

Handbook of North American Indians

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Tipai-Ipai

KATHARINE LUOMALA

Tipai (¹tē₁pī) and its cognate Ipai (¹ē₁pī) are names meaning 'people' that since the 1950s anthropologists have begun to use instead of Diegueño (de¹gā₁nyō) and Kamia to designate closely related, Yuman-speaking bands that, in the sixteenth century, when contact with Europeans began, occupied nearly the entire southern extreme of the present state of California and adjoining portions of northern Baja California. Except among casually horticultural Kamias, they lived on wild plants, supplemented with more small than large game, and, in places, fish.

As used here, Ipai, the northern dialectal form, covers Diegueño divisions formerly called Northern (or Northwestern) and Coastal and the northern parts of Western and Mountain Diegueño. Tipai, the southern form, covers Southern (or Eastern or Southeastern) Diegueño, Kamia, Bajeño (or Mexican) Diegueño, and the southern parts of Western and Mountain Diegueño. These divisions, hazily defined by anthropologists, have cultural and environmental differences shading into one another.

The Mission Indians of southern California include Diegueños. San Diegueño is an eighteenth-century Spanish collective name for bands living near the presidio and mission of San Diego de Alcalá, established 1769, first of a coastal chain of Franciscan missions. The name became extended to culturally and linguistically related bands south and east of the mission, including unchristianized, isolated, American bands and Mexican bands converted by Dominicans. Calling Imperial County bands Kamia unnecessarily questioned their relationship to other Diegueños, particularly Tipais.

The name Diegueño signifies whatever homogeneity distinguishes these Indians collectively from others. The names Tipai and Ipai, concise and native in origin and usage, reflect the presence of at least two principal, but overlapping, cultural and linguistic divisions.

Aboriginally lacking organized social and political unity, the autonomous, seminomadic bands of over 30 patrilineal, named clans, some hostile to one another, had no native tribal name (Luomala 1963). Nor did an individual band have a name. A person identified himself by his clan and by the settlements that the clan, led by male heads of families, fairly regularly, if intermittently, occupied during a year. Because clans were localized, except in Imperial Valley, clan name implied, albeit

imprecisely, band and territory. Localization continued perhaps longer after missionization among more Tipais than Ipais.

A band or tribe not his own, a person also described by clan or by stereotype, habitat, or direction in relation to himself. Thus, reference to *k^wətʰal* connoted mountain-dwelling runaways from clan discipline. Residents east of the speaker's terrain were [?]ə^wkⁱpā 'eastern people'; there were also [?]ə^wik 'western', and *kəwək* 'south', or if south of the Mexican border, [?]ə^xəkəwək 'southern water'. (The expression "he belongs to a different water" and numerous place-names mentioning water highlight its importance for campsites.) More broadly, residents in the northwestern sector of Ipai range were [?]ə^wkⁱpā connoting 'people over there'; southerners were *kuməya:y*. From this word, which is also applicable to certain northern clans for reasons now unclear, originated the term Kamia.

Needed is information on the tribal name people themselves prefer. Although nonpejorative, the native meaning of *tī'pay* and [?]*i'pay* encompasses both human beings and certain flora and fauna, for instance, white sage and eagles. That, since the 1940s, occasional Tipais and Ipais have employed Kameyaay as their tribal name shows the absence of a standard term to express twentieth-century tribalism.

Language

Their language, still designated Diegueño and classified in the Yuman language family, Hokan stock, has especially distinguished these bands from speakers of different Yuman languages flanking them west of the Colorado River and those of the Takic language family bordering them in northern San Diego County.* Since the 1940s linguists have confirmed the long-recognized presence of two principal dialects with many subdialects and have discovered that speakers at territorial extremes have great

* Italicized Diegueño words are in the phonemic orthography described in detail by Langdon (1970:25-49), except that *ē* has been substituted for her *e*. Otherwise her symbols correspond to Handbook standards (consonants with subscript dot are alveolar, contrasting with dental equivalents). Italicized Diegueño words have been rewritten by Langdon in this orthography. However, for most uses, she prefers the practical orthography described and used by Couro and Hutcheson (1973).

difficulty communicating with each other. Although specialists differ on the names and exact geographical boundaries of these dialects, their descriptions are basically similar (Langdon 1970:1-9).

Ipai is spoken from the Pacific through northern and central San Diego County south of Takiic speakers. Mesa Grande and Santa Ysabel exemplify Ipai-speaking villages. Southward it shades into Tipai at communities like Jamul, Campo, Manzanita, and Cuyapaïpe, and also in Imperial Valley. In the peninsula, variation, slight at San Jose and Neji, increases southward. A third dialect has been hypothesized, therefore, to include Ha'a, San Jose de la Zorra, La Huerta de los Indios, and Ensenada. At Santa Catarina is an enclave of three Tipai-speaking families.

Children in western Baja California in the 1960s still learned Tipai first; adults acquired Spanish as a second language. In American California, the number of native speakers continually declines. Mesa Grande in the 1960s had a dozen, yet an Ipai recalled that in 1891 when he was 14 he spoke only Diegueño. Older people, knowing Spanish and English from mission or reservation schools, speak Diegueño and a smattering of another Yuman or Takiic tongue, perhaps a rote-learned, borrowed chant in a myth-song cycle.

Territory and Environment

Ipai-Tipai territory extended protohistorically from approximately 33° 15' latitude in the north, with the San Luis Rey River mouth a landmark, to about 31° 30' latitude in the south, with Todos Santos Bay a likely marker. Fluidity of boundaries is indicated by Spanish missionaries finding, in the north, that Luiseños encroached south of the river mouth, displacing Ipais toward Agua Hedionda in the south; Tipais ranged into the valley between Sierras de Juárez and San Pedro de Mártir, where Dominicans established Santa Catalina Mission. From the Pacific, people ranged inland across San Diego and Imperial counties to about 115° west longitude, with Sand Hills a landmark (see fig. 1). Except immediately south of the border, Mexican Tipais were split by other Yuman-speakers into a western contingent between the Pacific and lower slopes of Sierra de Juárez, and an eastern, along sloughs between Cocopa Mountains and the Colorado delta.

The eastern boundary, from the southern end of Salton Sea, irregularly fronted other Yuman speakers, who often migrated because of feuds or changes in the Colorado floodplains, where most planted gardens. The easternmost Tipais lived along sloughs like New River and in the adjoining desert, not along the Colorado except protohistorically when a few resided among Quechans. The eastern Baja contingent, consisting of northern slough Tipais supplemented historically with refugees from western Dominican missions, roved south down sloughs and intermingled with delta Yuman speakers.

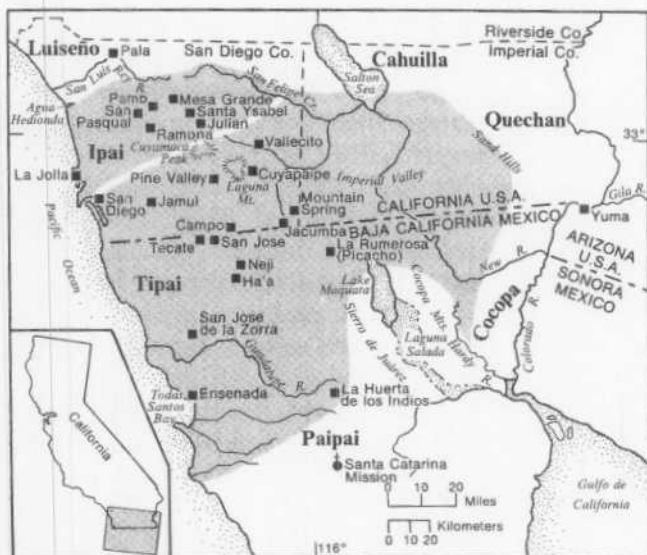


Fig. 1. Ipai and Tipai tribal territories.

On their north, Ipais encountered, from west to east, Takiic-speaking Luiseños, Cupeños, and Cahuillas. As with eastern Tipais, cultural and physical intermingling that often obscured ethnic identity was accelerated during the European period.

Topographically, this territory transverse from west to east: coast, mountain, and desert. From flat or sloping coastal belt, a granitic uplifted fault block rises through a transition zone of plateaus, each higher than the preceding. Elevation climaxes in the central mountain belt, the Peninsular Range, which relates, separates, and modifies each adjacent belt. The highest peak in the Cuyamaca and Laguna mountains, American California, is over 6,500 feet. Like the foothills, the mountain belt is cut by narrow canyons, rocky hills, and flats. Its steep eastern scarp, with either rocky cliffs or, at Jacumba pass, only slightly less abrupt boulder-strewn slopes, ends in Colorado Desert, below sea level. Here is Salton Sink that modern irrigation, absent from eastern Tipai horticulture, transformed into fertile Imperial Valley. Indian bands, perhaps including Tipais, found it hospitable for about 400 years because of its 300-mile-round, freshwater Lake Cahuilla. It evaporated or became saline by approximately A.D. 1450.

In comparable peninsular topography, the peaks are in the Sierra de Juárez, of the same chain as Laguna Mountains. Its eastern scarp; the desert, Laguna Salada, below; and eastward, the Cocopa Mountains, were ordinarily not Tipai lands but Paipai or other Yuman.

