold the Indians to their faith in the shamans, even to this day. They consider it a proof that the witch-man has help from some spiritual being.

It is said that about thirty years ago when the medicine men were still at the height of their power, many marvelous deeds were performed. In those times, during a *fiesta*, competitions between the various witch-men were held to determine which was the most powerful.

When performing these feats the medicine men must never be disturbed. A story is told of one man who used to go out in the brush each day, scalp himself, and after a while replace his scalp and come home. One day, some hunters saw him do this and cried out. The man's scalp immediately dried up and he died.

One incident occurred at one of these competitions which has been related to me by several informants. They say that Luis Quintano, who has an unusual amount of hair, took red-hot coals of fire and put them all over his head and let them stay there. One old man who was looking on became so frightened that he ran up to Luis and tried to put the fire out. In doing this, he accidentally touched the

skin on Luis's neck. For a long time that spot on his neck was sore. Luis still has the scar of it. His hair was not even singed.

One man pulled his entrails out and hung them up while he danced and then replaced them.

It was during this same *fiesta*, so it is related, that Juan de la Cruz, now living at Morongo, assumed the shape of a bear. He did this just as he finished dancing, then ran away, so that they did not get a good look at him. He first began to growl and imitate a bear, and then he really assumed its appearance.

Another man saw a dove walking around; he raised his hands and clapped them together. The dove dropped as though dead and blood flowed from its mouth. He then picked it up, threw it into the air, and it flew off as though nothing had happened.

The people should always do as the witch-man advises, for he knows many things which no one else does. He understands the language of animals, birds, and plants.

Once, during a *fiesta*, they were all in the big house. A coyote howled. The shaman told the people that there would be an earthquake, and they should come outside. They laughed at him. But very soon there was an earthquake and several people were killed.

Certain animals, birds, and insects are messengers to the shaman. Owl, coyote, fox, humming-bird, yellow-hammer, crow, fly, woodpecker, blind gopher, skunk, and earth, have been known to act in this capacity. Through a message from one of these, the medicine man knows when sickness or death is to occur among his people and who will be the victim. It is not always through these messengers that he finds these things out, however. When a star falls at night, he knows that some soul has left its owner and that that person will die soon unless the soul is made to return. When a portent of this kind appears, he calls the people together, dances, and tries to bring back the soul or prevent the sickness, as the case may be. In his song, he prays to his guardian spirit to help him. At a time like this, owl or yellow-hammer feathers are worn in the hair, for these birds have great wisdom and often give help.

Many Indians besides medicine men claim to understand the cries of animals at night. Before going hunting, they always listen for the owl at night to learn if they are to have good luck.

A certain cry of a fox at night means that death is to come to someone the following day. One night this occurred and the old men warned some young fellows who were going hunting the next day

not to go, that harm would come to one of them. They would pay no attention but went. On the way, one man's hat fell off. He stooped to pick it up; this occurred several times. The last time it happened, his horse kicked him when he stooped, and he died from the effects. A man's hat falling off is always considered a sign of ill omen.

When any of the animal messengers are killed, they can still be useful to the witch-man. Most medicine men carry a dead humming-bird in their pockets; at least they used to, and some may do so even now. When the medicine man wishes anything done, he tells his wish to the dead humming-bird and its hovering spirit hears and performs the request. It can go and return in an instant, no matter how far it has been sent.

A very few men claim to be able to change the weather; they are said to have received this power in their dreams. It is told that at one time the Cahuilla heard that a foreign people was coming into the valley to kill them and take their land. One old man, who could change the weather, caused it to become so extremely hot that the people came in only a little way and then went back. This man's guardian spirit was Takwich.

When a shaman wanted it to rain, he had first to give a feast, for that was what Mukat had told him to do. Next he would dance; rain would soon begin to come down.

A few medicine men were able to make a potion which would give its owner sway over the affections of the opposite sex. One man told me that he had not believed this was so until he had actual proof with his own eyes. The man speaking was August Lomas, the best educated Indian in the valley. He then related to me what he considered was proof. A man, Celso by name, from Coahuilla, in the mountains, had been given some of this love potion by a medicine man. Celso was an Indian policeman. As a rule, the policemen are disliked by the other Indians, but they all liked Celso. This is because he has the love potion. Whenever he hears of one who does not like him, he watches for that one to expectorate on the ground; he then puts some of the potion on the saliva. After that, all is well. One day, he and August were eating at a restaurant. August had just told him that he did not believe in the love potion. Celso said he would prove it to him. There was a Japanese waitress in the restaurant. Celso did something with the love potion which August did not see. In a few minutes the waitress came over to the table, stood there, and gazed at Celso. She had a great deal of work to do, but would not pay

attention to anyone else but him. Celso told August that if he wanted to win a girl's love, all he usually had to do was to put some of this substance on her door at night. The potion would last him always, but he was not allowed to give it to anyone else to use, nor even to show it to anyone. If he did so, it would lose its value, for it had been made for him alone.

Occasionally a shaman became too powerful and the people feared him. When this happened, sooner or later they murdered him. One case of this kind which seems to have been especially celebrated was told me several times.

A man whose name was Tamiotemevai, could do very extraordinary things. He could cut his stomach open and have no apparent pain and the opening would heal in an instant. He could pull his tongue out until it was several feet long. He could fill his pipe with tobacco, hold it up toward the sun an instant, and it would light. Tamiotemevai was very cruel to his wife, so she left him and ran away toward Torres; he ran after her. As he was about to capture her, the people seized and killed him. They tore him to pieces that he might not return to life, for they had apparently killed him several times before this, and each time he had returned. As they were doing this a lizard jumped out of his heart. They caught and killed it. Had they not done this, the lizard would have reassembled the pieces of the man's body and he would have lived again, for the lizard had been the source of power in the man. They buried the lizard far underground. Soon afterwards, there was an earthquake. It was the lizard trying to get out; but he did not succeed.

SPIRITS

The Cabuilla belief is that everyone has a telewel, a spirit or soul. This spirit is very elusive and may leave one almost any time. When they dream, this telewel has left them and is really going through the experiences of which they are dreaming. While the spirit is gone, they cannot wake up. But if someone comes and tries to waken a dreaming person, the telewel knows it and can return instantly. However, they are very careful not to waken a medicine man when he is sleeping, for he may be dreaming. His spirit has gone so far away and is so very busy that it cannot return immediately. In case a person wakes before his spirit returns, as occasionally happens, death results sooner or later.

The spirit leaves the body many months before death comes. The person to whom it belongs does not know this, however. These wandering spirits cause much trouble. They haunt the homes of close relatives. Innumerable instances of this are told. For example, August Lomas and his wife, of Martinez, a young couple of excellent education, told me of an experience they had about a year ago. They were in bed one night and knew that they had locked their doors, but they heard someone come in, walk all around the room, and then walk out again. That same night, Mrs. Lomas's sister had the same thing happen in her home. A few months later their uncle died, so they knew then that it was his *telewel* that had been wandering around.

Sometimes, when the spirit leaves many months before death is to come, the person gets sick and poor and seems lifeless. Only a medicine man can cure him. Accordingly, the father of the sick man asks a shaman to help get the *telewel* back. All the people then gather in the *kishumnawat*. Usually the spirit is somewhere in the neighborhood of its owner. The medicine man puts feathers in his hair and dances, chanting all the while, and making motions with his hands. Soon he stops and puts feathers on the forehead of the sick man who is lying near the fire. He next begins to run around and make grabbing motions here and there, and may even run outside the house. He is the only one who can see the *telewel*, and apparently he has located it and is trying to catch it. When he gets it, it may be a lizard, a grasshopper, or almost any small object. I was told that he next "explodes" it, but I could not learn what that meant. After this, he places it among the feathers on the forehead of the sick man and then takes these feathers and brushes him all over. After a little more dancing, the process of restoring the spirit is complete. Of course, this takes place at night. The next morning, the cured man must take a dip in cold water.

The Indians have great fear of epidemics. Many years ago, a smallpox epidemic killed many. Not long ago, they had an epidemic of mumps. They live such unsanitary lives that when a contagious disease is brought among them, it spreads very rapidly. Whenever they hear of an epidemic of any kind in Los Angeles, Riverside, or San Bernardino, they hold a meeting. Here the shamans exert all their power to drive away any spirits of disease which may be among them, and to keep the spirits of the epidemic where they are. They sing and dance all night.

I was told that when people faint, their spirits have left them to commune with other spirits. Whether the fainting is a cause or a result of this, I was not able to find out.

A falling star means that someone's *telewel* has departed. If the medicine man sees the star fall, he, and he alone, knows whose spirit it is.

There are certain active spirits which steal a *telewel* whenever they can find one; often this is when a *telewel* has left the body in which it belongs, during a dream. These evil spirits watch for falling stars, they then know a *telewel* is out wandering, and unless a medicine man prevents them, they seize that *telewel*. These evil spirits are: *Takwich*; *Hulim*; *Tukaiei*; *Tenaiaukel*; *Tevlevel*. *Takwich* is the most active and powerful of them.

I found only one bit of evidence to lead to the conclusion that the Caluilla believe in living persons being possessed of evil spirits. This was a story told to Mrs. McCarroll, a white woman, who was for many years the government doctor for the Indians and had their confidence.

