

As already suggested in the discussion of the Keruk ceremony, the Diegueño explain the origin of certain of their religious practices in the myths which concern a wonderful being called Chaup, to be identified in all probability with the physical phenomenon of ball-lightning. This myth has been contributed to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in complete form by Miss Constance Goddard DuBois, under the titles of "The Story of Chaup" and the "Story of Cuyahomarr."¹³¹ It must be noted in passing that this Chaup,¹³² or Tcaup in the orthography of the present paper, is in many respects the culture hero of the Diegueño. From his activity, according to the myths, date many of the phenomena which taken together compose the world as we latter-day peoples know it. For instance, the plants and animals used to be people until Chaup or his relatives imposed on them their present appearance. Cricket,¹³³ Jack-rabbit,¹³⁴ and Coyote¹³⁵ are mentioned specifically in one myth.

¹³¹ Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XIX, 161, 1906.

¹³² Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XVII, 217, 1904, and XIX, 147, 1906.

¹³³ Perhaps better "Chaups," in the plural, since his remarkable attributes are in the myths possessed also by his father, his uncle, and his grandmother Sinyaxau or First Woman. Sinyaxau is the "Sinyohauch" of Miss DuBois' narratives.

¹³⁴ Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XIX, 147, 1906.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

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Animals had no names, so he named them.¹³⁷ They had no distinctive markings (for instance the red wattle of Roadrunner, the stripes on Mock-Orange, and the dark shading on Coyote) until Chaup marked them.¹³⁸ These mythological "heroes", Chaup and his relatives, first brought storms¹³⁹ and disease¹⁴⁰ into the world. They acted generally speaking as models or prototypes for the customs and ceremonies of succeeding generations. Sinyohauch tells her sons, for instance:¹⁴¹ "Do not quarrel (on this journey). The people who come after will do the same as you (do)". This copying by the people of an action performed by Chaup¹⁴² was the origin of the great Image or Keruk mourning ceremony. Such then, in the Diegueño conception, is the origin of the more striking features of animate nature and the usages obtaining among human beings.

Certain elements in their culture, however, are supposed to have arisen in another manner. The narrative concerning the second source seems by the native informants to be felt as an inherent part of a certain definite myth of "Creation" or Origin of the Mundus. We have two independent ideas, then, among the Diegueño, with reference to this general topic of origins. These are embodied in two types of myth. One type, the "Chaup" story, tells among other things of the modification of an already existing world, by "Chaup." The other type tells of the origin of the mundus itself, and is a real Creation story.¹⁴³

The fact of Creation is mentioned and described in several places in the literature now extant¹⁴⁴ concerning the Mission Indian area and cultures. The Diegueño account for numerous

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁴³ It is impossible to say definitely whether the two accounts of Origin are mutually complementary, or whether they spring from vague and rather inconsistent beliefs on the part of the Diegueño. As they stand in translation they are certainly contradictory, but this may be only on the surface.

¹⁴⁴ For the various Mission Indian myths on the subject, consult: Boscana, 241-257; Constance Goddard DuBois, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XVII, 185, 1904; XIX, 52, 1906; XIV, 181, 1901; XXI, 236, 1908; also *ibid.*, 234, a Mesa Grande song of Creation, and *ibid.*, 229, Kachawharr, a song series from Jacumba, about Tuchaipa and Yokomatis; Congr. Intern. des Americanistes, XV Session, Quebec, II, 129, 131, 1908; Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 123, 1908; A. L. Kroeber, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XIX, 309, 1906; John P. Harrington, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XXI, 324, 1908.

reasons must be considered as a distinct and independent narrative, not related to the stories told by the neighboring Mission peoples.¹⁴⁵ The present writer obtained a rather complete outline of this Diegueño myth from an old man at Campo¹⁴⁶ calling himself a Kamiyai.¹⁴⁷ For several reasons this story is interesting in the present connection. In the first place, and most important of all, it is a fair sample of the primitive sacred story, as found among the Diegueño. In the second place, it outlines as briefly as could be accomplished by any other method the beliefs of the people in question concerning the organization of the mundus. This among any primitive people must be considered a definitely religious topic. Finally, it helps to throw a certain illumination, from an independent view-point, on the broader subject of Diegueño mythology, a subject which is more or less germane to our present purpose. For these reasons it seems proper to quote it in full, as obtained from the Diegueño informant.

CREATION MYTH.

In the beginning there was no earth or land. There was nothing except salt water. This covered everything like a big sea. Two brothers lived under this water. The oldest one was Tcaipakomat.¹⁴⁸

Both of them kept their eyes closed, for the salt would blind them. The oldest brother after awhile went up on top of the salt water and looked around. He could see nothing but water. Soon the younger brother too came up. He opened his eyes on the way and the salt water blinded him. When he got to the top he could see nothing at all, so he went back. When the elder brother saw

¹⁴⁵ For a full treatment of this theme see the paper by the present writer in *Am. Anthr.*, n. s. XI, 41-55, 1909.