Landscape shaped the travel of each seminomadic Tipai and Ipai band toward seasonal changes in altitude from valley bottom to mountain slope.

This region, although arid or subarid with Mediterranean climate of winter rains (mountain snow) and summer drought, provided varied, wild plants for food and raw materials. Upper Sonoran, Lower Sonoran, and

Transitional life-zones alternate and intermingle. In each zone, local water supply, directional exposure, and topography of canyon, hill, and flat created stairlike microhabitats with characteristic flora and fauna.

The largest vegetation belt west of the desert was the Upper Sonoran chaparral with the predominant chamiso (*Adenostoma*) associated with oaks (*Quercus*), wild lilac (*Ceanothus*), elderberry (*Sambucus*), and the like. Tipais in southern San Diego County and Mexico had more opuntias, yuccas, agave, and other xerophytic plants than Ipais northward. For Tipais around Jacumba and descending to Imperial Valley, southern chaparral gradually gave way to bush desert and true desert of the Lower Sonoran. East of the chaparral on dry mountain slopes were spottily distributed junipers and piñons. At higher altitudes grew Transitional flora such as yellow pine in open forests. Along the Pacific were beach and marsh plants, and, inland, grasslands and salvias. Historically, chaparral and introduced wild oats replaced unidentified native bunch grasses, which became extinct.

Prehistory

Tipai-Ipai ancestors were not the first Indians attracted to this land. Others had come even before it had acquired natural characteristics familiar to later residents (Willey 1966). About 20,000 years ago, people lived along the coast and left flint scrapers and choppers made of pebbles. About 10,000 years later, in the cool, pluvial, terminal Pleistocene and early Recent geological ages, other bands, also relatively unspecialized, exploited particular niches for food. Coastal shell middens attest to intensive fishing and fossicking. Inland campsites provide evidence for hunting big game, which was dismembered with heavy stone choppers; hides were processed with flint scrapers. Their improved tools appear in campsites between the coast and former lakes and marshes in the present Mojave and Colorado deserts.

Around 7000 B.C., perhaps from this foundation, slowly emerged two western cultural traditions, the Desert and the California Coast and Valley. Both, with many local types of plant collecting, hunting, and fishing, eventually became represented among later residents in a way to question (Kroeber 1939a:43-44, 193) whether to classify the historic Tipai-Ipai culture in the Southern California culture area (predominantly a California Coast and Valley base with specializations from the Southwestern area) or in the Peninsular culture area (predominantly a Desert base). According to the geographical sector or set of customs emphasized—that of Tipais for the Peninsular area or of Ipais for Southern California—either tradition may be stressed.

These two traditions arose as glaciers retreated and people adapted to ever drier, hotter weather. After many fluctuations, modern flora, fauna, temperatures, and topography gradually developed. Southeastern and Baja

California localities, once traversed by numerous bands seeking plants and game abundant around marshes and streams, became deserts. Early sites of the Desert tradition, subsequently typical of Great Basin and eastern California tribes, including the Tipai, show by baskets and by numerous metates and mullers (formerly rare or absent) people's increasing dependence on wild plant foods, especially seeds to be parched or nuts and even bones to be ground into flour. Small, chipped-stone projectile points for darts are clues, like later arrow points, to meat mostly from small game—anything alive and not taboo—and uncommonly a large animal like a deer. Caves and probably pole-and-brush huts provided shelter. In this culture Tipais and Ipais would probably have felt at home.

After 1000 B.C. in the Arizona region local adaptations to severe desert conditions spread into adjacent parts of the Californias. Later to be incorporated into historically known Tipai-Ipai culture were new types of mortars and metates, deeper floors for huts, and cremation. Around A.D. 600, two great changes modified the collecting-hunting traditions. Lower Colorado River people, inspired probably by indirect contact with Middle American horticulture, began to plant maize, beans, and gourds in floodplains, and, later, to make pottery. Attenuated, these two practices reached southeastern California, although trade had perhaps brought pottery earlier.

By A.D. 1000, these lower Colorado River tribes were, possibly, Yuman speakers, who, wandering east from the southern Californian coast into the Mojave region, had spread south along the river. A few, dislocated perhaps by Lake Cahuilla's evaporating, turned west over the mountains either to rejoin remaining bands or to form the nucleus of later Tipai-Ipai groups. Evidence depends on scanty archeological data and comparison of languages, mythology, and legends recorded only after 1540 when Spaniards arrived at the river and its historic period began; nonetheless, basic cultural patterns of historic Tipais and Ipais were deeply rooted in those of their predecessors in this area, whoever they were.

History

Through historical circumstances, Tipais and Ipais have remained within protohistoric boundaries during successive Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American control, partly through the absence of foreign effort before 1769 to alter their life and before 1821 to colonize extensively. More important, to Christianize them and teach them agriculture and crafts, San Diego Mission, initially unable to irrigate the large fields required to feed numerous resident neophytes, seized instead a few Ipais to convert while they lived and worked at the mission, released them, and captured others. Moreover, conversion was slow in the first decade. Of all mission tribes in the Californias, Tipais and Ipais most stubbornly and vio-

lently resisted Franciscan or Dominican control. Severe, sedentary, mission regimen with disruption of seminomadic routine adjusted for survival in familiar microhabitats triggered uprisings. Twice within the first six years attacks on San Diego Mission ended with fatalities. In 1775, a year after its relocation away from the presidio, about 800 people from some 70 villages united to burn the mission; among the dead was a priest, the only martyr in the California missions.

Nonetheless, in 1779, the mission had 1,405 neophytes (1,559 in 1811) living nearby. After 1818 establishment of the Santa Ysabel branch mission permitted interior Indians to become neophytes without moving far from their native homes. In 1821 a community of 450 lived near Santa Ysabel.

In 1834, 13 years after its independence from Spain, Mexico secularized the missions. To make them Mexican farmers and colonists, Indians were to get half the mission lands, but only to use, and were to work on community projects. Those who received lots soon lost them. Secular administrators, ignoring their responsibility to the Indians, functioned like feudal lords. Ipais and Tipais became serfs, trespassers on ancestral lands, rebels, or mountain fugitives. Their fate was similar if their hunting-gathering tracts or new gardens planted with mission seed fell within any large land grant Mexico made to attract settlers. A few Mission Indians secured such grants.

United States control was heralded for Ipais in 1846 when Gen. S.W. Kearny fought the California Rangers at San Pasqual. At first, Indians received little federal government attention. A treaty at Santa Ysabel in 1852 with 22 headmen of "the nation of Dieguino Indians" was rejected by the United States Senate. White settlers seized Ipai-Tipai lands as California boomed after the Civil War and gold was found at Julian in 1870. Indian efforts to secure legal titles or have Mexican titles acknowledged failed. Non-Indian efforts to have land set aside for them, as at fertile San Pasqual, merely hastened White squatting. After Ipais had already been forced off the best lands where the more acculturated were successful ranchers, an executive order in 1875 established the first Tipai-Ipai reservations, mainly where native villages still existed. Reservations were inadequate for the aboriginal economy or the more common mixture of old and new. Overgrazing and diversion of water, including underground resources, had destroyed grassland and woodland. Grazing on coastal grasslands, source of food seeds, had been a factor in Indian attacks on the old mission.

Helen Hunt Jackson, who investigated the situation in 1883 as a special federal agent, recommended removal of all White settlers from reservations and patenting of lands to Indian residents. No action resulted except to authorize the Indian Bureau to remove squatters with

military aid. Jackson wrote the novel *Ramona* (1884) to arouse public opinion and help Mission Indians.

Having no reservation, coastal Ipais, first and hardest hit by civilization, lived in San Diego slums, camped in nearby hills, or drifted to the less populated peninsula, where Tipai history resembles that of the north (Cuero 1968). In San Diego County the isolated mountain bands that were always outside mission and reservation systems continued like others to live within protohistoric boundaries, but less traumatically, and preserved more of the old culture longer. By the 1890s many men and women, industrious but poorly paid, labored on ranches, in mines, and in towns, but returned as in the 1970s to reservations for fiestas. In 1968 the Tipai-Ipai had 12 reservations and shared Pala Reservation with Takic speakers. Imperial County Tipais shared reservations with other tribes.

Native, aggressive perseverance and independence were again demonstrated in the 1930s when the Mission Indian Federation, formed for self-government with captains, judges, and armed policemen, challenged federal authority. The Federation and a counter organization called Southern Mission Indians have divided people as bitterly as probably the Franciscan missions originally did. As then, factionalism has contrarily fostered tribalism, aboriginally absent or nascent. Equally spirited has been reaction to mid-twentieth-century changes in federal and state Indian policy. The social structure in 1972 with respect to federal, state, county, and local agencies is essentially similar to that of the Luiseño.

Roman Catholicism has remained the dominant Christian faith. Since 1948, one or two priests, Sons of the Sacred Heart order, have ministered on the reservations. After secularization in the 1830s, the Santa Ysabel *asistencia*, like the San Diego mission, fell into ruins. For some 60 years converts led only by one of their members and an occasional visiting priest conducted services in makeshift shelters. The bitter narratives, still passed on orally, that keep alive memories of Franciscan harsh treatment are balanced by affectionate recollection of priests like Father Edmund La Pointe, who from 1903 until his death in 1932 devoted himself to the people and rebuilt Santa Ysabel Mission. The active role of Indian lay leaders, which has continued into the 1970s, has been, with their congregations' critical reactions, significant in fitting together meaningfully the Christian and native rituals.