There was a half-witted Caluilla girl, about sixteen years old, Mary Holmes by name, living with her parents on one of the reservations. She was of rather questionable character, so the school teacher had planned to send her away to boarding school. About this time an epidemic of grippe and pneumonia broke out and many of the Caluilla died. Dr. McCarroll attended most of these cases. Finally, in the home of Mary Holmes, two were afflicted in this way. About this time, a Paiute medicine man came among the Caluilla. He announced that there was someone among them who was possessed by an evil spirit which was causing the sickness, and that until it was driven out, the sickness would continue. For some reason, Mary, the half-witted girl, was blamed for the trouble. She was taken and made to dance all night to drive the evil spirit out. When she would fall exhausted to the ground, she was beaten until she got up and danced some more. The next day she disappeared. Word came later that she had been taken to Mojave and burned at sunrise; this custom was considered necessary in such a case. However, upon investigation by the civil authorities, she was found in San Bernardino. The Indians then explained that they could not burn her because of the white man's law, but that they should have done so. Albert Augustin told Dr. McCarroll that this was not a custom merely introduced by the Paiute medicine man, but that it was a belief among the Caluilla in olden

times that the only way to get rid of an evil spirit was to burn its owner at sunrise. I was not able to obtain any other evidence confirming this statement.

After death occurs, the ghost stays around its familiar abode for a little while. Basket Chihuahua of Torres relates how at one time he was sitting just outside his house, when he suddenly heard the sewing machine running inside, though there was no one there. The next day he heard that his sister had died at that very hour. This was held as conclusive evidence that her ghost had been running the machine.

One bit of information on the subject of spirits was volunteered by Francisco Potencio, of Agua Caliente. It was evolved, as he said, from his own thought on the subject. He believes that our breath is our spirit, for it leaves us when we die. Breath is just like wind, so the winds which we hear at night are the spirits of the dead.

FUTURE LIFE

Mukat created a place in the east as a residence for the spirits of the dead. This was called Tehmish (compare *telewel*, spirit). At the entrance to Tehmish were two constantly moving mountains or large hills. They would come together and separate, come together and separate; this movement never ceased.

Montakwet was made guardian of this entrance, and he will never die. When the spirits of the dead find their way to him, he questions them. One of the tests he puts to them is the making of many figures in the game we know as "cat's cradle." After they pass the tests he gives them, they try to enter Tehmish. If they have lived good lives, been generous at all times, thoughtful and respectful to the old people, and have obeyed all of Mukat's orders, they pass through the entrance without any trouble. If they have not done these things, the mountains come together as they pass through and they are crushed. When this happens, the spirits become bats, butterflies, rocks, or trees near the entrance.

The spirits know each other in Tehmish. Often they gather and decide that they want a certain person with them. This decision causes that person to die soon after, and he goes to his friends in Tehmish.

Sometimes a man dies undesignedly and the spirits in Tehmish have not been prepared for his arrival. If they do not want him there,

he is sent back. This is evidenced by the fact that often a person who has apparently died, in a minute begins to breathe again. When this occurs, the person who has died but come to life again must not tell what he saw in Tehmikhish. At the end of three years he may tell, but if he does so earlier, he will die and his spirit will be caught between the moving mountains.

This is all according to Mukat's plan. Many people do not pay any attention to his commands, however, especially young people. Evil will come to them in the end.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

As soon as a Cahuilla dies, he is washed, dressed, and taken to the ceremonial house, kishummawat. The members of his clan gather round the body and sing all night.

If the deceased was a man, the Creation story is sung, if it was a woman, a song about the Moon is sung, for the Moon was the teacher and best friend of the women. If death has occurred to either man or woman by accident, the Battle song is always sung. They sing for a while and then stop and cry and blow upwards three times. This is all done to send the spirit to a peaceful abiding place.

Up to the time of contact with the Mission Fathers, cremation was universally practiced. After that, they began to bury their dead. One old Indian in explaining this to me said, "We used to burn our dead, but the white people told us that was wrong. Now the white people do as we used to and burn their dead, but we bury ours as they taught us to."

After they have sung all night over the body, it is put in a rude coffin and carried to the Indian graveyard. Cloth, food, and often bedding also are put in the coffin. The Indians claim it will be useful for the spirit, if it can not find a resting-place elsewhere right away.

If the dead person was a woman, every woman present picks up a handful of dirt, and drops it upon the coffin in passing. If the corpse was a man, the same thing is done by the men present. Meanwhile there is a low chanting and wailing going on constantly.

It is not always necessary that they sing over the body the first night after death occurs. For example, not long ago a man was killed in Los Angeles by an automobile running over him. It would have been expensive and useless to send the body from Los Angeles to

Martinez. A friend sent part of the clothing, instead. They put this in a coffin and sang over it as they would have done over his body.

When one is very ill and not expected to live, he is removed to the kishumnawat. Here the people gather and sing the death song over him all night. If he dies in the night, the song changes instantly to more of a wail, and different words are sung.

I was told by a white woman of an instance where a small boy had his leg broken while playing. This was the second serious accident he had had in one week. Because of this, his people decided it was intended he should die. Accordingly, they took him to the kishumnawat and sang the death song over him. The poor child was suffering greatly, for they had not tried to relieve his pain; he was also nearly frightened to death. During the night, the white woman who knew about the case, sent the Government doctor to set the boy's leg. The parents objected at first but finally consented. They continued, however, to sing the death song over him. Soon the boy began to improve, so he was removed to his home.

Destruction of property is still practiced. Within two or three days after the funeral, the house in which the deceased has lived is burned, with all of his possessions.

The belief in spirits is very strong. They believe if they burn the property of the dead one and his place of habitation, the spirit will not return. One other explanation has been offered. The constant sight of objects which have belonged to one who is no longer living or the associations attached to his home make the people sad. To avoid this, they burn everything up.

At present, on some of the reservations, many of the Indians have rude frame houses. They do not burn these houses after one death, but when there have been three deaths in one home it is burned.

ENEMY SONGS

Up to a few years ago, each clan possessed songs known as enemy songs. They sang them during *fiestas* so that their enemies might hear them. Each side took turns. There was usually the kindest feeling toward these so-called foes.

This custom no doubt started from real troubles, but after the passage of years the descendants, though not knowing what the enmity had been, still continued singing these songs of ridicule as though it were a religious duty. The main point in singing them seems to

have been to reveal the fact that the secret name of the opposing clan had been discovered. This is described below in the section on the naming of children.

Occasionally, hand to hand fighting started among the women on account of something said in a song. Because of this, and because of a desire to prevent any new enmity being created among clans, the singing of these songs was abolished a few years ago.

The words of a few are as follows:

1. His food gave out, his water gave out,
Leave him now, go away from him:
Isilwelnet (enemy name)
(Repeated as many times as desired.)
2. Bury him now, plant him now:
And then they buried him, and then they planted him:
Pehuetematewilwish.
3. There stands the whirlwind, there stands the whirlwind,
Where they burned him, where they burned him:
Pehueulehalmalmia.
4. In the middle of the desert land,
Lying on his back,
Lying on his stomach:
Tamiotingish.
5. They are coming back again,
They are coming back again,
Those moon-eaters and sun-eaters,
Those moon-eaters and sun-eaters.

BOYS' INITIATION

It has been fifty or sixty years since these ceremonies have been performed among the Cahuilla, and it is therefore difficult to get an accurate account of them. Hardly any two versions agree.

The ceremony of initiating boys was known as Hemvaehlowin. Several weeks before the time set for the ceremony, the old people met together and decided which boys were to be initiated. The boys chosen were between the ages of ten and eighteen.

About a week beforehand, certain old men went out to gather the plant commonly known as "jimsonweed" (*Datura stramonium*). They also were given charge of the preparation of the liquid to be made from it. They placed parts of it in jars and cooked it for a long time.

When the men went out to gather the jimsonweed, the candidates for initiation were taken to a brush enclosure outside the ceremonial house, made especially for this purpose. Here they were kept for five days and not allowed to see anyone except those who brought them their food. They were fed twice a day. The food could not contain any salt or grease.

During the last three nights of the confinement of the initiates, the old people danced all night. On the fourth night, the boys were brought out. The decoction made from the jimsonweed was then given to them by some old man who knew exactly how much they could stand, according to their age. The Spanish word for this drink is *toloahe*; the Caluilla word is *rehasawel* or *kiksawal*. The other old people sang while this drink was being administered. As soon as the boys had taken it they would begin to dance, but would shortly become very dizzy. They were then all put in a dark corner. It is asserted that drinking this decoction made the blood and mind clearer. The old people continued dancing around the fire. They encircled it three times and then sat down. At a signal from the leader, they made a queer grunting sound three times, then motioned upwards with the head and hands three times, expelling the breath each time. Right after that, the medicine men among them jumped up and ran into the fire, trying to stamp it out with their bare feet. They say this did not burn them.

By the next night, the bad effects of the narcotic had worn off and the boys usually felt about normal. During the succeeding five nights they were shown how to dance and how to use the gourd rattle as an accompaniment. At this time, they were also taught the enemy songs which had a very important part in the life of the people of that time. Each clan had its own enemy songs which it sang at special times. These songs had been handed down for many generations, as a rule, and while there may not have been any real enmity felt toward the people about whom the songs were composed, it was a sacred duty to sing them because their fathers had done so. Francisco Numbri of Martinez reservation, says they had to commit a great many enemy songs to memory, but that the songs were always short. For ten or fifteen days they spat on their legs instead of on the ground to remind themselves that they must remember the enemy songs.

During these nights of initiation, the boys were instructed by the old men, concerning the right conduct in life. For one month they could not eat meat or anything containing salt, and could drink only cold water.

All this time, they had arrow-weed twined around their waists and feathers stuck in their hair.

The parents of the boys being initiated did a great deal of weeping at this time. It was supposed to make them feel very sad to see these ceremonies.

Juan Lugo of Agua Caliente reservation, who gave me the account of the initiation as I have written it here, prefaced his story by stating that what he was about to tell me was absolutely true, for he had gone through this ceremony himself about sixty years ago.

He stated that several men had died as a result of drinking too much toloache or of eating the wrong thing afterwards.

GIRLS' ADOLESCENCE

Until within a few years ago, girls' puberty ceremonies were observed among the Cahuilla. These were called Hemelonewin⁷ or sometimes Hemelushinum. They were held at the time of a girl's first menses.