¹⁴⁶ This may perhaps be the informant mentioned by Miss DuBois (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIX, 162, 1906), from whom she obtained indirectly her "Yuma" creation story. (See *ibid.*, XXI, 236, 1908.)

¹⁴⁷ The Mohave designate as Kamia a tribe living on the desert between the Yuma and the Diegueño. That these people were closely related to the Diegueño of the Missions, is shown by the fact that the Mohave name for the latter is Kamia axwe, foreign or hostile Kamia.

¹⁴⁸ Miss DuBois gives Tuchaipa as the elder and Yokomat or Yokomatia as the younger, but says (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XXI, 229, 1908; and *Congr. Intern. American.*, XV, Quebec, II, 131, 1906) that the two names are sometimes given in one: Chaipakomat.

that there was nothing, he made first of all little red ants, miskiluwi (or ciracir). They filled the water up thick with their bodies and so made land. Then Tcaipakomat caused certain black birds with flat bills, xanyil, to come into being. There was no sun or light when he made these birds. So they were lost and could not find their roost. So Tcaipakomat took three kinds of clay, red, yellow, and black, and made a round, flat object. This he took in his hand and threw up against the sky. It stuck there. It began to give a dim light. We call it the moon now, halya. The light was so poor that they could not see very far. So Tcaipakomat was not satisfied, for he had it in mind to make people. He took some more clay and made another round, flat object and tossed that up against the other side of the sky. It also stuck there. It made everything light. It is the sun, inyau. Then he took a light-colored piece of clay, mutakwic, and split it up part way. He made a man of it. That is the way he made man. Then he took a rib¹⁴⁹ from the man and made a woman. This woman was Sinyaxau, First Woman.¹⁵⁰ The children of this man and this woman were people, ipai. They lived in the east at a great mountain called Wikami.¹⁵¹ If you go there now you will hear all kinds of singing in all languages. If you put your ear to the ground you will hear the sound of dancing. This is caused by the spirits of all the dead people. They go back there when they die and dance just as they do here. That is the place where everything was created first.

A big snake lived out in the ocean over in the west. He was called Maihaiowit.¹⁵² He was the same as Tcaipakomat but had taken another form. This big snake had swallowed all learning. All the arts were inside his body—singing, dancing, basket-making, and all the others. The place where the snake lived was

¹⁴⁹ This may be an original element and not a gloss from the Biblical myth. The informant is a "bronco" (unbaptized) Indian, who has never been under the influence of the missionaries.

¹⁵⁰ From siny, woman, and axau, first; apparently the same as Miss DuBois' Sinyohauch (*Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XVII, 222, 1904), in which the final ch is guttural.

¹⁵¹ Cf. present series, VIII, 123, 1908; *Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIX, 315, 1906; *Am. Anthropologist*, n. s. VII, 627, 1905.

¹⁵² *Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIX, 315, 1906; XXI, 235, 1908; *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., VII, 627, 1905.

called Wieuwul (Coronado Islands?) The people at this time at Wikami wished to have an Image Ceremony. They had made a wokeruk, ceremonial house, but did not know what else to do. They could neither dance nor make speeches. One man knew more than the others. He told them they ought to do more than just build the house, so that the people who came after them would have something to do. So they made up their minds to send to Maihaiowit and ask him to give them the dances. Another sea monster, Xamirkotat, was going to swallow everyone who tried to go out to Maihaiowit. So the people said the man who went had better change himself into a bubble.

So the man who had first spoken about the matter changed himself into a bubble. The monster swallowed him anyway. When he found himself down inside he first went north, but he could find no way out. Then he went south, east, and west but could find no way out. Then he reached his hand toward the north—he was a wonderful medicine-man—and got a blue flint, awi-haxwa. He broke this so as to get a sharp edge. Then he cut a hole through the monster and got out. Then he went on and on till he got to the place where Maihaiowit lived. The snake had a big circular house, with the door in the top. The man went in there. When the snake saw him he called out:

Mamapite inyawa maxap meyo (Who-are-you my-house hole comes-in?)

The man answered:

Inyate eyon enuwi (I it-is, Uncle).

"Tell me what you want," said the snake.

"I came over from Wikami," said the man. "They are trying to make a wokeruk ceremony there, but they don't know how to sing or dance."

"All right," said the snake, "I will come and teach them. You go ahead and I will come slowly."

So the man went back. The monster came after him reaching from mountain to mountain. He left a great white streak over the country where he went along. You can still see it. The people at Wikami were expecting him, so they cleared a space. He came travelling fast as a snake travels. He went to the wokeruk. First he put his head in. Then he began slowly pulling

his length in after him. He coiled and coiled, but there was no end to his length. After he had been coiling a long time the people became afraid at his size. So they threw fire on top of the house and burned him. When they put the fire on him he burst. All the learning inside of him came flying out. It was scattered all around. Each tribe got some one thing. That is the reason one tribe knows the wildcat dance and another the wokeruk and a third are good at peon. Some people got to be witches or medicine-men (kwusiyai), and orators, but not many.