At various reservations including those of neighboring tribes where friends and relatives live, a major recreation has long been the religious and secular fiestas that uniquely syncretize Indian, Spanish, Mexican, California frontier, and contemporary American customs and beliefs. Tipai-Ipai talent for synthesis was already evident when Davis in 1903 described their Fiesta de las Cruces, at Santa Ysabel Mission (Quinn 1964:24-25). Annually on November 14, hosted by Santa Ysabel Indians for hundreds of people, this harvest festival reunited scat-

Table 1. Population

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Source</i>
1828	1,711	931	449	At mission stations only	San Diego Mission Record
1856	ca. 2,500				Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARCIA)
1860	1,571	891	680	24 villages counted; 24 known but uncounted	Federal census
1873	886+			9 villages, mission area only; no Southern Diegueno	Archives, Catholic Indian Missions
1883	731			Many nonreservation uncounted hereafter	ARCIA (reservations)
1885	745				ARCIA (reservations)
1894	591	310	269		ARCIA (reservations)
1895	640				ARCIA (reservations)
1913	910				ARCIA (reservations)
1914	785				ARCIA (reservations)
1925	817	446	371		ARCIA (reservations)
1932	871	460	411		ARCIA (reservations)
1940	957	492	465	Last regular annual BIA census; only 782 were reservation residents	ARCIA (reservations)
1968	1,322			Only 435 were reservation residents	Sacramento Area Office Directory, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Compiled by Florence Shipek, 1972.

tered kinsmen and friends for barbecued meals, old and new games and sports, thanksgiving processions, and prayers for rain.

Warfare

Although aggressive, Tipais and Ipais initially were less warlike than the Colorado River tribes. Traditionally, clans feuded over women, trespass, murder, and sorcery. Ambushing a lone trespasser or chasing the enemy away was satisfaction enough for most people. Before obtaining Spanish guns and horses, men went on foot with bows, poniards, and clubs—heavy and curved for slashing, forked for thrusting. Legends, based probably on exceptional historical cases, dramatize scalping, victory dances, and warrior purification. Warlikeness intensified in the Mexican period. The territory, dangerous until mid-nineteenth century, had raids on mission and presidio herds, and battles either against neighboring tribes with native or Mexican leaders or against Mexicans with neighbors as allies. Slough-dwelling Tipais, who early joined alliances of warlike River Yuman tribes (most often with Quechans), fanned war fever with western congeners as foreign pressure mounted (Woodward 1934a; Forbes 1965).

Population

Estimates of Tipai-Ipai population in either California, or both, between 1770 and 1970 undergo revision through

data previously unknown or disregarded as irrelevant. Kroeber's (1925:712) estimate for 1770 of a standing population of 3,000 was based on San Diego Mission having in 65 years baptized approximately 6,000 persons and on three generations to a century. His Bajeno estimate was 710. While he recognized Diegueno dogged physical survival and resistance to missionization, his estimate ignores the unbaptized. Also, continuing research indicates that the efficient seasonal exploitation of varied ecological niches could prehistorically have supported double or triple the estimated 3,000. Imperial Valley Tipais totaled perhaps a few hundred aboriginally; in 1849 a New River chief had 254 Tipais under him (Gifford 1931:16). In 1957 Tipais of western Baja California totaled around 250 (Hinton and Owen 1957:88).

Table 1 shows population trends within the range of San Diego Mission influence, which reached perhaps only one-third of all Tipai-Ipai territory. Many inhabitants were never counted either by missions, Franciscan or Dominican, or by governmental censuses. Some villages never moved to reservations, or went to mixed reservations such as Pala, or joined relatives in Baja California or among Quechans, Cocopas, and Paipais. Incorrect tribal designations for certain reservations render particularly unreliable the 1890-1910 figures in the annual reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs; however, these figures in table 1 are tribally identifiable

because individual village totals were reported. Even so, between 1873 and 1968, approximately 200 could be added to each total because San Pasqual residents, who did not occupy the reservation designated for them, were incorrectly reported. For 1968, estimates account for about half the reservation totals recorded in the Sacramento Area Office Directory, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Actual membership figures when given reflect specific reservation enrollment, mainly before 1960, the official date of enrollment, and thus exclude children born later.

Culture

Settlements

No list exists of all settlements, names, locations, dates of existence, estimated population, and composition. Clearly incomplete are lists of less than 60 for American California (Henshaw 1907). By 1795 San Diego Mission, with neophytes from 33, had explored at least 25 more villages, mostly north of Pamo.

Many villages were only campsites that a band occupied in its territory during a year. A Tipai of the Jacumba-Campo region who estimated that his clan, one of the largest, numbered 750 to 1,000, recalled over 19 settlements occupied during the 1850s; earlier the clan had begun to permit two friendly clans to occupy sites in its territory (Spier 1923:301-302). By a "permanent rancheria" nineteenth-century observers apparently meant that more band members gathered there for more months than at their other campsites. At Pamo at least three Ipai clans wintered together but dispersed in the spring into the Mesa Grande region (Gifford 1918:172). Any campsite might have residents "off season" (Woodward 1934a:145).

A campsite was selected for access to water, drainage, boulder outcrops or other natural protection from weather and ambush, and abundant flora and fauna of that ecological niche. Former house sites were avoided through fear of ghost-caused illness; houses were burned following a death.

Structures

Structures varied according to locality, need, choice, and raw materials. A summer village needed only a windbreak, trees, or a cave fronted with rocks. Mountain oak groves often had substantial shelters and platform-supported, covered granaries such as the conical, coiled "bird's nest" basket and the pole-and-brush box. In winter villages (fig. 2), well sheltered at low elevation, each cluster of dwellings, scattered for privacy and advantageous use of landscape, belonged to a man and his married sons.

A dwelling, with its floor slightly sunken, was a dome or gable set on the ground (fig. 3). A withe-tied pole framework (fig. 4) had brush thatch covered with grass

and earth. A dome's two small, arched, opposite entries were directioned to avoid wind. Fire was made on the floor. A gable's mat-covered rectangular opening faced east, the ritual direction. Attached was an unroofed windbreak for outdoor work and summer cooking, and nearby a granary. Slough dwellers built Quechan-type rectangular, sand-covered houses, a large one for the chief, and in the desert put palm-leaf thatch on four poles. Some mountain Tipais wintered in large caves or bark-roofed, pine slab huts.

Village-owned structures were ceremonial. Clans jointly harvesting agave or piñon had a rock-supported, brush fence circling a leveled dance ground. Persisting, for fiestas, into the 1970s were the brush dance circle and the rectangular, flat-roofed, brush shelter, sometimes walled. For *kəruk* ceremonies when images of the dead were burned, a semicircular shelter with an open eastern front and two flag poles faced a brush dance circle with a pit at the far end. Sweathouses were of minor importance.

Political Organization

Each band, an autonomous tribelet, had a clan chief and at least one assistant chief. Positions, where inherited, went to eldest sons, or if none, to brothers or, rarely, to widows. Additionally, Pamo had a village chief selected by consensus (Gifford 1918:168). Imperial Valley Tipais, having no clan chiefs, had a tribal chief like Quechans, among whom have been chiefs of Tipai descent (Gifford 1931:50-51; Forbes 1965:343).

A chief, because of knowledge of custom and people, directed clan and interclan ceremonies, lectured on their significance, admonished people on behavior, advised about marriages and their dissolution, resolved family differences, and appointed a leader for an agave expedition or a fight. His assistant delivered his messages and implemented his orders. A chief's mainly noncoercive approach was perhaps altered historically when *capitanes* ordered assistants to flog nonconformists.