The father of the girl informed the people of her condition and called them together for the ceremony, which began the first night of her menstruation.

A hole was dug in the ground several feet deep and long enough for the girl to recline in. In this stones were placed and a fire built to heat them. When the stones became hot they were taken out and the pit filled with brush, on top of which the girl was placed and covered over. Here she remained three nights, the pit being reheated occasionally. In the daytime she was kept in her house where it was warm.

At night, during the ceremonies, the old men and women sang and danced around this pit. The song they sang was one which Moon had taught the people when she was on earth. In this song she instructed the girls how to care for themselves during their menstrual periods.

The only food the girl was allowed to have during these three days was an herb tea prepared by the old women.

One informant stated that this same ceremony had to be repeated during the second menstruation. The same informant stated that at the conclusion of the second ceremony each girl's chin was tattooed before she was removed from the pit. It was usually just a spot or

⁷ Present series, VIII, 66, 1908: pem-iwolu-niwom.

a streak. For a few days after this operation she was not allowed to walk but was carried, so that the mark on her chin would not fade.

There are many restrictions placed on Indian girls during their menstrual periods, in regard to the food which they may eat. No meat, fruit, or salt can be eaten, nor anything that has even been seasoned with salt. They should drink only warm water. Not only are they forbidden to drink cold water but also to wash in it. They assert that salt dries up the blood and that cold water will stop the flow. Bread, mush, and coffee are about all the girls can eat at this time. By obeying these rules, they may avoid cramps.

During these periods, an Indian girl must not scratch her body with her fingers. This is especially true of the head. If one finds it necessary to scratch, she should use a piece of wood, thus avoiding dandruff and other skin diseases. At this time, a weak tobacco solution is often drunk to keep the body free from odor. A menstruating or pregnant woman was never allowed to witness a peon or any other gambling game. It might turn the luck at a critical time.

Before a girl's entrance into womanhood, her grandmother, usually her paternal grandmother, taught her these things and other facts of life. From early childhood, she was taught to use very little salt in her food, so that she might become accustomed to the lack of it by the age of twelve or fourteen years. Mukat and Moon gave these instructions to the people in the beginning, and at the same time taught them the use of many herbs. The people used to obey all of these directions very carefully and a great many of them still do. The young people, however, are not so particular about doing so as they used to be. For this reason, they are sick a great deal and many die.

EAGLE CEREMONY

The Desert and the Pass Caluilla did not observe the Eagle ceremony but it used to have an important place in the lives of the Mountain Caluilla. However, I was not able to get any authentic description of the Eagle dance as held there.

I was told by one informant that in the days when the birds were human, Eagle was chief among them. One time when the people were famishing for water, Eagle found some and drank it all himself. Later, he became very much ashamed of what he had done and went high up into the mountains, where he would never have to see his people again. There he is still living.

SOCIAL LIFE

MOIETIES AND CLANS

The Cahuilla are organized in exogamous moieties, the Wildcat moiety (Tuktum), and the Coyote moiety (Istam). Descent is reckoned upon the paternal side.

These two moieties are divided into numerous clans, most of which appear to be localized. The majority of the clans are supposed to have received their names from the place in which the people of the clan first lived. Other clan names became attached to a family because of some special characteristic of its members.

The women remain in the same clan before and after marriage.

Mukat belonged to the Tuktum moiety for he was a Tukut. Tamaioit belonged in the Istam moiety for he was an Isil.

Moon was an Isil for she was created by Tamaioit.

NAMING OF CHILDREN

A special ceremony for the naming of children used to be held during *fiesta* week. The last one held among the Cahuilla was sixteen or seventeen years ago.

One name was given a child while in infancy; another at the age of ten or twelve years. The grandparents chose the name that was to be given first and told the Net (ceremonial chief) what it was to be. Then at the *fiesta*, just before the Effigy dance, the child was named. All the friends and relatives had been invited from far and near. The Net took the child in his arms and pronounced its name and then he and the other old men sang and danced. If the child was a girl, a song about certain plants was sung; if it was a boy, the song was about animals. I was not able to get the words of these songs. The name given the child was usually that of some ancestor.

The other name given to each child was known as the enemy name. Whether this was given at the time of the initiation ceremony into manhood and womanhood I was not able to ascertain. I could find out very little about the giving of the enemy name. Some close relative chose this name, which was usually a long one. At this time the

⁸This subject is discussed more fully by E. W. Gifford in this series, xiv, 186-191, 1918.

men danced and the women sang, all the while shaking the shulpaial (gourd rattle). It was the object of each clan to keep its so-called enemies from learning the secret names assigned to any of their number. As soon as the enemy did find out a secret name, it was incorporated into the songs, much to the chagrin of the clan by which the name had been given.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

An Indian woman who is pregnant must be very careful of what she eats and what she does, for there are many taboos in connection with pregnancy and childbirth.

First, in regard to food. Women should not eat any more than is absolutely necessary during the nine months, but they should drink a great deal of warm water, never cold water. Very little meat may be eaten and no beef. No salt may be eaten during the entire period. A woman in this condition must not eat the legs of game or the child will be born feet first. She should be careful not to eat anything that animals or birds have touched. For example, if the woman eats fruit which a bird has pecked at, her child will have sores.

She should not look at animals or anything ugly. They tell of an old man who used to dance the Bird dance. His wife always watched him, at the time she was pregnant. Twins were born to her and they looked like birds and soon died. Her people told her it was because she had watched her husband so much when he was dressed like a bird. Innumerable instances of this kind were cited. Anyone who is affected with sores, bites, especially snake-bites, or disease must stay away from a pregnant or menstruating woman.

She should never play with animals. People who are standing near her at any time should not speak about animals as being intelligent, or in any way draw her attention to them, for babies often become marked in this way.

It is considered very unfortunate to have twins. Little children are not allowed to remark about their being pretty when they see them. If they do, they are apt to have twins when they grow up.

Care must be taken as to the position a pregnant woman takes while asleep. If she sleeps with her hands folded under her cheek, the baby will come that way. If she sleeps with her hands extended over her head, the child is likely to be born with the umbilical cord around its neck.

A pregnant woman should never stand or sit in the doorway of a house; misfortune will come to her child if she does.

It is best for an expectant mother to have plenty of work to do during the nine months, so that her child will be industrious and strong.

It is clear that the principle of mimetic magic enters strongly into these beliefs.

An Indian mother does not lie down to give birth to her child but sits up; this is to prevent piles. If the placenta is slow in coming, the woman stands up over a pan of red hot coals. As soon as the baby is born, the mother lies down in a pit which has been dug in the sand and heated with stones. Hot sand is then poured over her. She is removed only to reheat the sand. This heat is supposed to prevent after-birth pains and to be very successful. The woman may get up and go outdoors the next day for a few minutes at a time, if it is necessary. The rest of the time she must remain in the sand pit for ten or twelve days. During the first week, she lies on her stomach most of the time, the next, on her back. Every morning she is sponged off with hot water.

For one month after the birth of her child, the mother must not eat meat, potatoes, sour things, anything containing salt, nor may she drink cold water. Rice, corn meal, gravy, and tea are about the only things allowed her at this time. During this first month, the father of the child must also refrain from eating food containing salt.

While the mother is nursing her child, she and her husband should not sleep together. If they do, the mother's milk will be spoiled and as a direct result the baby will be a sickly one. For this reason, a woman who weans her baby early is teased by her friends.

Ashes are placed on the child's navel soon after birth to help cure it.

SICKNESS^a

The chief disease among the Cahuilla is said to be stomach trouble. Any internal pain means stomach trouble to them.

They dislike taking medicine internally. For this reason, herbs are often applied externally. I saw an old man with his feet in a bowl of green-looking fluid. When I inquired about it, I was told that he was doing that to cure rheumatism in his feet.

Luis Quintano cured rheumatism in his legs by burning each one in eight different places.

^a Compare also the previous section on Shamanism.

In curing a snake bite, sometimes the sucking process is used and sometimes the application of a "snake-weed." Another name for it is golderino weed. I was told that a snake before fighting a rattlesnake always eats some of this weed so as to be immune to the poison.

The women have one method of curing pain which they try for everything, and it appears to be very successful. They dig a pit in the sand, heat it with hot stones, and remove the stones. The patient then lies in this hot pit and is covered with hot sand. When the sand cools, it is reheated. Hot sand is applied constantly.

While I was at Torres reservation, a woman had just given birth to twins. She had been attended only by one of her own family and blood poisoning had set in. She was in a terrible condition. They immediately placed her in one of these hot pits. Treatment such as this for that kind of a case would of course have proved fatal. A white woman, the government doctor, arrived on the scene and very much against the will of the family and of the sick woman, took her out of the pit and gave her the proper medical attention.

Dr. McCarroll told me of many cases where she had made a clean bed for some very sick woman only to come the next day and find her again lying on the dirt floor.

An old man was bitten by a poisonous black spider. The shaman was called to cure him; he applied herbs to the bite. During a certain length of time after the application, the old man was not to sleep with his wife. He did not heed this order. As a result, he started trembling and has never ceased. The old man was pointed out to me as an example of disobeying a medicine man's orders.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Women seem subservient to the men at all times. If there are any chairs, the men occupy them, while the women sit on the floor behind them.

Unselfishness and respect for the old people is their ideal of right living. Children are taught from infancy to be generous and kind to the old. When young boys go hunting they bring back everything they have killed to their parents and grandparents, for they never eat game of their own catching. If they were allowed to do this, they might get hungry and eat it all before they got home; then the older ones who were not able to go hunting would have no game. The young men might not eat the first fruits or vegetables of the season for the same reason. If one did, he was considered very ill-bred and discourteous by the others.

Only the young men went hunting. They had to be very careful what they ate and drank before they went. They would not eat soup, for it would make them thirsty on their long journey and water was scarce. Nor would they eat meat before going to the mountains as this might cause them to have pains in the side while running. They drank as little water before going as possible.