The head of Maihaiowit was burned to a cinder. The rest of his body went back west. It did not go very far. In the Colorado river there is a great, white ridge of rock. That is his body. A black mountain near by is his head. The people go to the white rock and make spearheads.

After the house was burned up, the people were not satisfied, so they scattered in all directions. The people who went south were the oldest. They are called Akwal, Kwiliyeu, and Axwat. The rocks were still soft when the people scattered abroad over the earth. Wherever one of them stepped he left a footprint. The hollows around in all the rocks are where they set down their loads when they rested.^{152a}

Even a hasty reading of this myth makes evident its dissimilarity with the ordinary Luiseño and Mohave accounts of creation. It may be well to add in this place that a systematic comparison of the narratives in detail confirms the impression of dissimilarity conveyed at first blush by the general structure and underlying idea of the story.¹⁵³ A certain external relation between the myth outlined above and the Mohave story¹⁵⁴ is of course apparent. The mountain Wikami, for instance in the

^{152a} A full account of the Yuma creation story has been contributed by Mr. John P. Harrington to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXI, 324, 1908. The relationship between the above schematic account and Mr. Harrington's full version of the Yuma story is at once evident.

¹⁵³ See *Am. Anthr.*, n. s. XI, 41-55, 1909. Thirteen prominent story elements are there chosen for study. Of these, it develops that the Mohave and Luiseño myths have nine in common. The Diegueño story, on the other hand, has only three elements in common with the Luiseño, and but two in common with the Mohave. This is quite insignificant, since any two totally unrelated mythologies might to this limited extent be similar.

¹⁵⁴ *Journ. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIX, 314, 1906.

present story, and the monster *Maihaiowit*, correspond to the Mohave "Avikwame" and the monster "Humasarcha." This relationship does not seem to extend down into the story-elements proper.

It is of course impossible to determine at this time, either from the myth just quoted or from other versions, just what elements enter properly into the Diegueño myth. All the evidence extant, however, points quite unmistakably to the conclusion that as far as the mythology of Creation is concerned, the Diegueño are thoroughly independent of the Shoshonean peoples north of them.

It must be noted in passing that the "meteor" or electric fireball, Diegueño *Tcaup* or *Kwiyaxomar* (*Cuyahomarr*), Luiseno *Takwish*, Mohave *Kwayu*, is also prominent in all the mythologies of the Mission area.¹⁵⁵ As a corollary to the theme discussed just above, it is to be observed that the Diegueño give this subject, too, a characteristic treatment of their own. The physical phenomenon which is the basis of the stories is apparently the same everywhere, namely, ball-lightning. A certain confusion has arisen in this regard, owing to the use in various papers of the word "meteor" to describe the manifestation. The presence of this word in the literature of the subject is in all likelihood to be charged to a loose employment of the term, in the first place, by uneducated native informants. The being described in the myths is widely thought to be accompanied by thunderings, to have a "bright" or "beaming" appearance, and to fly about close to the surface of the ground. These traits unmistakably characterize ball-lightning rather than meteors.¹⁵⁶ The terrific action of the electric fireball would, at least in the mind of the present writer, account in part for the terror in which the being is held by all the Mission peoples. However this may be, the Luiseno and Mohave "cannibal meteor" stories offer almost no similarity (outside of concerning the same subject) to the corresponding Diegueño tale. This being, who as we have seen is

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 316. *Ibid.*, XVII, 217, 1904. *Ibid.*, XIX, 147, 1906.

¹⁵⁶ The present writer has never met the word "meteor" in this connection among native informants, and has found the being in question identified both Luiseno and Diegueño territory with the electric fireball.

the culture hero of the Diegueño, is apparently regarded as a malevolent demon among the Luiseno and Mohave.

It is perhaps too early to say that the Diegueño have no myths other than the *Chaup* and *Creation* stories. We may safely conclude however that these two are by far the most important types of myth. It is also safe to say concerning Diegueño mythology that while it seems to be restricted in scope, its affiliations are to be sought, not among the mythology of the Shoshoneans as has at times been suggested, but among that of the peoples, related linguistically to the Diegueño, who live to the south and east.

CONCLUSION.

We may, in conclusion, carry away several definite facts concerning the religion of the Diegueño people. One such fact is, that a certain part of their religious practices are, so far as externals are concerned, common also to the Luiseno and *Cahuilla*. An equally rich and much older part of this worship is thoroughly and inherently Diegueño. As a basis for at least this older part of their ceremonial, they have a rich and varied, though not a voluminous mythology. We are entitled to a vehement suspicion that the songs invariably used as the accompaniment of their dances, bear a definite reference to this mythology. In fact only the somewhat advanced decadence of their religious practices, and the unfortunate fact that their language has never been exhaustively studied, prevent the final establishment of this fact. In this one trait alone they somewhat resemble their kindred, the Mohave. In mythology, finally, they offer a sharp contrast to their Shoshonean neighbors, the Luiseno and *Cahuilla*. The real affiliation of the Diegueño religion is, like that of their mythology, probably to be sought among their kindred, the other southwest peoples of Yuman stock.