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**Author**

Oxendine, Joan

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# The Luiseño Girls' Ceremony

JOAN OXENDINE

ONE of the most striking characteristics of Luiseño culture is the integration of philosophy, theology, customs, material items, and environment. The Luiseño world is united through concepts which are inclusive, expansive, and harmonious. The high degree of integration is difficult to express or explain simply, but can be demonstrated through example. In this paper, the ceremony to celebrate the maturation of girls (referred to as the girls' ceremony) is described, annotated, and compared to the Luiseño cosmogony or creation story in order to reveal the Luiseño worldview. During the *weqennic* and *yuninnic* the girls participated in a ritualized reenactment of the creation and ordering of the world. Their place and purpose in life were revealed, and they then hopefully experienced a continuity between their lives, their ancestors, and the past which extended to the beginning of time.

The traditional territory of the Luiseño encompassed 1500 mi.<sup>2</sup> in southern California, and was centered along the San Luis Rey River. Luiseño society was divided into patrilineal clans, and each clan usually had its own political and religious leaders. Before 1769, one or more clans resided together in a village, but during the Spanish and Mexican periods the land holding pattern was reorganized. By the end of the nineteenth century, the remaining clans were grouped together at six reservations.

Several ethnographers interviewed Luiseño people at the end of the nineteenth and begin-

ning of the twentieth centuries (DuBois 1908; Rust 1906; Sparkman 1908; Kroeber 1908; Strong 1929). They collected information on linguistics, mythology, ceremonies, social organization and other aspects of the culture, and some of them recorded and published descriptions of the girls' ceremony. Two more versions of this ceremony have been obtained from the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. One was recorded by H. W. Henshaw in either 1884 or 1892, and the other by John P. Harrington about 1933. The account by Henshaw may be the earliest recorded version of the ceremony, and it differs from the others in details such as the display and drinking of "medicine water" and display of a stone knife at the beginning of the ceremony. The main contribution of Harrington's version is the detail regarding the symbolism of the face and rock paintings. Some of the first pages of Harrington's notes are missing, but the overall content is nonetheless informative.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from his notes that the marks painted on a boulder during the girls' ceremony represent sacred people and/or concepts. Both of these previously unpublished descriptions of the ceremony are presented in this paper.

The Luiseño ceremony for girls has been described with greater or lesser detail in six publications and has commonly been referred to as *weqennic*.<sup>2</sup> Notes by Harrington suggest, however, that the term *weqennic* may have referred to the first of two phases of the girls' ceremony. According to one of his consultants, "The girls have the *weqennic* ceremony and

Joan Oxendine, Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of California, Riverside, CA 92521.

fast for six months, and then they have the *yuninnic* ceremony." The *weqennic*, as described by DuBois (1908:93-96), can be characterized by several key events: the girls were seated in front of a basket which contained ceremonial objects; they were given tobacco and warm water; they lay in a pit for three days, during which time men and women danced and sang;<sup>3</sup> their faces were painted; and they were given bracelets, anklets, and necklaces. There was a lapse of a month during which time the girls abstained from meat and salt. At the end of the month, the *yuninnic* occurred. During the *yuninnic*, a sand painting was made; the girls were counseled in front of the sand painting; they were touched with sage-seed and salt, which they then put into their mouths; they spat the sage-seed and salt into the center of the sand painting; their faces were painted; they raced to a boulder which was then painted with designs; and they left their ornaments at the boulder. DuBois added that the girls' faces and the boulder were painted each month for the following four months.

Kroeber's identification of *yunish* as pictographs is an error and was corrected by Sparkman (Kroeber 1908:176). Pictographs were made at the conclusion of the *yuninnic*, and Kroeber might have confused the painting with the ceremony of which it was a part. Sparkman (1908:225) identified *yuninnic* as the puberty ceremony and translated it as "sprinkling." Bright (1968:55), however, defined *yuni-ni-* as "to give a speech at a girl's puberty ceremony."

A comparison of published articles and the previously unpublished accounts of Henshaw and Harrington generally agree on the sequence of events during the *weqennic* and *yuninnic*, but vary (1) on the interval between the *weqennic* and *yuninnic* and (2) on the number of times the boulder was painted (Table 1). Henshaw wrote that the ceremony ended after the girls had been released from the pit, at which time their faces and a boulder were painted. In Henshaw's version the *yuninnic* did

not occur. Sparkman (1908:225) reported that the boulder was painted at the end of the *weqennic* and at the end of each month for twelve months, after which time an abbreviated version of the *yuninnic* occurred. In Kroeber's earlier (1908) version, the *yuninnic* did not take place and the boulder was painted after an interval of from several to twelve months following the *weqennic*. DuBois (1908:96) and Kroeber (1925:675) separated the two parts of the ceremony by one month and recorded the painting of the boulder at the end of the *yuninnic* and at the end of each of the following four months. Strong (1929:299) and Harrington separated the *weqennic* and *yuninnic* by three and five months, respectively, and recorded that the boulder was painted at the end of the *yuninnic*.