Liberality and generosity were considered the most important virtues. The man who was the best hunter was held in very high esteem. The woman who could do the most work in the shortest time was the ideal woman. Nowadays these things do not seem to matter so much.

There was always real affection between the members of an Indian family but very little outward demonstration of it. Kissing they considered unclean. A husband was never seen kissing his wife. A mother never kissed her son. I asked what greeting was extended by a mother to her son returning from a long absence. The reply was that there was no greeting, that the mother always wept at such a time.

A father was not supposed to fondle his own children much; since if he had to go hunting or to fight he might be gone quite a while and his children would miss him if he had been too good to them.

Some of the first of every crop must always be given to the Net, the *fiesta* chief. The man who fails to do this will become ill and the only way he can be cured is for the medicine man to take some of his beans away.

The first courtesy extended to a guest in an Indian home is to feed him.

Women used to use a special kind of clay for a hair shampoo. It was put all over the head and left on for a couple of days, then washed off, and it left the hair very nice and fluffy. Nowadays, they use herbs for this purpose; there is one which acts as a lather like soap.¹⁰

MARRIAGE

Until very recently, the parents arranged the marriages of their children. A boy's father decided that his son should marry and accordingly looked around for a suitable wife. When he decided upon one, he went to see her father and offered a couple of horses or a certain amount of mesquite beans in exchange for the girl. After an agreement was reached, the girl's mother spoke to her about it.

¹⁰ Probably *Chenopodium Californicum* (Barrows, *Ethnobotany*, p. 48, 1900).

If the girl did not approve, her father then talked to her and told her why she should marry the man of his choice and that she ought always to obey her parents. Usually, the girl agreed, for parental authority is very strong.

There was never any ceremony. The father of the groom simply led the wife to her husband's home. They always lived with the man's parents for several years. When his parents became quite old, the young couple built a new home right near them to live in, "for it was about time for the old folks to die." If they died in the house where the young people were, it would mean that their home must be burned. When a man dies, his widow goes back to live with her own parents.

If the son did not like the wife his parents had picked out for him, after he had lived with her for a while, he could send her back to her home. There was no divorce, merely a separation and remarriage when convenient. It was permissible for a man to have two wives.

If a wife misbehaved, she was tied to a tree and beaten by the chief.

Very often, a girl was married at the age of ten or twelve years. This was an arrangement between the parents. However, she did not live with her husband for several years. She was married simply to keep someone else from getting her.

It was the custom for a widow to marry her late husband's older brother, but this was not obligatory. She could not marry his younger brother. When a wife died, the husband usually married her sister, if she had one.

Marriage with even distant relatives was looked upon with extreme disfavor.

When the couple were first married, the woman lived at her husband's home a week or two before really living with him as his wife. This was done to give them time "to get acquainted," for as a rule they did not know each other very well.

A young woman was not wont to talk to her husband very much in their home. He was expected to converse with his parents who lived with them, and if his wife talked too much, his parents would be neglected. The two couples do not sleep in the same room, in the modern houses.

When a man and woman are first married, the old people who live near them go to see them, one by one. They do this to see whether

they are starting their married life in a selfish or generous way. If the new wife gives the old lady some flour or meal to take home with her, she is considered a good woman. If she does not, the old lady can not say enough bad things about her.

Familiarity between husband and wife before people, such as we are accustomed to, is an unheard-of thing. If a wife should be seen sitting on her husband's lap, they would be sure she was crazy.

There must be no joking or teasing between a wife and her brother-in-law or a husband and his sister-in-law. There must be the greatest respect shown always in these relations. First cousins are spoken of as brothers and sisters. A husband may tease his wife's cousin and vice versa. A man must be very good to his wife's father and brother.

One old man told me that very long ago if a man desired a certain woman for his wife, he went to her carrying his bows and arrows. If she refused him, he killed her. This was the only statement of the kind made to me, and I can not vouch for its authenticity.

WAR

The Cahuilla, like most of the California Indians, have been a very peaceful people. Their main troubles were between villages, and were caused by boundary disputes. Each village had definite boundaries, within which the inhabitants lived, hunted, and gathered mesquite and other food products. Food was very scarce in the old days and any infringement of one group on the land of the adjacent group was considered grounds for enmity and often subsequent war.

Poisoned arrows were used when it was considered necessary. A small strip of flesh which is connected with the lungs of animals was dried and softened in water. It was then soaked in a concoction made of poisonous herbs, ants, and tarantulas. A tiny particle of this was then placed on the tip of the flint arrowhead.

I shall now relate a few tales which were told me of war with foreign groups. Whether they are authentic or mythical I could not determine.

Long ago, there was a clan or village called Simotakiktem about six miles south of Agua Caliente. There was one man in the clan who caused a great deal of trouble for the surrounding groups. So these got together and decided to make war on the entire group. When the Simotakiktem saw the other Cahuilla coming, they hid in a big round rock which was just like a room and had a stone door. The

Cahuilla surrounded them, forced the door, and threw firebrands inside, and then closed the door. They were all suffocated.

There was a village by the name of Sewekiktem. The people there were very wicked. Once, while they were in the big-house, the Cahuilla surrounded them and killed them all.

At one time, when the Mexicans were living near Los Angeles, a great many Indians from Yuma came and stole their horses. The Mexicans asked the Cahuilla to help get them back. They all started out determined to annihilate the Yuma Indians. On the way they got lost in the desert and most of them died from lack of water. Those who survived returned to their homes.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

One can obtain very little information on this subject. After the death of anyone, his possessions are burned up, as I have stated before. Because of this, there is little left to dispose of.

If an old woman has some especially fine baskets which she wishes some particular friend to have, she sees that they are bestowed before she dies.

Land now goes to the sons. They all live on it, so there is no fighting over the division of property.

INDUSTRIES AND KNOWLEDGE

FOOD

The native belief is that all food was once human and could talk just as we can. Mukat designated certain people in the beginning who were to become plants and be converted into food for our use.

The mesquite tree is the main reliance of the Desert Cahuilla for food. It is their staple. The mesquite tree grows to a height of from thirty to forty feet. The wood is very hard, and all of it, even the roots, is used as fuel. The leaves are small and abundant and the branches very spiny. On the desert, in the Coahuilla valley, these trees grow in clumps, their roots reaching down to the subsoil water.

The mesquite beans, which ripen in the late summer, and of which there are several varieties, are gathered in great quantities, dried, and packed away in basket granaries. These are not husked but are

pounded in a stone mortar with a pestle. Many of the beans are worm-eaten in spots, but regardless of this they are all pounded together. A very fine meal is obtained in this way. It is then placed in an earthen dish and soaked. Then it is ready to be eaten and is very sweet and palatable.

I was told by several old men that the reason the Indians are dying so fast is that they are eating white man's food, canned goods and the like. They formerly used to eat their dogs when necessary, certain kinds of snakes, turtles, insects, in fact anything they happened to have around. They assert that from eating such food as this, the medicine men were much more powerful than they are now.

Mukat told Sokut (deer) that he must go to the mountains for he was to be food for the people. He told him he could hide in the bushes and high places for a while but that soon men would find him. Sokut felt very badly about this but he had to do as Mukat had told him to.

CLOTHING

For a long time, the Cahuilla say, they did not wear any clothes at all. The first they had were breech clouts of deer skins and mountain sheep skins. In cold weather they used skins thrown over their shoulders.

Mesquite bark was rubbed and pounded and pulled until it became soft. It was then used as diapers for babies and skirts for women.

Warm blankets of rabbit skin strips were woven.

EARTH-COVERED HOUSES

The sweathouse or hoyachet was quite extensively used among the Cahuilla in days past. There is one which is still used on Morongo reservation. This is the one which Dr. Kroeber has described,¹¹ and is an unusually small one, I was told. There appears to have been no standard size.

All agree that the use of the hoyachet was confined to curative purposes, through sweating. Old Ramon Garcia said that people gathered in this house and were retained in the intense heat for perhaps half an hour or more, or until they were sweating profusely. They then ran out and jumped into cold water and then back to the fire again. This procedure continued all night, as a rule.

¹¹ Present series, VIII, 64, pl. 15, 1908.

Women too were allowed the use of the sweathouse. Children could not stand such treatment, so they were seldom allowed to enter.

The Cahuilla had another kind of earth-covered house called a *tomekish*. I first heard of it from old Ramon at Morongo. He stated that it was neither used for sweating nor ceremonial purposes, but as a clubhouse in which the old men gathered to talk over important matters. He stated that its construction was very much like that of a sweathouse.

When I questioned Ambrosio of Torres reservation as to what a *tomekish* was he said that it was not a sweathouse nor was it what Ramon had described. He said that it was an earth-covered building in which many people could gather and where they slept during cold nights. He admitted that occasionally men did make speeches here.¹²

Then again, Francisco Numbri at Martinez asserted that a *tomekish* was the small enclosure built back of the *kishumnawat* (ceremonial house), and that in it were kept all ceremonial objects.

Others stated that the *tomekish* was a sweathouse.

The names—*kishumnawat*, *hoyachet*, and *tomekish*—however, suggest that in addition to their dwellings the Cahuilla employed several different kinds of houses for religious and medicinal purposes.¹³ Whether all of them were used in any one division of the Cahuilla is less clear.

BOWS AND ARROWS

There are no longer any bows and arrows to be found on the Cahuilla reservations. Collectors have taken them all. For this reason, what I was able to find out about bows and arrows was done through questioning only.

The bow was made either out of mesquite or of desert willow. These bows were from three and a half to four and a half feet in length, and from one and a half to two and a half inches in width. Usually the string was made of sinew or of mesal fiber.