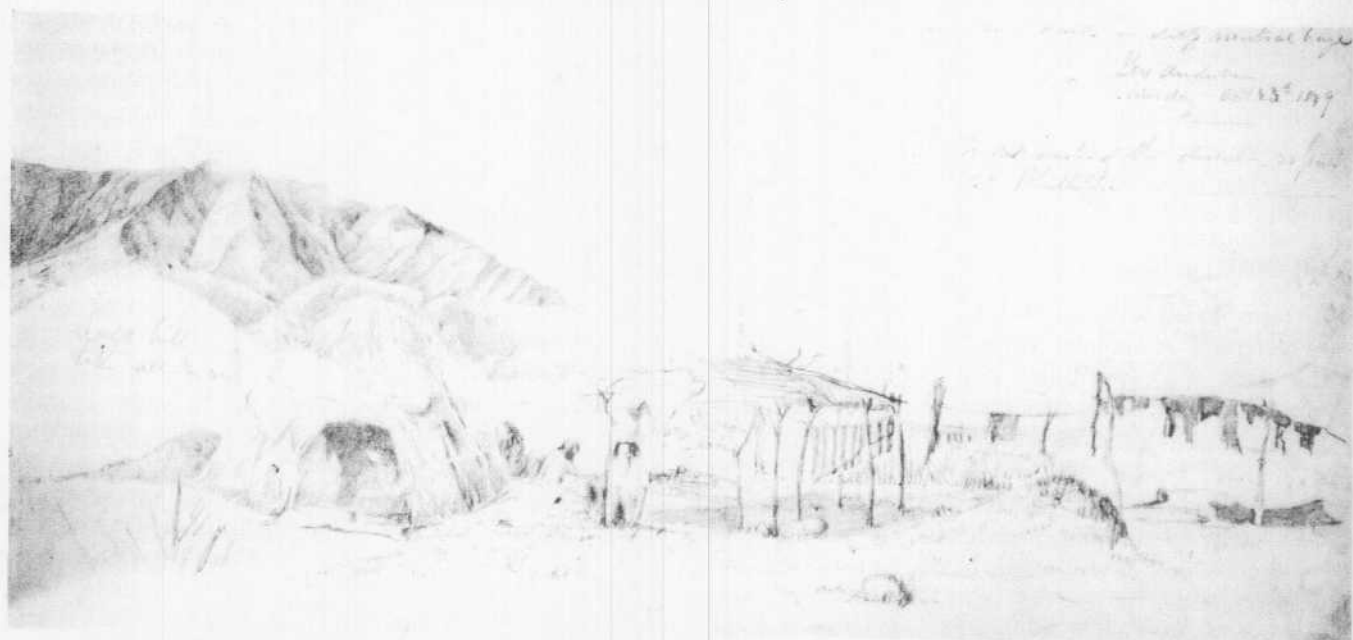
The position of hunt master generally passed to the holder's eldest, or most capable, son. Consensus among participants determined the leader of a communal rabbit hunt, of shamans' dances (when not led by the clan chief), of specific dances in a series. Male and female dance leaders took turns to present their specialty. No sodalities existed.

Although property concepts recognized a band's communal claim to land and springs within boundaries identified by natural landmarks and its right to kill thieves and trespassers, they required that water be available to all and cached foods consumable by those in need who intended to reciprocate. Also a large clan might claim a weaker's property, such as an eagle nest. The nest, theoretically clan property, might practically be one family's, often the chief's, which had inherited the nest and rearing of its captured eaglets for ceremonial pur-



NAA, Smithsonian

Fig. 2. Ipai thatched brush house on stone foundation. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis at Santa Ysabel, 1924 or before.



Southwest Mus., Los Angeles.

598 Fig. 3. Tipai camp at Vallecito. Pencil sketch by John W. Audubon, Oct. 23, 1849.



NAA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 4. Angel Quilpe, Tipai, standing in front of the framework of a house he made for John P. Harrington. Photograph by Harrington at San Diego, 1925.

poses. Clans gathered unevenly distributed food and materials, like agave, regardless of which owned the land. A clan, or sometimes an individual, might claim a specific song cycle or chant.

Families, like individuals, owned and disposed of what they had made and obtained, but custom might impose limitations as on a hunter. No tangible goods were inherited; everything had to be burned with its dead owner or later. Giving away rather than burning certain possessions developed when horses and other European things became common.

Clothing and Adornment

Clothing, like other tangible possessions, was minimal. Children and men went naked. To hold objects a man wore a waist cord, sometimes with pendant twigs. Women wore a two-piece or a single apron. To protect her head from her packstrap from which her carrying net hung, a woman wore a round twined cap; a man had a coiled cap. For travel, people wore padded-sole sandals of agave leaves. Cold-weather robes, doubling as bedding, were of rabbitskin, willow bark, or buckskin.

Hair hung long with bangs at the forehead except for boys and mourners. Imperial Valley Tipais, like Quechans and some Campo or Jacumba imitators, wore long pencil-like rolls. A man plucked whiskers with his fingers. A woman, chin tattooed, daily decorated her face with red, black, and white designs. Male facial painting and tattooing were probably nineteenth-century innovations (fig. 5). A child's pierced ears carried round, deer-shank bones. An adult Valley or upland man hung from his nasal septum, pierced when a boy, a pendant or inserted a stick. Special, but still simple, costumes and adornment appeared at ceremonies.



NAA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 5. Four Tipai men with feather headdresses and body paint, and 2 Tipai women in calico skirts and plaid shawls. Photograph by Francis Parker at Tecate, 1880s.

Subsistence

• **ANNUAL CYCLE** A band's seasonal travel was vertical, following the ripening of major plants from canyon floor to higher mountain slopes. Two or three families would arrive at a campsite, joined later by others, to gather, process, and cache seasonal vegetal food. Simultaneously they obtained their secondary source of sustenance, meat, from fauna either permanent residents at the place or migrants like themselves for the harvest. When winter began, people returned to a sheltered foothill or valley. Slough dwellers, apparently lacking campsites as stable as other Tipais, moved according to variable conditions of sloughs and ripening wild plants.

After months of preserved vegetal food and limited game, March through May provided welcome buds, blossoms, and potherbs from canyons and lower foothills. Some people left in May for agave ("mescal"). In early June they dried ripening cactus fruits to store in foothill caves. From June through August wild seeds ripened, and at higher altitudes wild plums and other fruits. Imperial Valley Tipais gathered mesquite pods in July. Elsewhere men, women, and children worked far into the night from September through November in higher altitudes to gather and preserve acorns and sometimes piñon nuts. Men also hunted deer, rodents, and birds feeding on nuts. When snow fell they returned to the winter village.

• **GATHERING** At least six species of oaks provided acorns, the staple for all except Valley Tipais who dried mesquite pods or pounded the beans into flour. Second in quantity was flour ground from seeds of species of sages (especially *Salvia columbariae*, chia), of grasses (including pigweed, peppergrass, flax, and buckwheat), of cacti, and of fruits. Valley Tipais made flour from seeds of *Cyperus erythrorhizos*, *Atriplex torreyi*, and other plants.

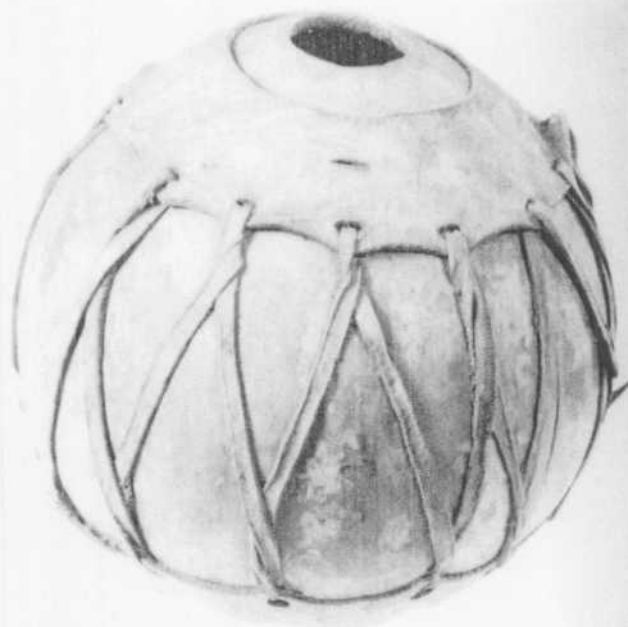
Fresh foods included watercress, miner's lettuce, two kinds of clover, young stalks and roots of yucca, many grasses, and shrubs. Fresh or dried blossoms and buds of clover, rose, cacti, and agave flavored food and water. Berries, common west of the desert, were from manzanita and elderberry, with juniper limited. Two species of plum and three of cherry were gathered. Relishes included wild onion. Agave, yucca, and cacti like chollas, barrel (bisnaga), and prickly pears grew near the border. From infrequent marshes came foods like tule roots and pollen.

Women and girls, major collectors and processors, used simple but effective means and equipment. Because they did not climb they picked from the ground or knocked down acorns, piñon cones, and mesquite pods for collection into baskets or net bags, struck off seeds with sticks or seed beaters, and with stick tongs picked cacti into mesh bags to roll spines off on the ground. The meat from cracked and hulled acorns was stored in granaries, with some immediately pounded and ground into flour with a stone pestle in bedrock or portable stone mortars shielded with basketry hoppers. Only a really good wife, one man said, could pound into flour large hard acorns from burr oaks. Only a really nice grandmother, his wife added, would graciously eat her granddaughter's lumpy mush. After winnowing the flour, women leached out the tannin. They did the same for bitter seeds like those of plums.

In parching her threshed and winnowed seeds a woman tumbled them with hot coals in a broken pot, or with a mush paddle she stirred the seeds mixed with heated granite fragments in an olla set on three stones over a fire. After further winnowing she stored the seeds in a covered pottery jar.

From preserves or freshly ground flour she cooked mush, cakes, and stews with meat and vegetables in pots set on the fire. Game she roasted on coals or in ashes and ground some bones into meal for gruel. Requiring many, varied, and specialized containers (fig. 6), she also obtained materials for baskets (more often coiled than twined) and plainware or decorated reddish-brown pottery (fig. 7) (made by the paddle-and-anvil method) while gathering plant foods.

• **HORTICULTURE** Desultory imitators of River Yuman farmers, Imperial Valley Tipais planted maize, beans, teparies, and melons in newly flooded land. When upland kinsmen visited them, they gave them seed to plant (Drucker 1937:5). However, hosts and guests readily



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 19478.

Fig. 6. Gourd water vessel with leather casing. Height 18 cm; collected 1875.

abandoned the chance to harvest if news came of plentiful wild plants and game.