The variations between the descriptions might represent differences between the manner in which clans celebrated the ceremony; however, this is not clear from the literature because only Strong disclosed the identity and clan name of the person who described the girls' ceremony to him. DuBois quoted consultants from both Potrero and La Jolla in her treatise on Luiseño culture. Sparkman's consultants were from Rincon, and Kroeber's were from Rincon and Pauma. The names or places of residence of Henshaw's and Harrington's consultants were not given. A relationship between the variations in the ceremony and clans, then, is not clear. Another possibility is that some consultants were describing the ceremony from personal experience (as in the case of Strong's consultant) while others might have been relying on information transmitted to them. The lack of identity of the informants and their source of knowledge, however, does not permit this problem to be resolved.



## THE GIRLS' CEREMONY

BY H. W. HENSHAW

"The puberty of a girl is the signal for great ceremony and feasting. Invitations are sent out far and near to all neighboring tribes, and great feasts are indulged in. At this time meat must be barbecued, if it can be secured, and the guests treated royally, even though the Indian larder be emptied for the occasion, and they know not where their next meal is to be procured. . .<sup>4</sup> An excavation is made some two feet in depth and sufficiently large to receive the extended form of the girl. In this excavation, wood is burned to secure a bed of ashes which are kept hot by a small quantity of live coals. Tule and wild sage<sup>5</sup> are laid over the ashes, which form the bed upon which the girl is laid. The ceremony opens with the girl seated by her bed, the officiating priest sits in front and to the right of the girl facing her. When more than one girl of a gens<sup>6</sup> family reaches this period at the same time, one ceremony is held over all, and the beds are placed side by side. A bowl of medicine water made from the wild rose and blackberry, the first female children of mother earth, stands in front and to the right of the priest, and the stone knife, the first born of the earth, lies immediately in front of the girl. The priest says to the girl, pointing to the knife, 'You must obey and fear this, for when the world was created he came first, and he gave himself to be the slayer or destroyer of all enemies, should you disobey what I am about to say, he will kill you. You must be of good heart, and you must take care of the aged; you must not eat meat, salt or fruit, during this period for so your mothers, the rose and the blackberry, have said. If you do you will suffer death.' The priest then gives the girl a drink of medicine water, she taking but one draught. The medicine water that remains is drunk by the most aged men and women of the tribe, and is administered to each by the priest. The priest then prepares a ball two-thirds of an inch in

diameter of native tobacco, ashes and water, he, holding the ball in the fingers of his right hand, places it to each temple of the girl, beginning with the right, then to the middle of the forehead, on each shoulder, then upon the chest or heart, upon each wrist, each knee, and both ankles, then a small pill is made from the ball, and put into the girl's mouth. This she swallows, that in case she should forget and eat of the forbidden food she may not die. The girl is then placed upon the bed and covered closely with tule and sage, the head only being exposed. While the priest instructs the girl, the old men smoke their ancient stone pipes. This is an occasion of great solemnity and should one laugh or jest, some fatality would immediately fall upon the offender. When the priest concludes, the ceremonial song and dance begin and the guests participate in their archaic games in which gambling is a conspicuous feature. The girl remains in position during the period, and the gaming and feasting continue, and even though the girl be ready to leave the bed, if new guests are observed coming, she must remain. In some cases where she has been taken from the bed, she has been hastily returned when guests are observed coming. Upon the retirement of the girl, the feast closes with the dispensing of gifts by the relatives. When the girl leaves her bed she is assisted out by the priest, her head is then adorned with a wreath of tule (*yum-pish*<sup>7</sup>) and wristlets (*po-ma-la-sa*<sup>8</sup>) of the same material are worn. In early times the nude body of the girl was highly decorated with paint, but at the present time when ceremonies are held there is such fear of being discovered by the Christian priests that less attention is paid to minor details. The girl is led by the priest to some rock at a distance where she marks a pictograph, *esh-con-ish*,<sup>9</sup> her insignia of womanhood. Returning to the ceremonial ground, the girl is received by her paternal parent, when the feast closes and the guests depart."