The arrows were made of arrow-weed or cane. Short arrows with long feather trimmings were used for long distance shooting. For hunting rabbits, the arrow was about two and a half feet long. The short arrows usually had three feathers and the longer ones had two feathers. The long ones were the more common. Albert Potencio

¹² This agrees with the construction and use of the larger living houses of the Mohave.

¹³ Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 77: *hashlish*, "temescal, sweathouse"; Kroeber, present series, VIII, 237, 1909: *huyeteat* (*huyechat*), "sweathouse."

of Agua Caliente stated that black or red stone points were used in long distance shooting. Contrary statements were made concerning sinew-backed bows. Lee Orenes of Agua Caliente asserts that they were used there in shooting big game and in war fighting. Ramon Garcia of Morongo says that there never was any sinew-backing among the Cahuilla.

Arrows were carried in a skin bag slung over the shoulder. If this was not used, three arrows were carried in the left hand underneath the bow.

Cane arrows were straightened by being placed in a grooved, heated rock and then straightened at the joints. Arrow-weed arrows were heated in the fire and then straightened by the aid of the mouth.

Poisoned arrows were used in case of war. The method of poisoning has been described above.

HANDIWORK

The last few years has seen the passing of the manufacture of pottery among the Cahuilla, and it seems a great pity. They have evidently found it too easy to buy utensils which serve the same purpose, to pay them to make pottery. Collectors have gone through the valley and bought the best ollas so that now the ones that are left are very poor specimens.

Several informants described the process of pottery manufacture. There were two kinds of clay used. One they called tesuit, which was the best quality; the other was ulish. I was told that they found this clay in the mountains. The clay is first ground to a fine powder; water is then added. It is then patted into shape between a small smooth stone curved on one side and known as a paikwal, and a wooden paddle. Rolls of clay are built on to the top of the shaped vessel as needed. The paikwal is used on the inside of the bowl and the wooden paddle on the outside. The clay of the bowl must be kept wet all the time so that it will not crack. After it has the desired size and shape, it is smoothed down with the paikwal and with the hands, which are first dipped in water. The completed pot is then placed in the sun to dry for one day, and next placed in a pit and burned with cow manure. This also takes one day. If ornamentation is desired, it is painted before baking with red ochre from the mountains.

Carrying nets were woven of agave. They were very strong. A hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds could be carried in them when

they were slung over the shoulder. They were often used as cradles for the babies and swung between trees or opposite corners of the ramada. These nets are known as *ikut*.

Cahuilla basketry has been described at length,¹⁴ so I will not go into this subject except to say that this art too is dying out. It is true that some women still make baskets but the ones now manufactured are distinctly inferior.

Glass beads were used among the Cahuilla only when someone happened to bring them in from Yuma.

The first wells are said to have been dug with sticks in alkaline places, the mud being carried out in baskets. A well was dug in steps, so that it was easy to walk up and down.

To obtain salt, surface alkali was gathered, mixed with water, and boiled until it settled. The clear liquid was then boiled until it evaporated. The sediment that remained was used for salt.

GAMES

Football race.—Two wooden balls somewhat smaller than croquet balls are used in this game. There are two men on a side, each side having one ball. From a starting point, the balls are kicked several miles and then back again. The two men getting their ball back first are the winners.

New moon race.—On the night of the new moon, the boy who first saw it would run and tell the other boys of the village. All of the boys would then race to a certain spot, often many miles away, where there was water. Here they would jump in and swim, and then race back home again. This was supposed to bring them good luck during the following month.

Cat's cradle.—Figures are made of a string stretched over the fingers. I was told that many old people used to know almost a hundred figures. The ones mentioned were snake, dove, flying dove, carrying net, metate. This game has a religious significance, as mentioned under the head of Future Life.

P'con.—The playing of this guessing game has been referred to in the description of the Mourning Commemoration.

¹⁴ Barrows, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-45, 1900; Schmuacher, in Putnam, U. S. Geog. Surv. (Wheeler), vii, 247, 1879; *idem*, in Peabody Mus. Rep., ii, 521, 1880; Palmer, *Am. Nat.*, xii, 653, 654, 1878; Kroeber, present series, viii, 41, 1908.

DOGS

Dogs can not talk, but they understand everything that is said. They have a soul just as we have.

When the people left Mukat's house and came to this valley, there was one dog with them; his name was Hakliswákwish. The people on the Martinez reservation still name their dogs after that first dog.

From the very beginning, dogs were given certain names, either because of their looks or their individual actions. Sometimes people named their dogs after certain spots in the mountains which they considered their own.

Following is a list of dog names which are said to have originated in the beginning. These were given to me by Ramon Garcia of Morongo reservation:

1. Tukwusanel (Ramon's dog), male. Tukwas is sky.
2. Honwet-mihanwish, male. "Fights bear."
3. Honwet-mikish, female. "Fights bear."
4. Nishkish. "Ashes." Dogs were appointed from the beginning by Mukat, to sleep outside and act as watchmen. People used to throw their ashes outdoors in a certain place. The dog would sleep on that spot because it was warm. After doing this, one dog became gray and looked like ashes. After that he was called Nishkish, as all such appearing dogs still are.
5. Yoyetheki. "Spotted white." Once, in the beginning, when a dog was sleeping outdoors, it snowed and made the little dog spotted with white.
6. Isil. "Coyote." Brown like a coyote.
7. Isila, female. Brown like a coyote.
8. Iste-mihanwish, male. "Fights coyote."
9. Iste-mimikish, female. "Fights coyote."
10. Laueivanutkiwishye. "Cottonwood tree." A name given to a large black and white spotted dog.
11. Pauwetama. "Sore, small eyes."
12. Pulakalet. "White spots on head and neck."
13. Tamelkisol, female. "Small dog."
14. Yirhemhemke. "Small male dog."
15. Yuchemime. "Very small dog."
16. Chikutu. "Small dog."

CALENDAR

Several informants stated that there were only three seasons:

- | | |
|------------|------------------|
| 1. Taspá | budding of trees |
| 2. Talpa | hot days |
| 3. Tamitva | cold days |

August Lomas of the Martinez reservation, my most reliable informant, named eight seasons, each one based upon the development of the mesquite bean, which used to be the main food. They were:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Taspá | budding of trees |
| 2. Sevwa | blossoming of trees |
| 3. Heva-wiva | commencing to form beans |
| 4. Menukis-kwasva | ripening time of beans |
| 5. Merukis-chaveva | falling of beans |
| 6. Talpa | midsummer |
| 7. Uche-wiva | cool days |
| 8. Tamiva | cold days |

The old men used to study the stars very carefully and in this way could tell when each season began. They would meet in the ceremonial house and argue about the time certain stars would appear, and would often gamble about it. This was a very important matter, for upon the appearance of certain stars depended the season of the crops. After several nights of careful watching, when a certain star finally appeared, the old men would rush out, cry and shout, and often dance. In the spring, this gaiety was especially pronounced, for it meant that they could now find certain plants in the mountains. This was a cause for great rejoicing, for food was often very scarce in those days. They never went to the mountains until they saw a certain star, for they knew they would not find food there previously.

The Cahuilla counted time by moons. Several times I was told that there were thirteen moons, but at no time was I able to get the names of more than six.¹⁵ These were:

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. To menyil. | 4. Sa menyil. |
| 2. Tawe menyil. | 5. Menyil naa. |
| 3. Seya menyil. | 6. Menyil. |

The Cahuilla count has been published.¹⁶

¹⁵ This suggests a bi-solstitial calendar such as is used by the Zuñi and Hopi, by the Diegueño, and, in somewhat altered form, by the Luisiño and Juaneño. The moon names of one half year were repeated in the second half of the year by the first three of these tribes, and probably by the Cahuilla also.

¹⁶ Present series, iv, 71, 1907; viii, 237, 1909.

THE STARS

When Mukat was sick, many of his people left his house and went away without telling him. There were three sisters planning to do this, but they told him about it. Mukat was glad they told him. He said to them that they would know when he was dead by the frost around the house. These sisters then went to the sky and became stars. One morning, looking down from above, they saw frost around Mukat's house and knew that he was dead. They cried and could be heard far off. Whenever we have frost now, these three stars are seen in the sky.

Papinut is a star which comes up over the horizon just a little. This star twinkles more than the others and they call this jumping. It jumps all night. They say Mukat put it there to be funny; so it is spoken of as the funny star.

What we call the Milky Way is in reality dust kicked up by Isil and Tukut, Coyote and Wildeat, having a race.

In the constellation known as Orion, there are three stars in a row known as the Belt, which are mountain sheep. Below are three smaller stars in a row, pointing toward the first three; the sword. These represent an arrow which has been shot at the mountain sheep by a hunter. The great bright star below, Rigel, is the hunter who has shot the arrow at the mountain sheep.

Chehaum, three girls, are the Pleiades, Tukwishhemish a star near them, and Isilibnup and Holinach each a pair of stars—one brighter and one smaller—on opposite sides of the Pleiades. Isilibnup and Holinach are also described as side by side in the sky. Their half-brother Kuvvachmal is a bright star that rises only a little above the horizon—like Papinut. Tukvahtahat, father of the three brothers, is also a star. These are all characters in the mythical tales that follow. It is clear that transformation into stars is a favorite device in Cahuilla traditional narrative.

TALES AND BELIEFS

TAKWICH¹⁷

In the beginning, Takwich was a man whom Mukat created and to whom he gave great power. He was the first shaman. The people disliked him very much, so he ran away to the San Jacinto mountains. He still lives in a canyon there known as Takwich or Tahquitz canyon. His home is in a large rock. Though no one knows what rock it is, Takwich, and the people he has stolen, can see out of it as plainly as we see through glass. The *Cahuilla* never venture into this canyon for they are afraid Takwich will get them.

A meteor that is seen occasionally is believed to be Takwich hunting for wandering souls. The stealing of spirits is his main occupation. He takes them to his home on San Jacinto and there eats them; he often steals people as well as their souls.