Women transplanted wild onions and tobacco to more convenient locations and planted wild tobacco seeds for a better product. (Only men smoked, using a clay pipe distinctively angled with a flange under the bowl for ease in holding.) Grasslands were deliberately fired to improve the seed yield. Despite this marginal interest, horticulture was not seriously undertaken until Europeans disrupted the traditional economy. By the 1850s some remote, nonmissionized bands had peach trees and patches of maize, melons, and pumpkins; but they left gardens



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 19728.

Fig. 7. Clay pot, painted and wrapped with strips of bark. Diameter 22.5 cm; collected 1875.

unattended to continue their seasonal round. Missionized Ipais developed good ranches with gardens, orchards, and livestock.

•HUNTING Most meat came from rodents. Lizards, some snakes, insects, and larvae were also eaten. During winter, and in families without a deer hunter, rodents and birds were the only game. Old people and boys obtained them alone or in informal parties. Woodrats, driven from nests with poles, were shot with bow and arrow, or caught in fall traps set with acorn bait. Rabbits, their burrows fire-circled, were killed with bow or curved throwing stick. Or a pocket net was set on each side of a run. The aboriginal (now extinct) small dog, the only domesticated animal, rounded up game or flushed it from holes.

Lured with a bunch of weeds, doves, geese, quail, some hawks, or other birds unconnected with restrictive beliefs were caught with slip loops or shot with arrows fitted with crosspieces. Quail were hand-caught when cold and wet, or smoke-blinded. Mockingbirds and roadrunners were caged for pets.

Coastal and slough bands ate much fish, taken with bows, nets, hooks, and other devices. They had tule balsas. Foothill people sometimes joined them to fish, but mountain dwellers were indifferent.

Not many men were hunters of large game. Highly respected, they knew practical techniques, animal habits, hunters' signal codes, star lore, rituals, six-month calendars, mythology, songs, and an ideal hunter's behavior toward people and animals. Men made their own weapons and equipment or got them from experts knowledgeable about rites to insure success. A good hunter tested grandsons on rats before he taught them about rabbits. He taught only the most promising boy about large game.

Important milestones for such a boy were his first deer and his first trip with a party under a hunt master. A party, preferably of consanguineal kin, represented two generations, the older to carry equipment and pack meat home, the younger to hunt. One hunter was always a tracker, one a trail-sitter, or there might be two of each. Ground paintings depict the Mountain Sheep, three stars of Orion, being trailed by a hunter, a large star in the east, with trail-sitters represented by two other stars (Luomala and Toffelmier 1934; Waterman 1910:350, p1. 24; Spier 1923:319-320, 358).

Before a trip a hunter studied his dreams, fasted, drank only warm thin gruel, and avoided women. He always avoided corpses. His first deer he gave away outside the family. He sent a paunchful of meat home to old people and shared as directed by the hunt master with his companions, the clan chief, the shaman, and anyone to whom obligation existed. The ideal hunter watched proudly while others ate his game.

If a desired commodity was uncommon or absent in a clan's range, supplements came by expeditions to localities where it was plentiful, visits to friendly clans, and

trade. Travel was connected with social and religious dances and games. In May, expeditions converged at large agave patches near Vallecito or Mountain Spring. Although Mexican Tipais had more agave than the American, their customs were similar. In the work, more often by men than women, the agave was baked in a communal, covered pit, each group with its supply separate. By-products included sap, stored in small ollas, to later blacken faces of images and mourners. Baked agave was sun-dried, pounded, and flattened to be taken home. A fermented agave drink, a late introduction, might be prepared. At Mountain Spring, where people stayed until June, social dances included a song series called Tipai. When clans harvested piñon nuts at Pica-cho, Mexico, they performed the Piñon Bird Dance, named for jays that also noisily congregated in late autumn. Lead singers, a man and a woman, had a gourd-rattle accompaniment. These apparently social dances may have had first-fruits ritual significance.

Trade

Tipais and Ipais traded more frequently with each other than with unrelated tribes; however, major intertribal trails, such as the Yuma, crossed their territory between the lower Colorado and the Pacific. Spaniards, who like later newcomers used Indian trails, marveled how rapidly news, goods, and people circulated between river and coast. In 1540 Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo at San Diego Bay and Hernando de Alarcón on the Colorado River encountered Indians who had already heard, from inland tribes, accounts about Spaniards in the Southwest (Bolton 1925:23; Hammond and Rey 1940:147). In 1604 Juan de Oñate found Yuman speakers in the lower river area with "good and sweet oak acorns" traded from tribes to their west as part of a network of intertribal trade between the seacoast and as far east as the Zuni (Bolton 1925:270-280). In the 1770s Spaniards, either tracking Indians escaped to the east from coastal missions or seeking land routes from Sonora west to the Pacific, learned details of trails and trade in Ipai-Tipai territory in both Baja and Alta California (Bolton 1930, 2; Forbes 1965). American use of Indian trails was highlighted in 1849 by gold rush miners streaming west past the Amiel Whipple party journeying east from San Diego to determine the international boundary at the Gila-Colorado juncture; soon this and other Indian trails were surveyed for stage and railway routes (Whipple 1941, 1961; Hayes 1929; Davis 1961).

Coastal Tipais and Ipais traded salt, dried seafood, dried greens, and, for eyes of images, abalone shells, for inland acorns, agave, mesquite beans, and gourds (Cuero 1968:33).

In their exchanges, Tipais around Jacumba and Campo provided greater variety but perhaps Imperial Valley Tipais gave more quantitatively, for upland kin enjoyed wintering with them to eat their garden produce and fresh

fish. Valley Tipais, in turn, helped themselves to granite for pestles, steatite for arrow straighteners, and red and black minerals for paint. They traded to get yucca fiber for sandals, agave fiber and juncus rushes for image frameworks, and eaglets or feathers. Those permitted to catch an eaglet themselves must surely have been of the same clan as that owning the eyrie. Cocopas, also wanting eagle feathers, brought salt and, for image teeth, clamshells. Historically, an eagle or its feathers traded for a horse (Gifford 1931:29 ff.; Spier 1923:349).

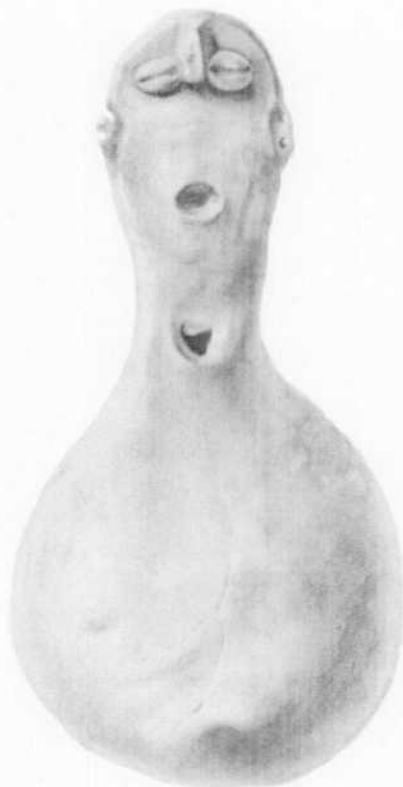
Manufactured items that Valley Tipais got upland included carrying nets, basketry caps, and winnowing trays. They also craved seed flour or acorn flour and processed agave. So did Quechans who exchanged them for wild black grapes and dried fish. Like Tipais they preferred upland, seed-grown, wild tobacco to their own (Gifford 1931:34 ff.; Luomala and Toffelmier 1934, 1962).

The frequent, long visits between Imperial Valley Tipais and upland, particularly Jacumba-Campo, Tipais developed a distinctive Diegueño subculture, the Tipai. The totaling of similar and dissimilar traits (Gifford 1931:83-85) among Kamias, Diegueños, and Quechans, which shows Kamia culture as more Quechan than it is Eastern and Western Diegueño, tends to obscure effects of continuing interaction, which introduced desert products and Quechan-learned customs to upland Tipais, and through them a little to Ipais. Ipais disseminated their adaptations of Takic innovations among Tipai neighbors from whom diluted variations sometimes reached the desert.

Life Cycle

• **BIRTH** Pregnancy and childbirth required a couple, especially the wife, to scratch themselves only with a stick and avoid salt, fat, meat, and cold water. The husband, sometimes before but generally during and after the birth, refrained from work, including hunting and, among eastern Tipais, gardening. The couple had followed similar customs during the wife's menses and before marriage during puberty ceremonies. The mother, lying in an outdoor, heated, and sage-lined pit with kinswomen nearby, was repeating, with fulfillment, her puberty rite; now instead of lying with girl friends she had her infant. Taboos ended with ritual purification by warm-water bathing, fumigation in fragrant smoke, and sometimes, emetics.

Twins, a blessing, were believed supernaturally gifted; the creators, *tu'čaypa'* and Yokomatis, were twins, as were the culture heroes, the *ča'wp'*. Relatives celebrated any birth with gifts of bedding, food, baskets, and pots. A child, playing with clay dolls (fig. 8) and miniature objects, imitated adults under grandparental direction. The two generations, while teasing and playing with each other, also contributed substantially within their ability to household needs.



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Fig. 8. Pottery doll, hollow and containing two pebbles. Loops of strung glass beads are missing from pierced ears. Height 17.3 cm; collected 1875.