Table 1  
COMPARISON OF SEVEN VERSIONS OF THE GIRLS' CEREMONY

	Henshaw 1884 or 1892	Sparkman 1908	Rust 1906, Kroeber 1908	Kroeber 1925	DuBois 1908	Strong 1929	Harrington 1933 (?)
Girls were seated in front of "medicine water" and knife. Girls were given "medicine water." Girls were touched with tobacco.					Girls were seated in front of ceremonial objects.	Girls were lectured.	
Girls were given tobacco and water.		Girls were given tobacco and water.			Girls were given tobacco and water.	Girls were given tobacco and water.	
Girls lay in pit.	Girls lay in pit for three days.	Girls lay in pit for three days.	Girls lay in pit for four or five days.	Girls lay in pit for three days.	Girls lay in pit for three days.	Girls lay in pit for three days.	Girls lay in pit.
Girls were instructed.		Stones were placed on girls' abdomens.	Stones were placed on girls' abdomens.				
Men and women danced and sang.	Men and women danced and sang for three days.		Men and women danced and sang for three days.	Men and women danced and sang for three days.	Men and women danced and sang for three days.	Men and women sang for three days.	
Girls were painted.	Girls' faces were painted.		Girls' faces were painted.	Girls' faces were painted.	Girls' faces were painted.	Girls' faces were painted.	Girls' faces were painted.
Girls were given bracelets and headresses.		Girls were given headresses.	Girls were given bracelets, anklets, and necklaces.	Girls were given bracelets, anklets, and necklaces.	Girls were given bracelets, anklets, and necklaces.		Girls were given bracelets and anklets.
Girls painted boulder.		Boulder was painted.					
		At the end of each month, for twelve months, the girls' faces and a boulder were painted.				Girls' faces were painted for three months.	Girls' faces were painted for five months.

The girls fasted for twelve months.	The girls fasted from several months to one year.	The girls fasted for one month.	The girls fasted for one month.
Sand painting was made.	Sand painting was made.	Sand painting was made.	Sand painting was made.
Girls were lectured.	Girls were lectured.	Girls were lectured.	Girls were lectured.
	Girls were touched with sage-seed and salt.	Girls were touched with sage-seed and salt.	Girls were touched with meat/meal-salt-lard.
	Girls were given sage-seed and salt.	Girls were given sage-seed and salt.	Girls were given meal-salt-lard.
	Girls were lectured.	Girls were lectured.	Girls were lectured.
	Girls spat sage-seed and salt into sand painting.	Girls spat sage-seed and salt into sand painting.	Girls spat meal-salt-lard into sand painting.
	Girls jumped across sand painting.	Girls jumped across sand painting.	Girls jumped across sand painting.
	Girls raced to boulder.	Girls raced to boulder.	Girls raced to boulder.
Girls painted boulder.	Chief's wife painted girls and boulder.	Chief's wife painted girls and boulder.	Girls painted boulder.
	Girls left anklets and headdresses at boulder.	Girls left anklets and bracelets at boulder.	Girls left anklets and bracelets at boulder.
	Girls and boulder were painted each month for three or four months.	Girls and boulder were painted each month for four months.	



### THE LUISEÑO GIRLS' CEREMONY BY JOHN P. HARRINGTON

"In the morning the *pumuch*.<sup>10</sup> takes the girls out of the pit. They sing. They put the hair wristlets and anklets (*pu-má·laşu.*,<sup>11</sup> also called *yúkkic*)<sup>12</sup> on the girls. The *pumuch*. paints the girls' faces with burnt 'énwic.<sup>13</sup> They keep their faces painted until the next new moon comes, then they wash off that mark and put on a new painting of fine vertical lines<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 1). The painting is called *wá·tcahunat* (*wá·tcawnat*) and the process of lining faces is *wá·tcIc*.<sup>15</sup> When another new moon comes they put three or four horizontal lines (Fig. 2) on their faces with 'énwic. Then another new moon comes and they put on another new painting, two or three diamonds (Fig. 3) with 'énwic. The diamond design is *có·wut*,<sup>16</sup> the snake. They teach them everything because it is the enemy the snake and he will kill them if they do not believe. When the next new moon comes they paint a moon (*mó·yIl póy 'ó·vI ca*),<sup>17</sup> little crescent (or one crescent under the other) (Fig. 4) on their faces. The new moon is 'i·pIt móyla, *tcóxxakap móyla*,<sup>18</sup> meaning the newborn moon, wholly rounded. This is the last painting. The captain goes among them



Fig. 1. Vertical lines painted on face during second month of fasting. Based on a sketch by John P. Harrington.