The story is often told of a young Indian girl who bathed near Takwich canyon. Takwish desired and stole her and took her to his house in the rock and treated her as his wife. He often left her and brought back spirits for their food.

Here he kept her several years. She became very tired of eating spirits, and he decided to let her return home. First, he warned her that for three years she must not tell anyone where she had been, or she would surely die. Then he took her back to where he first found her and from here she went home.

Her people, who had never expected to see her again, rejoiced greatly and asked her where she had been. She refused to tell, but they kept urging her. In a year, when they were still questioning her, she told them to build her a large house and she would then tell them. After the house was built, she told all the people to gather there, and she then told them everything that had occurred to her while she was with Takwich. The next morning, just before sunrise, she died just as Takwich had said she would.

Occasionally, a rumbling sound is heard issuing from Takwich canyon. They say that some girl is begging Takwich to let her go and that he is growling at her.

They used to attribute all earthquakes to Takwich and whenever one occurred they would hold a dance.

¹⁷ Or Takwish.

When people are killed in an accident, it is often because their spirits have been stolen by Takwiche.

Once when they were boys, Francisco and Jim Torres were playing near the canyon. Suddenly they saw Takwiche coming out. He had a rod stuck through his head. He leaped over the hills and disappeared. Some women who were washing saw him at the same time.

Ambrosio, the medicine man, whose guardian spirit is Takwiche, says he sees Takwiche often, and that he looks like other men.

CHEHAUM AND TUKWISHHEMISH¹⁸

There once were three little girls, Moki, Kipi, and Tewe. They were small and not at all pretty, but were constantly laughing.

Tukwishhemish was a large woman and very pretty. When she laughed, she never opened her mouth. This made the little girls very curious. One day they made her laugh very hard, and she opened her mouth. They then saw that instead of having one row of upper teeth she had two. The little girls thought this very funny and they laughed at her.

Tukwishhemish was ashamed, so she ascended to the sky and became a star. Soon the little girls became so lonely that they too went to the sky.

Tukwishhemish can be seen to this day. She has her arms outstretched and wears a beautiful pin at her neck which shines very brightly in the sky. The three little girls are known as the Chehaum. They keep trying to look at Tukwishhemish but she keeps turning away from them.

Up to the time these four women went to the sky, there had never been a marriage, but the people were beginning to desire something of the kind.

Two men, Isilihnap and Holinach by name, heard of these girls and decided to go to them and make them their wives.

When they arrived at the home of the girls and found that they had left, they felt very badly. They looked all over the world for them but of course could not find them.

One night they slept in the big house. When Isilihnap woke up in the night, he could see through the smoke-hole. There he saw the

¹⁸ Told by Ramon Garcia of Morongo, a Pass Cahuilla.

Chehaum and knew that they were the little girls. He wondered how he could get near them.

At last he spied a greasewood stick. He put it in the fire until it began to burn, then threw it through the smoke-hole, and it went to the sky. He followed it. As the stick went through the hole, some ashes fell off. Since then, whenever ashes fall, it is a sign that it is going to snow. Isilihnuip became a star and still may be seen at one side of the Chehaum.

When Holinaeh woke up, he missed his partner and wondered where he could have gone. That night he slept in his brother's place. When he woke in the middle of the night, he too saw the Chehaum. He then knew where his brother had gone.

He took a naswit branch, lighted it, and threw it through the smoke-hole as his brother had done. Ashes fell just as they had done before. Holinaeh followed and went to the other side of the Chehaum. There Isilihnuip and Holinaeh can still be seen guarding the Chehaum.

The old people can tell what the weather is to be like by watching these stars. If they throw a dim light, the weather will not be good, but if the light is bright and clear, the weather will be fine.

Both Isilihnuip and Holinaeh are represented by two stars, one for the body and the other for the burning stick they threw ahead of them. When the star representing the burning stick appears, that signifies the beginning of the first month. When Holinaeh and Isilihnuip themselves appear, that means the beginning of the second month. This continues for the four winter months.¹⁹

KUNVACHMAL AND TUKVACHTAHAT²⁰

A

There was once a man by the name of Tukvachtahat. He was very powerful and could do many magical things. He had a wife, and a son whose name was Kunvachmal. Tukvachtahat and his wife quarreled all the time until they separated.

Soon Tukvachtahat married again and had two sons by this marriage. He was very rich and he and his family had everything they wanted.

¹⁹ With the Luiseño, Chehaiyam are the Pleiades, and Aldebaran is Coyote, who followed them (present series, VIII, 163, 164, 1908). The first part of the name Isilihnuip seems to mean "coyote."

²⁰ Told by August Lomas.

Kunvachmal and his mother were very poor and lived near Tukvahtahat. One day he visited his half-brothers. Tukvahtahat saw him there and told his boys not to have anything to do with him, for he hated him.

However, Kunvachmal had been there long enough to see what fine things his half-brothers had to play with, and was jealous of them. He went home and told his mother he wanted things such as his brothers had. She told him that they were poor and could not have such fine things. The boy began to cry. His mother went outside and made a bow and arrow out of mesquite bark. When she handed it to Kunvachmal, he complained because it did not have eagle feathers as his brothers' arrows had. She told him to go outside and pick up any kind of feathers he saw. He gathered quail feathers and she put them on his arrows and he was satisfied.

Next day, Kunvachmal took his bow and arrows and went to see his brothers again. They looked at his arrows and then broke them. Kunvachmal cried and went home and told his mother about it. She told him not to go back there any more, but he returned, and each day they broke his arrows.

Finally, the brothers tired of this and decided to play a game with him by which they thought they could win the arrows and keep them for themselves, instead of breaking them, for they were beautifully made arrows.

At first they won, and each day Kunvachmal went home without any arrows. Soon he began to win, however, and took home the fine arrows belonging to his brothers. This made them angry and they told their father how things were going.

Tukvahtahat did not like this at all and told his boys they must get even with Kunvachmal. He told them to have a race to the water next day and go swimming. He said the water looked like just a small pool but that in reality it was the ocean. He told them to let Kunvachmal win and dive in.

The next day they suggested to Kunvachmal that they have a race to the water and that the first one there should dive in. They took off their clothes and started out. As agreed between the boys, Kunvachmal won and dived in. He sank clear to the bottom and since it was the ocean, it was very deep.

Now Kunvachmal's father was a powerful wizard, so Kunvachmal had a great deal of power, too, but he had not known it until then. He sat down on the bottom of the ocean and wondered what he could

do to get out. He sang one of his songs, turned himself into a frog, and swam to the top of the water. When he got there, he saw that there were very high banks around him which a frog could not climb. He turned himself into many things, trying to reach the top of the bank, but was not successful until he turned into a water-ant.

He had been gone from home some time and his mother was very much worried. She cried all night, every night. In the middle of each night she heard a sound, and, thinking it was Kunvachmal returning would jump up to greet him, but it only proved to be his spirit. One morning she went to the home of the other boys and asked them where her son was. They pretended ignorance.

When Kunvachmal finally returned, his mother was very happy. When her crying ceased, Tukvachtahat knew Kunvachmal must have returned, and he was very angry that the boy had outwitted him. He then thought of another way he might get rid of Kunvachmal and told his boys about it.

Accordingly, they asked Kunvachmal to go hunting with them. They all went out into the thick brush, started a fire on one side, and then tried to drive the rabbits into it. While Kunvachmal was killing the rabbits which had been trapped the boys caused the fire to surround him. When Kunvachmal saw his danger, he sang his song and then gradually moved down into the ground. Fire kept drawing closer around him but he got clear under the earth before it reached him.

Before coming up out of the ground, he had to wait for it to cool off. At daybreak he came out and went home taking much game with him.

His mother had cried all night. When he returned she stopped crying. Then Tukvachtahat knew that Kunvachmal had gotten the best of him again.

Once, when Kunvachmal had been visiting his brothers, he noticed that they had mush to eat with their meat. He told his mother he wanted some to eat with his meat, so she should heat the water. She did as he told her, but was sure that they were too poor to make any mush. But the boy had brought some home under his finger nails from his father. He now put this in the hot water. It multiplied until the pot was full.

One day, Kunvachmal saw Tukvachtahat plant wheat. Kunvachmal wanted to plant some wheat too, so he stole a few grains out of his father's sack and sowed it in the mountains.

His brothers saw him do this and told their father about it. Tukvahtahat was so angry he made it rain hard and wash all of Kunvachmal's wheat away. Kunvachmal, desiring revenge, sang his song and made it rain still harder and made the wind blow so as to carry his father's wheat away also. He told the birds and insects to gather the wheat which had been washed out of his father's ground and bring it to him so he could store it away.

Because of this, Kunvachmal became very rich and Tukvahtahat poor. The time came when Tukvahtahat came to Kunvachmal and begged for food, that he and his sons might eat, for they were starving. Kunvachmal said, "Surely, go help yourself."

Later on, a big feast was being held some distance away. Tukvahtahat and his sons were invited to attend and to sing.

Kunvachmal was very anxious to go but his mother would not let him. She said he did not have fine enough clothes and did not know how to sing.

Tukvahtahat and his two boys went and were welcomed. Contrary to his mother's wishes, Kunvachmal went but nobody would pay any attention to him; he was too poorly dressed. He felt very badly and decided to go into a hole and get clothes made of the colors which are on a worm. He then decided to have the mosquitoes sing for him.

When he was all ready, he returned to the feast. Everyone stopped admiring his father and half-brothers to gaze at him. His clothes far surpassed those of any of the other guests and his singing was beautiful.

The people asked who he was and Tukvahtahat said, "He is a poor son of mine, why look at him? Why not look at some fine boys like these others of mine?" and he pointed to his other sons. But the people paid no attention to him and kept admiring Kunvachmal.