• **MARRIAGE** Young people married outside their father's clan. Extension of exogamy to include the mother's clan may reflect missionary influence. Families preferred mates from clans they knew, even though feuding. Monogamy was more common than polygamy; but occasionally two brothers shared a wife or exchanged wives, and sisters shared a husband. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law joked together, and a widower preferred to marry his wife's sister or kinswoman, a widow her husband's blood or clan brother. A bride's parents entered into a special relationship with the groom's parents that ideally involved the older couples' lifelong deference to each other with frequent exchange of gifts and favors and concern for the success of the younger couple's marriage.

Marriage at puberty was arranged by parents. A Tipai boy brought game to the girl to demonstrate his ability. After marriage their parents informally exchanged presents. Ipais, having a progeny price, envied a family with daughters, its bridewealth of food, rabbitskin blankets, and later, horses, and many sons-in-law to visit. Approved residence was with the groom's clan in a separate shelter near his parents. If parents waived the price and got a son-in-law to live near them the bride's brothers mercilessly teased him. Either spouse readily divorced for incompatibility, laziness, or sterility.

•PUBERTY Unlike marriage and childbirth, puberty and death received public attention. Guests came from other clans to honor a group of individuals of similar status—adolescent girls (less often boys) and persons dying since the last image ceremony. Less public were the cremation and mourning anniversary of an individual.

The girls' "roasting" rite, absent among Imperial Valley and some western Mexican Tipais, was to promote a girl's future welfare and her self-confidence as a woman. Two or more girls, at or near puberty, remained a week, except for chaperoned trips to relieve themselves, in a pit with fragrant branches carpeting heated rocks. After a purifying tobacco drink, a girl lay face down, with face painted black, basketry cap and garland on her head, human-hair bracelet, and scratching stick. A warmed, crescentic stone between her legs supposedly insured easier future motherhood. Elderly women, who also gave practical instruction, danced, without instrumental accompaniment, around the pit as they sang song cycles or new songs. They tattooed each girl's chin; in old age when she dribbled food she would still look nice and her spirit would fly straight to the afterworld. On abandoning the pit, girls watched as guests feasted and rejoiced (Rust 1906; Waterman 1910:285-290; Luomala and Toffelmier 1934, 1962).

Mexican Tipai girls, after private observances, met at public rites to be tattooed while boys had their nasal septums pierced. Only boys in Imperial Valley had a public ceremony; mountain Tipai boys, indifferent imitators, had their septums pierced during a mourning ceremony or girls' rite. Valley girls had private observances at which their tattooing was done (Gifford 1931; Drucker 1941).

Perhaps just before Franciscans arrived, Ipais learned from Takic groups to give adolescent boys and adult men who wished it a vision-producing drink of toloache root (*Datura meteloides*). Each one who drank it was attended by an older initiate who, while people sang under the chief's direction, guided him through dances. Nearing collapse, the boy was allowed to sleep in order to dream of his future animal guardian. Gradually recovering, he was painted, learned more ritual from local and visiting experts, began a partial fast supported by a hunger belt, raced, underwent ordeals, received a feather head plume and dance stick, and studied a colored ground painting. He insured longevity, it was thought, if he spat into a hole in the painting and jumped from stone to stone on a netted anthropomorphic figure in a pit. This, when filled carefully to avoid dust, became the site of what foreigners miscalled the War Dance because dancers stamped and grunted vigorously. More likely, it concerns *ča-wp*, Ball Lightning, younger of similarly named twins. After exhuming his father who told him to rebury him, death being eternal, he accidentally let grave dust rise between his toes; thereby sickness came to mankind (Waterman 1910:293-305).

•DEATH A corpse, extended with head to the south (the afterworld) or the east, was cremated in a pyre over a pit watched by a kinsman or paid fire tender. Imperial Valley Tipais, like Quechans, later filled in the pit. Others gathered ashes, bones, and unburned fragments of property into a pottery water or seed jar, capped it, and hid it in the mountains, with a metate, broken to release its spirit to serve the dead (C.G. Du Bois 1907b; E.H. Davis 1921; Heye 1919; Myrkrantz 1927).

For cremation there might be wailing, speech making, all-night singing of song cycles, and gift exchange with nonrelatives from friendly clans. Corpse-handlers and relatives observed customary taboos with subsequent purification. Mourners cut their hair, blackened their faces, and never mentioned the person's name again. Women saved their hair for an image.

Customs of mourning ceremonies sometimes merged. A family or lineage, if means permitted, held a mourning anniversary, or clothes-burning, for an individual a year after death to assuage grief and insure the spirit's nonreturn for possessions. Things not burned earlier, or new such as used in life, were burned after guests, holding clothes symbolizing the deceased, had given the spirit one last dance accompanied by wailing and song cycles. In return, grateful relatives gave guests presents. Historically, the ceremony has combined old elements with Catholicism (Kessler 1908; J.A. Woodward 1968).

To commemorate clan members—male, female, old, young—dead since its last observance, the *kəruk* or image ceremony was a clan's major public event. Preferably in late summer or fall, after years of accumulating food, goods, and regalia, the *kəruk* was held, directed by the clan chief and lasting four to eight days. Every night around a fire before the ceremonial shelter, painted and ornamented male and female guests danced with images of the dead as hosts scattered gifts, historically of currency, cloth, and baskets, to nonrelatives. Each image (fig. 9), as lifelike as possible, had a matting framework, plumped with grass, and was painted and finely dressed with traditional decorations and, historically, new European garments and currency ornaments. Imperial Valley Tipais used an image in the anniversary rite. Finally, at dawn, images, regalia, and new goods were piled in a pit or in the shelter and burned (E.H. Davis 1919).

Religion

•SHAMANISM Tipais first learned toloache customs around the 1850s from Ipais. They and Ipais might regard an initiate, eligible to participate in shamans' dances and possessor of ritual knowledge, as a shaman. Recognizing individual differences, people judged each pragmatically. Toloache was believed to stabilize an inherent talent and insure its lifelong enhancement. A man, and a rare woman, might take it only to learn a specific song series or to get luck, usually in gambling. This was particularly the case among Valley Tipais who



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York.
 Fig. 9. Jim Qualsch, Tipai medicine man with funeral images.
 Photograph by Edward H. Davis at Campo, 1918.

took a leaf concoction without ritual, sometimes in a group under a shaman who had taken it for visions and curing skill (Gifford 1931:73). Infrequent "born" shamans were believed able to transform themselves into their guardian animal, with rattlesnake and bear feared. Some shamans specialized in weather control (Spier 1923:311-325).

A more broadly trained shaman might concentrate, for example, on herbalism, dream interpretation, and hunting large game while acquiring a general background in other subjects. One such man, after a year's instruction when he was 10, took toloache and had five stereotyped dreams—about his new sexual name; arm-encirclement symbolizing all knowledge and the world, perhaps like Ocean Monster; guardian animal (mountain lion); five magic crystals for communing; and First Woman, grandmother of *čá'wp*, primal hunter who named and marked all animals whereby they lost their *ti'pay* ("human") nature. A feast introduced the young shaman to the public (Toffelmier and Luomala 1936).

Among supernatural causes of disease and death were sorcery by evil shamans, who might be killed to protect a community, and psychological disorders, often with erratic sexual behavior, resulting from possession by Bullet Hawk spirit. A curer reversed an evil shaman's actions. For nervous disorders he used confession, dream interpretation, a form of hypnotism, herbs, and practical advice on diet and behavior. Curing by blowing on a patient and sucking also were common.

• **MYTHOLOGY** Like the named song cycles with their dances, ground paintings were based on mythology shared with neighboring Yumans and Takic speakers, who, however, lacked Tipai-Ipai symbolism of colors and directions, in which east-white paired with west-black and north-red with south-blue (or green). Paintings, symbolism, clan organization, and pottery making linked these southern California and neighboring bands with the Southwestern culture area.

Locally and idiosyncratically variable like much Tipai-Ipai culture, mythology tells of *tu'čaypa'* and Yokomatis, sons of Earth Mother (First Woman) and Primal Water (later Sky when lifted by his sons). They created man, other life, heavenly bodies, and culture. Their pets were foxes. The noble elder twin, who sickened from water poisoned by Frog, died despite Eagle's and Mountain Lion's care. At his cremation Coyote stole and ate his heart. Frog is now abhorred, Eagle and Mountain Lion revered, and Coyote distrusted. Wishing to mourn the dead properly, the animal people sent for Ocean Monster, a snake, who hoarded knowledge and encircled the world. When he filled up the ceremonial shelter, they burned it. From his heart, blood containing song series and other learning spattered on clans now claiming them. This was at Wikami, identified with a local mountain or with Avikwame in Mohave territory. Some of these mythological details or those about *čá'wp* and others are depicted in ground paintings made by Ipais for girls and boys and by Tipais for male toloache initiates (see "Mythology," fig. 2, this vol.). They are cryptically mentioned in song cycles, important for recreation and religion (Waterman 1908, 1909, 1910; C.G. Du Bois 1901, 1904, 1905, 1907, 2:129-133).