Fig. 2. Horizontal lines painted on face during third month of fasting. Based on sketch by John P. Harrington.



Fig. 3. Diamond-shaped marks painted on face during fourth month of fasting. Based on sketch by John P. Harrington.

with the *pum*.<sup>19</sup> and says, 'Now the time has come. *Wámnu kúvilut 'a'ásmI'*,<sup>20</sup> which means they are going to give the salt to them. They know when to do this. The girls have not eaten salt or meat for three months.

"Everybody arrives. They sing that night. As the sun rises they put the sand painting, *toró·hayic* in the middle of the ceremonial brush enclosure, the *wámkic*.<sup>21</sup> One gets salt with a little bit of meat or some meal with salt



Fig. 4. Crescent-shaped marks painted on face during fifth month of fasting. Based on sketch by John P. Harrington.

and lard, *póy kúvvin*,<sup>22</sup> and touches it to the center of the forehead, the chin, right shoulder, left shoulder, center of the breast, between the shoulder blades, and each knee of each girl. It is like crossing oneself. The touching ceremony is called *kúvvic*.<sup>23</sup> The girls can now eat salt and lard.

“The *pum*. takes them to the *toró·hayic*. He puts a lump of salt, meal and lard, a lump about the size of the end of the finger, in each girl’s mouth. The *pum*. advises, ‘Be careful of this *toró·hayic*. Look at it well. Don’t be bad little girls with your fathers and mothers. Love them. Don’t follow them around complaining. Don’t be bothersome. When an old one arrives, an older man, receive him well in your house. Feed him so that he might leave content, that he might arrive satisfied at his house, that he will remember you the day after tomorrow, that you are good people. You will live many years. If you are not, you will die later. When you walk in the country some animal like the snake will bite you, and you will fall down dead in the same place. If you are good you will arrive at your house, your family will see you, and you will die with them. If you are not good, you will die in the country. If you are good you

will have many sons.’ The girls are listening with salt in their mouths. They are going to know who is bad. The *pum*. says, ‘Be alert.’ The *pum*. says, ‘*Wã·m̃*,<sup>24</sup> three times, and at the third time one girl spits out the salt into the *toró·hayic*. The *pum*. repeats this for each girl. If the girl has a lot of saliva, they recognize her at once as someone who ate salt during the fast. Her relatives cry because the girl will die or will become a bad woman. If she has nothing more than a dry mouth, she will be a good person and will live a long time. Everyone shouts at her. Everyone tells her she will be a good woman. The *toró·hayic* is about four feet wide and the girls line up on one side of it. The *tá·xku*<sup>25</sup> is on that side. Each girl jumps across the *toró·hayic*. If a girl falls inside the *toró·hayic* it means she will die.

“They then give each girl a piece of paint, *tó·vic, pú·eşval, navyót*.<sup>26</sup> Now they are ready to run. The *pum*. says, ‘*wã hã*’, three times, and each time he makes a motion as if to shove the girls toward the goal. At the third time, the girls run to see who is lighter. They shout to the girls, ‘Hurry up, so and so, get ahead.’ It is always bad for a girl who falls or grows weary and does not get to the rock. She will have a misfortune. The rock is one or two blocks away and is named for these things. The girls reach the rock and at once put *có·wut, móyla*, the figure of a person, all marked things,<sup>27</sup> there. There is no special name for this painting of the rocks; it is included in the term *kúvvic ‘a’ácmI* or *kúvinnic*.<sup>28</sup> They do not run back. They go to their houses. They came out all right. Already they are women and can marry. The ceremony of covering up the *toró·hayic* is called *yunnin*.”

#### DISCUSSION OF CEREMONY

The Luiseño girls’ ceremony ostensibly celebrated and publicly announced the physical maturation of girls, but it was also an occasion to instruct them in the beliefs of the



society. These were taught during the *wegennic* and *yuninnic* through an enactment of the cosmogony, with an emphasis on the female role and female symbolism. The order of the universe, the relationships between animate and "inanimate" objects, and the controlling forces were expressed by the Luiseño cosmogony. The world was structured and was conceived of as a network of relationships on various dimensions. Songs and ceremonies explained those relationships, and reflected and reinforced cosmological events. The following is a condensed version of the cosmogony as related by DuBois (1908:129-148) and White (1963:139-141).