B

Soon Tukvahtahat became ashamed and very much chagrined, so he went away. He started out alone and had many strange experiences on his journey.

At the first village he came to, he saw a great many houses but they were all deserted and he wondered why this was. At the last house in the village, he found two old women. These old women were very much frightened when they saw Tukvahtahat. He asked them why, and they said, "There is a wild man around here who has been

capturing two of the village people every day, taking them away with him, and then eating them. We were afraid at first that you were that man."

He reassured them and asked them all the particulars about this man. He said he would stay all night and see what he could do to help them. The women were very glad, for they were the last ones in the village, so it was their turn to be stolen that night.

Tukvachtahat hid where he could watch what was going on. About midnight, there was a noise in the sky, a roaring and shaking of the entire earth. There then descended from the sky an awful-looking giant. He had a long cane with a hook on one end. He rested a minute, breathing hard, then reached out and hooked the two women with his cane and laid them before him. As he was getting ready to ascend to the sky and take them with him, Tukvachtahat reached out with his own cane and put the women back where they had been at first. This same thing happened three times. The wild man was very much puzzled, for he could not see Tukvachtahat. After the third time, he became angry and afraid and attempted to return to the sky, but Tukvachtahat killed him.

The two women were very grateful and wanted to go along with Tukvachtahat in his journeys but he would not let them; he said he was going far and the road would be dangerous.

He went on farther and came to a big rock. This he used for a bed. It is said that the hole is still there where he lay down.

He met a very tiny man and began to talk to him. The little man was bald and his head was soft like a baby's. Tukvachtahat pressed it hard and tried to run his finger through it but could not. The little man was exceedingly small and he had a very small bow and arrow. Tukvachtahat tried to break each part of the little man's body, also his bow and arrow, but could not. The dwarf's name was Keatkwasimika. He will live forever and no one can harm him. Every once in a while someone sees him. Paneho Lomas saw him once a long time ago.

When Tukvachtahat left Keatkwasimika, he resumed his journey and soon came to a little house where there were two beautiful girls preparing cactus fruit. They warned Tukvachtahat not to come near, for fear he would get thorns in his eyes. He insisted that thorns would not hurt him, but the girls said they knew they would. He lay down to rest. The girls were just about to put thorns in his eyes when he blew very hard and the girls turned into rats, which they had formerly been.

Tukvahtahat had passed from Phoenix to San Jacinto, through Perris valley and had now come to the ocean. Here he jumped in and later ascended to the sky and became a star. This ended the career of Tukvahtahat.

C

The two sons of Tukvahtahat, Isilihup and Holinach,²¹ had returned home after their father left them. It did not seem like home to them any more. On the way from the *fiesta* they had gathered two sticks, one of greasewood and the other a paloverde²² stick, each about two feet long. These they were to use as guides, in case they cared to take a journey.

The older one, Holinach, decided to run away since he was not happy at home; but he did not know just how to start. One night he awoke and saw just above him a hole in the roof of the house. He took his stick, put it in the fire a minute, and threw it up into the hole. It sailed up to the sky and made a path of light for him to follow. He then became a star.

When Isilihup awoke and could not find his brother, he was very sad and looked for him and sang about him for three days. On the third night he slept in his brother's bed. Waking up in the night, he saw the same hole in the roof. He then knew what his brother had done, so he took his stick, threw it up through the hole, and followed it to the sky. He also became a star.

These two stars, Holinach and Isilihup, are now side by side in the sky.

D

Kunvachmal returned home from the *fiesta* very happy. Very soon he too went to the sky and became a bright star. This star comes up at night just over the horizon for a little while and then goes right back again.

TAKWELTEKESNIKISH²³

A mother, her son, and daughter were the last ones left of their people. The rest had all been killed by their enemies. They lived near Indian Wells.

²¹ For another version of Isilihup and Holinach, see the preceding tale.

²² *Parkinsonia Torreyana* (Barrows, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

²³ Told by Ramon Garcia of Morongo with the remark that he should not have narrated it as it was Pancho Lomas' story. Pancho lives at Martinez. It argues a rather close connection between the Pass and Desert Cahuilla if they know each other's tales.

The boy's name was Takweltekesnikish. He took care of his mother and sister in the best way he could. His mother made his arrows for him. When he was still quite young, he went hunting and killed small rats. As he grew older, he killed squirrels and rabbits and took them home to his mother. He grew very fast.

One day, while he was out hunting, he saw smoke in the north. When he came home that night, he told his mother what he had seen and asked her what it was. She would not answer him. The next day he saw the same thing and again asked his mother and again she refused to answer him. On the third day, when he saw the same thing again, he was very insistent. His mother then said to him, "Those are the enemies who killed all our people."

He became a man and could make his own arrows. One day he became curious and walked a long distance from home until he found himself quite close to this smoke. He then looked carefully to see what kind of arrows his enemies had and noted that they had several different kinds.

When he returned home, he asked his mother why they had several kinds of arrows and he only one kind. She told him that was because they had many men there, each of whom could make a different kind, while she, being only one person, could make only one kind.

Takweltekesnikish began to think very seriously. He wanted to kill those people, but he was alone. Finally he made an arrow and threw it to the sky. After a time it fell down and was a large eagle instead of an arrow. Now the youth could put eagle feathers on his arrows.

Next morning, he went to the mountains to hunt but did not find anything. Next day when he went he noticed two things which he had not seen before, a track and a seed. He went home and told his mother that there were seeds up there and he wished she would go gather them. This she did.

The day after that the youth went to see if he could find the track again, but he could not. After that, he hunted again without success. In doing so, he came close to Sewia and saw a fire in two places.

Takweltekesnikish had a brown dog with him. While he was looking down the side of the mountain toward the fire in the valley, he kept walking nearer and nearer to it. Soon he came to a long net in which the people caught rabbits.²⁴ Takweltekesnikish had never

²⁴Two or three hundred feet long and placed in the brush. Rabbits were scared into this from all directions and then wound themselves up in the net.

seen anything like this before. Next, he saw many tracks, two horses, and some people. He did not know who these people were, but decided to find out. He sent his dog first.

The dog went to the first house. The man who lived there was a chief. He was also a Moluekek (?), so the dog would not go in. The chief called to him and said, "This is a good house, come in and I will give you tobacco and food." He repeated this three times. The dog paid no attention but went to the next house. This was the home of Tahtemeyawieh. He walked right in and lay down. The man there told his people to prepare a meal for the dog. They cooked something which the dog had never smelled before, so he would not eat it; he just lay quiet without moving. They then cooked something else, with the same result. The man began to get worried, for he was anxious to please strangers. Finally they prepared a meal for the dog which smelled like what he was used to. He ate this greedily and was then willing to move around and look at things.

Takweltekesnikish soon followed his dog. At the first house, the same man came out and tried to entice him in, just as he had done with the dog. But Takweltekesnikish would only do as his dog had done. With his bow and arrow, he kept pointing to the dog's track and following it, and he saw that his dog had not gone into the first house. When he came to the second house, he went in and sat by his dog. The man there prepared mush for him.

The people who lived there took the boy's bow and arrow; they also took his cap of owl feathers. In return, they gave him their own bow and arrows and a cap of crow feathers.

The next day, he returned to his home. He told his sister about his visit, how well he had been treated, and what nice people they were. He told her he wished she would go to see them too, that she could find the way by just following his tracks and for her to be sure and go to the second house, not the first one.

The next morning, about sunrise, she did as her brother had told her to do. When she arrived at the village, the man in the first house tried to get her to enter, but she went by and entered the second house. She sat down without asking any questions. The man was very glad to see her for he had no woman. He asked her to stay and be his wife; he told her he would treat her well and give her plenty of everything. She decided to do as he wished.²⁵

²⁵ This is said to have been the first marriage.

She very seldom went outside. After a while, it was time for a child to be born to her.

Early one morning, they heard a strange noise outside. It was her father star who blew a horn to scare the people. It had the desired effect. The chiefs got their bows and arrows and tried to find where the noise came from, for they were afraid. The woman and her husband were lying down. Tahtemeyawieh wanted to rise and get his bows and arrows as the others were doing but she told him it was only her father and there was no need for him to go. The other chiefs heard her; they then knew it was her father who had frightened them. They also knew she was to have a child, so a wizard bewitched her and she died.

After this occurred, Takweltekesnikish, his mother, and his dog started for Torres. Takweltekesnikish was still a young man, but he bewitched himself to look old. He then had only a little hair, was very much stooped, and had to walk with a cane.

On their way, they came to a house where a man lived whose name was Yuynelkik. They decided to rest there. Yuynelkik asked them to come inside. Takweltekesnikish said, "No, I shall have to stay outside because my mother is with me."

Each day Takweltekesnikish went to the mountains, made himself young, and hunted rabbits. He always caught a great many. He was always able to find plenty of mescal plants, too. When he returned home, he resumed the appearance of an old man once more. Yuynelkik kept asking him to live in his house with him but he would not do so.

Now Yuynelkik had two daughters. One day they thought they saw the old man cooking meat. They themselves had not been able to get any. They knew that he went to the mountains and brought mescal home. One day, when he went to the mountains, they followed him and saw him become a young man. They returned home and soon saw the old man returning.

Finally Yuynelkik persuaded Takweltekesnikish to live inside with him. The young girls, knowing he was young, went over and lay beside him the first night. Their father, seeing this, told them to keep away from the old man's bed because he was tired and old. But the mother told Takweltekesnikish to lie right down between the girls; this he did.

There was an older sister who was married already. Her husband told Takweltekesnikish to take a bath in cold water early in the

morning. This he did and returned younger. Each morning after that he became a little younger in appearance.