• **CEREMONIES** Incorporated usually in *kəruk* but not limited to it were special performances, more often among Takic-influenced Ipais than Tipais, with only rare details in the valley. Stereotyped songs ridiculing the dead of other clans were sung, usually by old women. At any assembly, shamans exhibited singly or in contests magical tricks but they collaborated in religious dances. In the Fire ceremony (fig. 10) they ritually extinguished a fire with hands and feet. In the Eagle Dance, honoring a dead chief or shaman, they sorrowfully killed a tamed eagle (later its feathers were removed, its body cremated like that of a person, and its death mourned). To honor



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Fig. 10. Rafael Charley, Ipai medicine man, with ceremonial swallowing-stick and wand in his hat. The swallowing-stick was used at the conclusion of the Fire ceremony, which always followed another ceremony such as the toloache (Waterman 1910:325-338). Photograph by Edward H. Davis at Mesa Grande, 1903-1904.

a dead colleague, each shaman, painted with a design relating to his vaguely totemic guardian animal, crawled and imitated it. In the War Dance, Ipai shamans at every rise in pitch (characteristic of Yuman music) raised each closed fist in turn. The Whirling Dance had a star performer, painted in white stripes and decked in eagle-feather kilt and owl-feather headband, who paused occasionally to whirl in place (fig. 11). Except for infrequent basket scraping, pottery, tortoise-shell, or gourd rattles provided accompaniment, with the deerhoof rattle (fig. 12) essential for *kəruk* (C.G. Du Bois 1905a, 1907a, 2:135-138, 1908; Waterman 1910; Spier 1923:326-327).

Betting, instituted by primal twins, characterized recreation at ceremonies, as in the men's guessing game of peon, the women's stick-dice game, and the hoop and pole, shinny, and other ball games.

TIPAI-IPAI



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Fig. 11. Ipai Tatahuila Dancer or Whirling Dancer wearing eagle feather kilt strung on a cord. Photograph by Edward H. Davis at Mesa Grande, 1908 or before.

Synonymy

Ipai and Tipai

Ipai: from *?i'pay* 'person, Indian' in the dialects of the northernmost groups (Mesa Grande, Santa Ysabel, Inaja, San Felipe, San Pasqual, Campo) (Langdon 1970, personal communication 1973). Recorded as Ipai (Kroeber 1925:710; Joel 1964:99; Langdon 1971:150), Ipaye on the 1851 expedition (Bartlett in Gatschet 1877a:392).

Tipai: from *ti'pay* 'person, Indian' in the Baja California dialects and some of the southern United States dialects (Margaret Langdon, personal communication 1973). Recorded as Tipai' (Spier 1923:298), Tipai (Gifford 1931:17, for Kamia or Imperial Valley bands; Joel 1964:99; Langdon 1971:150).

Directional, descriptive, place-name, and clan-name prefixes, and occasionally suffixes, combined with Tipai or Ipai present problems of identification (Kroeber 1925:710; Spier 1923:298). However, directional prefixes usually refer to neighboring related bands, not to neighboring tribes. The following may include recorders' misunderstandings. Diegueño *?əwik ?i'pay* 'west people' or *?əwik kupa'y* 'person from the west' (Margaret Langdon, personal communication 1973) seems to be reflected



San Diego Mus. of Man, Calif.: Jessop 4704.

Fig. 12. Deer-hoof rattle with fiber handle. Length 18 cm; collected before 1932.

by Awik-upai (Kroeber 1925:710). Diegueño *ʔaw'a:k* 'east' (Margaret Langdon, personal communication 1973) appears in Inyak-upai, the name for neighboring "Yuma (or Yum)," probably Imperial Valley Tipai (Kroeber 1925:710). Diegueño *kəwa:k* 'south' (Margaret Langdon, personal communication 1973) is reflected in Kawakipai (Waterman 1910:272), Kawak-upai "sometimes" with reference to neighbors; for example, Mesa Grande Diegueño are Kawak-upai with reference to Luiseño, as are San Felipe Diegueño with reference to Cupeño, whereas the Campo Diegueño are Kawak-upai with reference to San Felipe (Kroeber 1925:710). Ikwai-niL tipai' 'blackwood people', Cuyamaca Mountains local group (Spier 1923:298; cf. *nib* 'black', *ti'pay* 'people', Margaret Langdon, personal communication 1973). Məl è-páie (1849 expedition in Whipple 1851, 1961:82). M'te pai ya oowai, Tipai self-name at La Huerta de los Indios (Hinton and Owen 1957:99; cf. Yahano below). Tis-se'-pah is an unidentified Yuman tribal group in north-central San Diego County, different from Kam-me-i, Yu'man, Diegueño, and Es-kah'-ti within the Ipai-Tipai range, and from Mohave (Merriam in Heizer 1966:41, maps 5, 14c; note that 14c here overlaps Kroeber's 21r, Cupeño, in Heizer 1966:map 4).

Diegueño

Of the three major spellings—Dieguiño, Diegueño, and Yahano—the first two occur written with or without the tilde. Variant spellings represent either misprints or writers' idiosyncratic hearing or recollection of written forms.

Dieguiño: in 1769 Junipero Serra, having established Mission San Diego de Alcalá, wrote "Dieguino" in a letter (Coues 1900, 1:207) to refer to Indians in or immediately around the mission and thus established a spelling that dominated in Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American official records, memoirs, and newspapers for some 125 years continuing as an alternative form to the end of the nineteenth century. The most frequent variation in spelling was to eliminate u and either retain the i following it or substitute e or ee or, less commonly, a. An uncommon alteration was to replace the final o with either a or e. The same writer frequently used more than one spelling. Earliest known published examples of major, recurrent, variant spellings of Dieguino are: Dieguina in the *San Francisco Herald*, June 1853 (Bancroft 1874-1876, 1:457); Diegeeno from an 1849 expedition (Whipple 1851, 1961:23 ff.); Diegeno (Bartlett 1854, 2:7); Diegino from an 1854 expedition (Whipple et al. 1856; Whipple 1941:206); Diegene (Greene 1870:93). Apparently not misprints but variations usually of one writer only include Diagano, Diegano, Diegena, Diegmoms, Digenes, and Diogenes.

Diegueño: Americans first used Diegueño alternatively to Dieguino and its variant spellings. The earliest published or manuscript use of this spelling occurred during the early 1870s and by the early 1900s, it was well established as the standard form. Hayes (1929:299), who died in 1878, used it at least once in an undated essay. Gatschet (1877a:384) perhaps gave authority to the spelling by applying it to the name of the dialect spoken by "Comoyei" settled near San Diego and by criticizing American customary incorrect spelling as Diegeño whereas to him San Diegino and Diegueño were the only correct forms. "Dieguino" may be a misprint as was Schoolcraft's similar spelling (1851-1857, 2:100). Bancroft (1874-1876, 1:402) writes Diegueño.

Ya-ha-nos: in 1870 Romero gave the name to Hayes (Woodward 1934a:140) as the "true name of this nation." It represents Indian pronunciation, still heard into the 1960s, of "Diegueño."

Ya-ha-moes: apparently a variant pronunciation from "an old Indian" to Hayes (Woodward 1934a:148). M'te pai ya oowai: Tipai ("Southern Diegueño") self-name at La Huerta de los Indios, Baja California (again probably Indian pronunciation of Tipai-Diegueño, meaning Diegueño people) according to Hinton and Owen (1957:99). Llégeeno: 1849 expedition, Whipple (1851, 1961: 23, 31) alternated this spelling with Diegeeno, perhaps as a composite spelling of his pronunciation of



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Fig. 13. Cane end-blown flute, incised and rubbed with brown pigment. The upper end is wrapped with red fabric tape. Length 66.5 cm; collected 1875.

eighteenth-century written Spanish "Dieguino" and his Diegueño, mission-trained guide's pronunciation of the *d* as *ya*, which Whipple quixotically spelled with the Spanish *ll*. Margaret Langdon (personal communication 1973) recorded *yegén*, another variant of the Spanish word incompletely assimilated into the Diegueño sound system.

Kamia

The Diegueño word *kaməya:y* or *kuməya:y*, perhaps once meaning 'the steep ones, those from the cliffs' (Langdon 1975a:68), lies behind many orthographic variants recorded from 1775 to the present as the name for themselves used by Diegueño groups from the Pacific coast to the Colorado River—but not including the Ipai or Northern Diegueño, and perhaps not including most of those Tipai now in Mexico (Hedges 1975; Cuero 1968:7; Langdon 1970:1, 1975a). In 1973 some of the Diegueño of southern San Diego County stated a preference for *Kumeyaay* as their own name, establishing the *Kumeyaay* Tribal Affairs Office in El Cajon and the *Kumeyaay* Corporation (Hedges 1975:77; Langdon 1975a:69).

Quémeya, *Quemayá*, *Quemeyá*: 1775, Garcés (Coues 1900, 1:165 ff.) and Font (1933:131) report this as the name "Yumas" gave to a western Colorado River floodplain and sierra people who "extend to . . . San Diego"; Gifford (1931:2) identified them as "Eastern Diegueño"; occasionally, in 1775, Garcés (and Font follows) continues as in his earlier expeditions, through his confusion and actual Indian mixture and resemblances, to call this same people Mountain Cajuenches (Kohuana), *Jecuiche* (Hakwichya, Cahuilla), "Indios Serranos," and other names. *Quemayab*, *Quemeyab*, *Quemexa*: 1770 and after, Font's map and copies use these variant spellings of *Quemeyá* (Bancroft 1886-1890, 1:263, 274; Coues 1900).