In the beginning there was empty space. Then there was *Whaikut Piwkut*, who created *Túukumit*, the sky, and *Tamáayawut*, the earth. *Tamáayawut* gave birth to the first children or first people, approximately thirty animals, plants, and objects. *Tamáayawut* sent them to the north, south, east, west, and the center. At *Timeeku*, the first children sent the sun, *Timét*, into the sky. Then everything else was brought forth. All the first children lived together, playing and reproducing in an indefinitely expanding living space, being nourished by an infinite supply of clay.

*Wuyóot*, the most knowledgeable and powerful of the first children, was killed by a frog, whom he had offended. As he was dying, he named all the months and then travelled to many hot springs, hoping to be cured. He told the kingbird that he would come back as the moon three days after he died. Three days later, the new moon, *Móyla*, appeared. The eagle, *'Ashwut*, found that death was everywhere and that all the people had to die. The people then discussed who would die and which of them would be killed for food. The deer was vulnerable and became a source of food for the people.

The first children celebrated in the cosmogony were symbolized by objects or natural phenomena, and the use of such objects or the

visibility of those phenomena served as a reminder of the cosmogony, belief system, and worldview. During the *wegennic* the girls were shown a basket and religious objects which were first children, some of which had female characteristics. The first basket had been made by one of the female first children (DuBois 1908:136; Harrington 1933:124), an event which was commemorated in the cosmogony. The basket, *tcakut* or *chakwut wakut*,<sup>29</sup> which was placed over each girl's face as she lay in the pit, was another of the first children (DuBois 1908:140-141). The "medicine water" which was drunk at the ceremony was made of wild rose and blackberry, the first female children, and the stone knife which was shown to the girls was of the first born. The stone knife is also suggestive of that part of the cosmogony which recounts the birth of the first children. As *Tamáayawut* was about to give birth, *Túukumit* cut her from the breast downward with *shiivat pavyut*, the sacred stick with a flint knife in one end (DuBois 1908:140). Further identification with the cosmogony may be seen in the position of the girls while in the pit which may be representative of *Tamáayawut*, the earth mother, who identified herself as that which stretches out or is extended from horizon to horizon, or it could symbolize the conception and birth of the first children, as recorded by DuBois (1908:139-149). The *kúvvic*, the "wiping" or touching of the girls during the *yuninnic*, might have been a reenactment of the part of the cosmogony where the body of *Tamáayawut* was touched and named, as described by DuBois (1908:140).

The ceremonial objects shown to the girls were (eagle) feather headdresses, (eagle) feather skirts, sacred stones, and large quartz crystals. The girls were linked with the eagle, *'Ashwut*, in a network of symbolism which included the ability to give life, immortality, and spirituality. The name of the eagle, *'Ashwut*, suggests fertility; *ash* means "first menses" and *wut* means "imbued with" (White 1963:141). Bright

(1968:6) wrote that a girl who was menstruating for the first time was called *ʔaʔá·s*, and Kroeber (Rust 1906:32; Kroeber 1908:174) also noted that the girls participating in the ceremony were called *as*. There is further indication of the female symbolism of eagle in the belief, recorded by Father Geronimo Boscana, a missionary at San Juan Capistrano Mission from 1812 to 1826, that the white-headed eagle was a woman who had been changed into a bird by *Chinigchinich* (Harrington 1933:176). It was believed that the eagle was everlasting or immortal so that, for example, the eagle killed during each *Paam'ush* ceremony was always the same one. The qualities of fertility, femininity, and immortality that the eagle possessed may represent the ability of women to bear children, perpetuate humanity, and, in a sense, never die.

The nested concepts of eagle-life-femininity were further complicated by that of the spirit. In the cosmogony, the eagle sent his spirit north, south, east, and west, trying to escape from death, but found that death was inescapable and that all the people had to die (DuBois 1908:118, 137). The ornaments worn by the girls during the ceremony were made of human hair which represented the spirit, including the spirit of the eagle, and which symbolized the ties which held the earth at its four corners. The world was tied with *yú·la wá·nawut* at the north, south, east, and west (Kroeber 1908:177). DuBois (1908:163) and White (1963:188) repeated that *yú·la* means "spirit" and literally "hair." Kroeber (1925:665) commented that, "The *yukish* was an ancient headdress of human hair, held in place by a cord of the same material. Its form is not clear. Hair was very sacred to the southern Californians, and the Luiseño used it with evident reference to the idea of human personality and employed the name *yula* as a constant metaphor for spirit." The theme was reinforced by the *Kwinimish*, the second series sung at the girls' ceremony,

which consisted of songs of the spirit and the relationship between the spirit, life, and death (DuBois 1908:109).