The brother-in-law went hunting every day but could not get anything. One day Takweltekesnikish went with him. They came to a hole and Takweltekesnikish said, "I believe there are rabbits in this hole." The brother-in-law did not think so, but Takweltekesnikish began to dig. Then he reached in and pulled out twelve rabbits. Takweltekesnikish was a wizard or he could not have done such things. The brother-in-law was a wizard too, but not such a powerful one.

One night he made a fire to dance around and asked Takweltekesnikish to dance. He did not answer. They asked him three times. The third time they asked him he got up and danced and sang. Soon he called on his helpers, Bear and Takwieh, to come into the house. Yuyuelkik was afraid then and told Takweltekesnikish to stop, that he was too powerful.

Next day they all went to the mountains to get mountain sheep. Each was assigned a special place to watch for them. Yuyuelkik's family went on one side of the mountain and Takweltekesnikish went on the other side.

Mountain sheep always go together and walk in rows. Takweltekesnikish killed the last one. Yuyuelkik came and asked if any had yet been killed. Takweltekesnikish said, "Are you really talking, my father, my mother?" The brother-in-law became very angry then.

They then saw many geese coming from the east. They said to Takweltekesnikish, "If you are so powerful, you can kill those so that we can eat them." Takweltekesnikish then bewitched them and they all fell dead. Yuyuelkik and his family greedily gathered them to eat. About half of the people who ate them died.

Those who were left determined to kill Takweltekesnikish. He knew it because he knew everything. He told his mother that they must leave.

That night, he and his mother and his two wives and his dog started out around the hills. They gathered yucca stalks to make a shelter for the night. Here they sat that night and talked. As they talked, they spat into the fire. The saliva kept talking back at them and made so much noise they had to move on.

Yuyuelkik pursued them. As he and his people drew near the place where the yucca shelter had been built, they heard voices and

thought they had found the ones they were looking for. However, it was only the saliva talking. They thought Takweltekesnikish was still awake so they decided to wait until later to attack them. Toward morning, they began to shoot arrows in that direction. They soon discovered there was no one there, so gave up the chase and returned home.

Takweltekesnikish and his people went as far as the place we now know as Warner's Ranch. There was no water there then. Takweltekesnikish named it Kupa.

Takweltekesnikish took a basket and threw it around in a circle. It came back to him and fell right in front of him down into the rocks. Then he and his mother and his two wives and his dog jumped into the hole made by the basket. Soon after that, water began to issue from there and has been coming ever since. It is very hot water.

ORIGIN OF THE BIRDS²⁶

When Mukat died, the people who were still living at the big house did not know where to go or what to do. They went east, west, north, south, above, and below. They could not decide which direction they were intended to take. They finally reached the edge of the water and here they saw Sovalivil (pelican). He told them how to find Tamaioit. When they found him, he asked why they came to him. "I am different from all of you," he said, "so I cannot help you, I fear. There is one thing I might suggest, however. I created the willow tree, which I forgot to bring with me; get the branches of that and brush yourselves with it and perhaps you will then know what to do." So they all returned and brushed themselves with the willow, then started out once more.

A few, who became tired, stopped, and turned themselves into rocks and trees. The others reached the top of Mount San Jacinto and here they slept that night. At dawn, Isel (a bird with a yellow breast that is often seen around swamps), awoke them and made them look around. A bird which is larger than a buzzard (condor?) told them not to look, that there was nothing to see. Nevertheless, they all looked around and saw many beautiful green fields. They decided to go to these. On the way, one by one, they stopped. These that stopped became birds. When the others returned that way, they named the birds.

²⁶ Told by Alexandro of Morongo.

(The informant would not go on with the story; he said it would take all night to name the birds, and that was all that remained to the tale.)

WHIRLWIND²⁷

There are two whirlwinds which are spirits, *Teniausha* and *Tukaieł*. They live in ant holes, and when a firebrand is put in their homes they came out very angry, letting out a whistling sound. These whirlwinds steal spirits just as *Takwich* does. They are always women.

Once August Lomas' uncle was outside of his house and saw a whirlwind coming. He took a big stick and chased her and beat her badly. She became smaller and smaller as he beat and finally disappeared altogether. When he told his people what he had done, they scolded him and said that he would have trouble before long, for Whirlwind is very revengeful. Not long after that, the uncle had to go away. A whirlwind came along, and a medicine man saw her. He asked her where she was going and she said, to destroy the home of the man who had beaten her. This she did. When August's uncle returned, his house lay in ruins as though a wind had blown it down.

There were a brother and sister living on the Colorado river above Yuma, near where Blythe now is. Each morning, the girl went out to gather sage and mesquite beans. One day she happened to go so far that she reached the home of Whirlwind. It was too late for her to run away. Whirlwind seized her and carried her to her home. Here she killed and ate her, as she did all of her victims.

The next morning, because the sister had not yet returned, the boy started out to hunt for her. He followed her tracks; they suddenly stopped and her basket was lying on the ground. He then knew that Whirlwind had caught her.

Now Whirlwind had a watch dog that stayed on top of the mountain and informed her of everything that was going on around the valley, for he could see a great distance. This dog, when he saw the boy, began to repeat over and over, "Someone is coming across your road, someone is coming across your road."

So Whirlwind went out to meet the boy and said to him, "How poor and bony you are! What are you doing here?" He told her he wanted his sister. She said, "I'll eat you too." He said, "I am a man, your mouth is not big enough to eat me." Whirlwind said,

²⁷ Told by August Lomas of Martinez.

“Oh, is that so!” and opened her mouth wide. The boy looked at it and said, “That isn’t nearly large enough.” She opened it still wider. He said, “That isn’t big enough, either.” They continued this conversation for some time; each time she stretched her mouth a little wider. When it was really very, very large, the boy took his bow and arrow and rammed it down her throat and she died.

He then ran to her home. Here he first saw a big bundle. He opened it, and many heads fell out. Whirlwind always ate all but the heads; these she tied up in bundles. He looked at each head, but not one was that of his sister. He looked into another bundle. Here he found his sister’s head. When the boy saw it, he ran out of the house and toward his home as fast as he could. Just as soon as he got outside of Whirlwind’s house, it became a flame. This flame chased him home but did not catch him.

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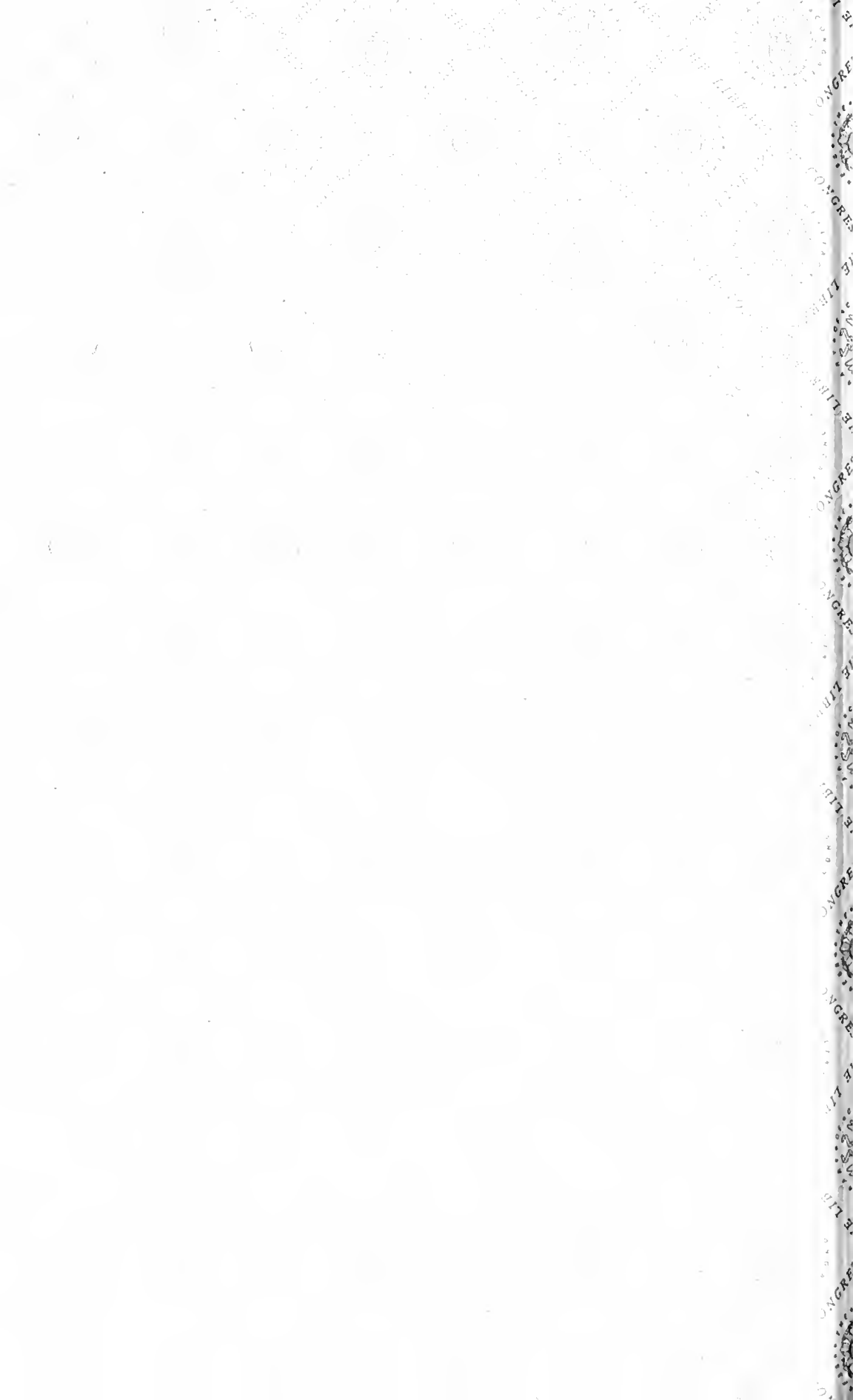
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