Camillar, *Camillares* (pl.): in 1781 (Fages 1913:175 ff.), Velásquez (in Bancroft 1886-1890, 1:454). During the early 1780s Spaniards apparently preferred this spelling to that of the earlier *Quemayá* for the same people. *Camilya*: this spelling (Bourke 1889:176) perhaps reflects one pronunciation of the written Spanish *ll*; Bourke (1889) seemingly mingles his Mohave informant's data with material from unidentified Spanish records.

Como-yéi: on an 1849 expedition, Whipple (1851, 1961:31) alternates *Quemeya* with *Como-yei* for a predominantly Colorado Desert-New River people mixed with Cuchan and "Diegeeno." Whipple's other 1849 spellings are *Comoyah*, *Comoya*, *Comoyeé*. *Co-mái-yáh* and *Comoyátz* are variant spellings of *Comoyei* from an 1854 expedition (Whipple et al. 1856:16). Gifford (1931:3) identified *Comoyatz* as "(Kamia?)." *Comeya*: a form from Bartlett (1854, 2:7, 179) used by Henshaw and Hodge (1907) in discussing the synonymy. Gifford (1931:3) identified Bartlett's *Comeya* people as Diegueño and not *Kamia*. *Comedás*: from Fröbel (1859:511), equated by Gifford (1931:3) with *Kamia* people. *Ko-moyah*: "group of *Kam'-me-i*" (Merriam in Heizer et al. 1969:23).

Kamiai: Southern Diegueño self-name "sometimes" (at Campo, Manzanita, Jacumba) or northern Diegueño name for San Pasqual group. *Kamiyahi*: alternate Southern Diegueño self-name "sometimes" with *Kamiai* (Kroeber 1925:710, 725). *Kamiyai*: refers to "a *Kamiyai* at Campo" (Waterman 1909:43).

Kam'me-i, *Kam'me-i'*: in "(Diegueno)" vocabularies *Kam'me-i* informants are from near Yuma, Colorado Desert, and southern San Diego County; with *Ā-whah'kō-wahk* (unidentified) from Manzanita, Campo, Mesa Grande, and El Cajon; with *A-whah'-kah-wahk*, from San Diego and Campo. *A-whah'-kah-wahk* and *Ā-whah'-kō-wahk* are unidentified terms that seemingly mean 'foreign southerners' with reference to Tipais south of the Tipai informants (according to Merriam in 1903 in Heizer et al. 1969:23, 31, 45; Heizer 1966:41, map 5).

Kamia: this spelling evidently reflects *kamyá*, the Mohave and Quechan name for their western neighbors, which they probably borrowed through Cocopa from the Diegueño form *kaməya:y* (Langdon 1975a:69). Thus *Kamia* is the "Mohave name" according to Kroeber (Henshaw 1907); "easternmost Diegueño," along "back channels of the Colorado in Imperial Valley, and sometimes . . . on the main river. The Diegueño consider the *Kamia* Diegueño, and the other Yuman tribes call the Diegueño *Kamia*, sometimes with the addition of a suffix such as *ahwe*, foreign, remote" (Kroeber 1943:24); "so-called Yuman Diegueño" (Gifford 1918:156). "Both [Eastern Diegueño and Imperial Valley *Kamia*] call the

Eastern and Western Diegueño Kamia also, distinguishing them merely as western Kamia" (Gifford 1931:2, 11). Kamya is the Quechan name for Eastern (southern) Diegueño; the Quechan included the western (northern) Diegueño with the Tatic Cahuilla under the name Hakwichya, "to whom alone it properly refers" (Kroeber 1925:724-725). Gifford (1918:156, 1931:1 ff.) tentatively separated Kamia and Diegueño as did Spier (1923:328) and Kroeber (1925:710, 723 ff.). Forbes (1965) applied the name Kamia to all Tipais and Ipais.

kumãθa: "the people of the mountains west of the Imperial Valley" according to the Maricopa, that is, Kamia or southern (eastern) Diegueño or both (Spier 1933:11). Kūmiai: northern Diegueño name for southern Diegueño (Spier 1923:298).

Kamia'-ahwe, Kamia ahwe: Mohave name to distinguish western Diegueño from Kamia (Kroeber 1925:710, 724). Kamia-akhwe: Mohave name for 'foreign Kamia' (Henshaw and Hodge 1907:330). Axua, Axüa: (Hardy 1829:368; Henshaw and Hodge 1907); Hardy's Axua are "Comeya"; according to Gifford (1931:3), Axua are "probably Akwa'ala" and according to Forbes (1965:250-251), "probably Cocopas, with some Paipais."

Others

Cumana: a lower Colorado River people, Alarcón, 1540 (Hammond and Rey 1940:140ff.). Although Gifford (1931:86) thinks it "unlikely" that the Cumana were Kamia, Forbes (1965:96) believes that "the stem *Cuma* would seem to be related to certain of the names given the Kamias, such as *Kuma'ca*."

I'-um O'otam: in 1883, a Pima applied the term to "a Yuma- and a Comoyei-Indian" Gatschet (1886, 3:98). Yum: "New River Indians" (Heinzelman 1857:42). Yuma Diegueño: Kamia (Gifford 1918:156). The tendency existed to lump lower Colorado River and New River Indians as Yum or Yuma or to distinguish some as Yuma Diegueño.

kičámkawičəm, Kichamkuchum, Kichamkochem: Luiseño and Cupeño name meaning 'southerners', for Diegueño (Jane H. Hill, personal communication 1974; Kroeber 1925:710).

Clan or rancheria names are occasionally misinterpreted as applicable generally for Ipai or Tipai especially if a given rancheria was on a major trail or if a given clan was well represented on one or more rancherias visited by Europeans. The following examples may not be readily identifiable by reference to lists of known rancherias or clans in Kroeber (1925:710, 719) and Gifford (1931) or are otherwise confusing.

Cuñeil, Cuñeiles (pl.): people "bounded by San Diego and by the disembogement" of the Colorado River, 1775-1776, Garcés (Coues 1900, 1:444, 450); "evidently Yuman," and seemingly "identical with the Comeya, but Garcés mentions the latter, under the name Quemayá, as

if distinct" (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:372), "probably Paipai" (Joel 1964:101). Cunyeel: Font's map, 1777 copy (Coues 1900) shows Cunyeel in north-central Baja California between 31° and 32° north latitude and 115-117° west longitude; with Quemeya between 32° and 33° north latitude and 115°-117° west longitude; 1777 map (Bancroft 1886-1890,1:263) writes Cunyeil and Quemexa. Cuñai: (Orozco y Berra 1864:353). Kuneyil, Kunyil: name in "Comeya" dialect means 'all men', 'people', Gatschet (in Hodge 1907-1910, 1:372). Kwainyil, Kwinyil: (Spier 1923:300, 304, fig. A); Tipai-Ipai clan name meaning 'black' (Gifford 1931:11, 13). Cuñeil is probably the clan name Kwinyil. Gimiel may be variant spelling.

Gimiel: "all the Indians of the missions above Santa Gertrudis are undoubtedly Yuma in their family relations. . . . Those of Santa Catalina, San Pedro Martyr, and San Miguel, and Santo Tomas, such as the Guyemuras, and Gimiels, were nearly pure Yumas, as were those of San Diego" (Taylor 1869:53-54); "about Santo Tomás and San Miguel, near the modern pueblo of Ensenada, dwelt the Gimiels, doubtless a subtribe of the Yumas" (North 1908:239).

Gueymura: a Diegueño rancheria (Henshaw 1907:390).

Junir, Jurin: Velásquez, 1785, with Fages met these Indians at La Palma, between San Sebastian and San Felipe rancherias. Forbes (1965:224) calls them Kamias. The name is unidentified.

KwatL, E'kwaL: Baja California group "allied to State of California group . . . possibly the Akwa'ala or Ekwa'ahle known to the Mohave" (Spier 1923:302-305). KwatL/ko'al/, meaning 'hide', 'skin', is the name of a Tipai clan of Imperial Valley, southern San Diego County, and Baja California. KwatL Kumiyai: KwatL subdivision of Kumiyai at Santa Catalina (Meigs 1939:85). Quathl-met-ha: 1868, Thomas (Gatschet 1877a:370), Quechan word for New River people, written as Kuathlmet'-ha by Gatschet. Yaka-kwal: "extinct group which resided around Santo Domingo Mission" (Hinton and Owen 1957:93).

Sources

Major ethnographic syntheses based on both older research and new fieldwork are Kroeber (1925) and Curtis (1907-1930, 15), the latter with excellent photographs. General field surveys are Spier (1923) on Southern Diegueño and Gifford (1931) on Kamia culture; Drucker's (1937, 1941) element lists on Tipai and Ipai regions are highly informative. Numerous reports on religion and mythology by Davis, DuBois, and Waterman have been cited. Luomala and Toffelmier (1934, 1962) secured shamanistic and other data. Among several archives with

documents are San Diego Museum of Man Scientific Library; San Diego Historical Society Junipero Serra Museum; and University of California at Berkeley. The San Diego Museum of Man has the Constance G. DuBois collection of photographs. Museums with exten-

sive collections of artifacts include the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; Los Angeles County Museum of History and Science; and San Diego Museum of Man.