It is especially significant that the central hole and the first of three concentric circles of the sand painting represented *chum kwinamul* 'our spirit', or *kwinamish* 'the spirit'; the second circle represented the sky; and the third represented the Milky Way (DuBois 1908:87-90). When the *pumutchvi* stood by the *toró·hayic* and exhaled, he might have caused the spirits to depart to the Milky Way, as he did during the mortuary clothes-burning ceremony, as described by White (1963:149-150). This interpretation of the behavior of the *pumutchvi* is supported by the last sentence of the lecture at the *yuninnic* recorded by Sparkman (1908:226): "Perhaps they will speak of you and will blow (three times) and (thereby) cause to rise your spirit and soul to the sky."

Like *'Ashwut*, *Wuyóot* was strongly associated with the girls. Before his death, *Wuyóot* named the months, which are reckoned by the moon, and after his death *Wuyóot* reappeared as the moon. The relationship between the regular appearance of the moon and menses is obvious, and the painting of the girls' faces at each new moon may have been more than a calendrical association. The girls' foot race at the conclusion of the *yuninnic* commemorated another cosmological event associated with *Wuyóot*. Before he died, *Wuyóot* told the first people to hold races when they saw the new moon "as an answer to the moon, giving their spirits to it" (DuBois 1908:135). If they raced and shouted, they would live longer. The girls gave their spirits to *Wuyóot* by running and also by placing their ornaments, which symbolized the spirit, at the base of a selected boulder. One of the symbols the girls painted on the boulder was the moon.

Further correlation between the cosmogony and the girls' ceremony can be seen in the sand painting. Kroeber (1925:664) described the girls' sand painting as having three concen-

tric circles, open to the north, with *Chinigchinich* avengers indicated within. The three circles in the sand painting might have been symbolic of the three concentric circles which the first children formed around the body of *Wuyóot* to prevent coyote from seeing it (Heizer 1972:98).

Strong (1929:323, 338-339, 346-348) believed that the girls' ceremony was part of the oldest substratum of the southern California cultures, and that this substratum was later augmented by a complex of "Southwestern" traits, including the clan priest, ceremonial house, sand painting, clan ownership of eagles, and eagle dances. Whether or not this is a correct interpretation of the development of the ceremony, it is probable that Luiseño religion and ritual developed in part through contact with neighboring people. Such development is apparent in the *yuninnic* with its overtones of the *Chinigchinich* religion which originated in the north, spread to Santa Catalina Island, San Juan Capistrano Mission, and San Luis Rey Mission in the second half of the eighteenth century (DuBois 1908:75-76), Harrington n.d.). Some obvious *Chinigchinich* elements are: the precepts of the lecture given in front of the sand painting, some of the symbolism of the sand painting and the rattlesnake design. The attitude expressed in the lecture reflects the obedience which was required as part of a *Chinigchinich* ceremony (DuBois 1908:135). Boscana (1933:29) related a few sentences of admonishment attributed to *Chinigchinich* which are similar to the lectures recorded at the girls' ceremony by Henshaw and Harrington. Disobedience was punished by *Chinigchinich* avengers, four of which were represented in the sand painting. A small mound of sand in the outer division represented *soowut* (rattlesnake), *hunwut* (bear), *tukwut* (mountain lion) and *iswut* (wolf). Other *Chinigchinich* symbolism can be seen in the wild rose and blackberry, both *Chinigchinich* plants, from which the "medicine water" was made. In

the fourth version of the cosmogony recorded by DuBois (1908:142-143), the *Chinigchinich* avengers and messengers appear at the end of the list of first children, as might be expected of new concepts added to an established religion.

The references in the girls' ceremony to the newer concepts of *Chinigchinich* are more overt than are those to the older religious concepts, but parallels can nonetheless be drawn. Many of the ritual objects that were used in the ceremony were among the first children created by the earth mother, were listed in the cosmogony and, significantly, were associated with womanhood. The girls were linked with *Wuyóot* and *'Ashwut* who have notable positions in the cosmogony and religion. The girls' ceremony was an occasion for the Luiseño philosophy and theology to be impressed upon the girls as the prospective women and mothers in the society. Through ritual, philosophy and theology were integrated with the contemporary society and environment, and history was linked with the present.

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#### NOTES

1. Harrington's notes were in a combination of Spanish, English, and Luiseño. Steve Bouscaren and Cathy Ettinger translated the Spanish, and William Bright translated Luiseño words and phrases.

2. Orthographic variations of *weqennic* are *wukunish* (DuBois 1908:93), *weghenish* (Rust 1906:32, Kroeber 1908:174), *wekenish* (Kroeber 1925:673), *we'enic* (Strong 1929:297), *wakenish* (White 1963:151), and *wiqéniš* (Bright 1968:49). In order to present consistent spellings of Luiseño words, the orthography of Harrington (1933) has



been used, whenever possible. An exception has been made regarding *Chinigchinich*, in which case the more familiar spelling of Boscana (1933) has been used.

3. *Ashish* songs were sung while the girls were in the pit. DuBois (1908:95, 107, 115, 121) mentioned that these were sung to the "accompaniment of the ringing stones." Minor (1975) suggested that the ringing stones referred to the making of cupules. Minor's idea that cupules (pit style petroglyphs) were produced during the girls' ceremony is in part substantiated by the description of Bell Rock, a large, granite boulder with cupules which was originally located in Bell Canyon, Orange County. In 1931, an Orange County historian, Terry E. Stephenson, reported that the boulder produced "clear tones" when the Indians pounded on it with a stone pestle (Knight 1979:25, 28, 31). This suggests that the cupules and tones could have been produced simultaneously as part of the same ceremony. Stephenson did not name the occasion during which the boulder was struck, but his description of the way in which the tones were produced is compatible with DuBois' statement regarding the "ringing stones." Roberts (1975) has also seen and heard a granitic rock at the west end of San Pasqual Valley that rang when struck. The rock was believed by local Indians to have been the home of the Spirit of the East Wind. While Roberts did not mention any ceremonies in which the rock was used, she reported that it did have religious significance and was not touched by common people.

4. An ethnocentric, editorial comment that is irrelevant to the girls' ceremony has been deleted.

5. Harrington (1933:167) listed *páakusic*, *Artemisia douglasiana* Bess. in Hook; *páaticivat*, *Ambrosia psilostachya* D.C. var. *californica* (Rydb.) Blake; *pátcxayal*, *Scirpus microcarpus* Presl.; and *néenixyal*, *Carex schottii* Dewey as the plants used to line the pit in which the girls were placed.

6. Gens refers to a group of people who believe themselves to be descended in the paternal line from a common ancestor. Gens was formerly used to refer to a patrilineal clan.

7. *Yum-pish* could be a mishearing of *yúkkic* 'wristlets and anklets of hair.'

8. *Po-ma-la-sa* is probably a variant of *pu-má •laşu*, tule wristlets and anklets.

9. DuBois (1908:89) identified the sand painting as *eskanish tarohayish*, and stated that *eskanish* means any kind of images or figures and *tarohayish* means this particular kind of image. Harrington (1933:156) noted that any kind of design, figure, marking, basketry pattern, or tattoo is called '*éskanic* or *tówhavanic*.

10. DuBois (1908:93) and Kroeber (1925:673) stated that the ceremonial head of a clan or village presided over the ceremony. Strong (1929:296-297) stated that the *pumutchvi*, the assistant to the primary official of the clan, presided at the girls' ceremony. White (1963:187) identified *pumutchvi* as "point," a ceremonial official who exorcised spirits. The *noth* 'ceremonial chief' served as *pumutchvi*, the point through which all the power of the assistants and participating observers poured and caused the spirits to depart (White 1963: 149-150).

11. Henshaw identified *po-ma-la-sa*, probably a variant of *pu-má •laşu*, as tule wristlets. Harrington (n.d.) translated *piveeshash pumuula* as tule roots, and Bright (1968:33) identified tule, *Scirpus acutus*, as *pivé•saš*, -i.

12. Harrington noted that the wristlets and anklets were called *yúkkic* because they were also made of hair.

13. '*Enwic* consisted of the crushed, charred kernels of *Marah macrocarpus* (Greene) which formed an oily, black mass used for body paint, including the painting of the girls in the *weqennic* (Harrington 1933:143; Munz 1974:393).

14. During the Cupeño girls' and boys' ceremonies, the girls and boys were painted with stripes if they belonged to the coyote moiety and with dots if they belonged to the wildcat moiety (Harrington n.d.; Strong 1929: 290). The significance of vertical lines in Luiseño face painting, however, is unclear because of the uncertainty of the existence of moieties among them.

15. *Wá•tcawnat* is a very normal form of *wá•tcahunat*. *Wá•tcahunat* and *wá•tcic* are very regular nouns derived from *wá•čá-* 'to have small stripes' and *wá•či-* 'to paint with small stripes.' *Wá•tcahunat* would mean the stripes themselves, and *wá•čiš* the act of painting them (William Bright, personal communication).

16. *Có•wut* should be *šóowut*; other variations that have appeared in the literature have been *shoowut*, *showut* and *sowut*. Sparkman (1908: Plate 20) and Harrington (1933:131) identified it as the black rattlesnake, *Crotalus oreganus* Holbrook. The modern classification is *Crotalus viridis oreganus*, commonly known as the Prairie Rattlesnake. It is greenish-olive in color with longitudinal rows of round, brown spots (Grzimik 1975, 6:466).

17. *Mó•yil póy 'ó•vi ca* might mean "She gives her a moon," that is, paints it on her. *Mó•yil* is "moon" (objective case); *póy* means "him/her/it" (objective case); *'ó•vi* means "to give to one person"; and *ca* (*ša*) cannot be identified (William Bright, personal communication).

18. *I•pit móyla* and *tcóxxakap móyla* both mean new moon and refer to a phase of the moon. *I•pit* is a more modern way of saying "new" than is *tcóxxakap* (Harrington 1933:190).

19. *Pum.* is probably an abbreviation for *pumut•chvi*, a ceremonial official.

20. *Wámmu kúvilut 'a'ášmi* literally means "I'm about to wipe the menstruant girls," that is, smearing the salt, etc. on their foreheads (William Bright, personal communication).

21. The *wámkie* referred to the ground that was surrounded by an elliptical enclosure of willow and other brush four to five feet high with gaps (doors) at the north and south ends (DuBois 1908:84; Kroeber 1908:179; Harrington 1933:135-138).

22. *Póy kúvvin* means "I wipe her." *Póy* is "it" (obj.). *Kúvvin* is some form of the verb *kúvvi-*; the fact that the *v* is lengthened rather than the vowel, as in *kú•vi-*, conveys instantaneous action. The *-n* looks like the pronoun "I," although it is in an unusual position (William Bright, personal communication).

23. *Kúvvi-* is, quite regularly, "the act of wiping (instantaneously)" (William Bright, personal communication).

24. *Wá•m.* could be a ceremonial word, perhaps a modified pronunciation of *wam?* 'now, already' (William Bright, personal communication).

25. *Tá•xku* is a ceremonial official (William Bright, personal communication).

26. *Tó•vic* is white clay, *pú•ešval* is a red paint of ferric oxide obtained by burning the bacterium *Leptothrix ochracea*, and *navyót* is hematite (Harrington 1933:142-143). The implication is that red and white paints were used interchangeably. DuBois (1908:96) wrote that black, as well as red and white, paint was used for the girls' pictographs.

27. Some pictograph designs have been identified as *có•wut* (*soowut*) (rattlesnake), *móyla* (moon), and a person. Harrington (n.d.) was also told that a rock in Pala Canyon had a *wá•nawut* (an object made of twine which symbolized the Milky Way) and other things painted on it, and that the *wá•nawut* looked like a long streak. Harrington (n.d.) sketched some symbols painted by boys and girls at the same place. Those on the south side (of the boulder?) were painted by boys (Fig. 5), those on the north side were not identified (Fig. 6) and those painted by girls were presumably on another face which was not specified (Fig. 7).

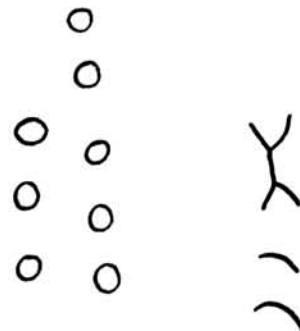


Fig. 5. Reproduction of marks for boys initiation sketched by John P. Harrington.





Fig. 6. Reproduction of unidentified marks sketched by John P. Harrington.



Fig. 7. Reproduction of marks for girls' initiation sketched by John P. Harrington.



Fig. 8. Reproduction of John P. Harrington's sketch of *tcakut* (*chakwut wakut*).

28. *Kúvvic* is "the act of wiping." *Kúvinnic* is "the act of causing to wipe." *'A'acmI* should be *'a'ášmi* 'menstruant girls' (obj.). The passage means that the painting of rocks had no special name, but was included under the term "wiping the menstruant girls," apparently extended in meaning to refer to the whole procedure surrounding the actual "wiping" (William Bright, personal communication).

29. Harrington (n.d.) briefly described the basket as about nine inches in diameter, with each warp a single strand of twining, each wool a two-strand twining and with a handle of three-strand braid (Fig. 8).

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