# PART 1

## Section I

## Human Remains and Associated Fumerary Objects Culturally Affiliated with the Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee (KCRC)

**INVENTORY**
**of Native American Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects**
**in the Possession or Control of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History**
**and Culturally Affiliated with the Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee (KCRC)**

The determination of the cultural affiliation of the human remains and associated funerary objects listed below has been based upon geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, or historic evidence, or other information or expert opinion. Primary information sources include a review of accession and catalog records, and consultation with the Viejas Tribal Council, Campo Band of Mission Indians, and the Kumeyaay Coalition Repatriation Committee.

In 1995, cconsultation was carried out by telephone and by written correspondence between Clarence Brown Sr., Tribal Cultural Advisor, Frank Salazar, Repatriation Director, Campo Band of Mission Indians, and Diana Wilson, UCLA Assistant Research Ethnographer.

In February, 2001 Steve Banegas, Spokesman for Kumeyaay Coalition Repatriation Committee (KCRC), and Barona Council member; Bernice Paipa, Vice Spokeswoman for KCRC and Santa Ysabel Tribal Vice-Chairwoman; Eleanor Miller, Tribal Member, Jamul; George Prietto, Tribal Member, Sycuan; and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr., Tribal Member Campo, visited the Fowler Museum of Cultural History to consult with Diana Wilson and Wendy Teeter on their claim and to review archaeological collections and documentation. In April of 2001, Diana Wilson traveled to Barona Reservation to consult with Steve Banegas, Bernice Paipa, and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr. Telephonic consultation took place between Diana Wilson and Steve Banegas and Carmen Lucas, Elder and member of KCRC between March 2000 and July, 2001.

**Items:** Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects

**Site Number:** CA-SDI-525

**Site Name:** Scripps Estates Site

**Accession Number:** 215

**Geographical Location:** San Diego Co. (La Jolla USGS))

**Collection History:** This collection was excavated as a research project by Claude Warren in 1959 and written up in the 1958-1959 UCAS Report.

**Documentation:** Catalog and burial records.

**Site Age:** 5,500 to 7,500 BP, calculated by 3 C14 dates.

**Collection Summary:**

Human remains and associated funerary objects from site CA-SDI-525, Accession 215, are in the possession of the Archaeology Collections Facility of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Sixteen burials were uncovered, of which 7 were left in situ with cement boxes poured around them to protect them, 2 went supposedly to UCLA (Burials 9 and 10) and the rest were curated with J. R. Moriarty, University of California, Scripps Institution of Oceanography. The UCLA burials, Burials 9 and 10, cannot currently be located and there is only a small notation saying the burials went to "Stanford for dating." Laura Jones, campus archaeologist at Stanford has not located any documentation relating to their presence at Stanford during any time. In addition, there are three catalog entries of fragmentary human bone recovered from midden context (see attached list).

Burial accession records indicate that there were no burial associated artifacts with the two individuals that were brought back to UCLA (Burials 9 and 10). However, the catalog lists two associated funerary objects. Catalog number 95 is a metate that was associated with Burial 1, and catalog number 164 is an olivella shell associated with Burial 10. Additionally, soil samples (catalog number 185) were found associated with Burial 9. All are present in the collection at UCLA (see attached list).

**Consultation:** In February 2001, Steve Banegas, Spokesman for the Kumeyaay Coalition Repatriation Committee (KCRC), and Barona Councilmember; Bernice Paipa, Vice Spokeswoman for KCRC and Santa Ysabel Tribal Vice-Chairwoman; Eleanor Miller, Tribal Member, Jamul; George Prietto, Tribal Member, Sycuan; and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr., Campo Tribal Member, visited the Fowler Museum of Cultural History to consult with Diana Wilson and Wendy Teeter on the coalition's repatriation claim and to review archaeological collections and documentation. In April 2001, Diana Wilson traveled to Barona Reservation to consult with Steve Banegas, Bernice Paipa, and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr. Consultation by telephone took place

between Diana Wilson and Steve Banegas and Carmen Lucas, Elder and member of KCRC between March 2000 and July 2001.

**Synopsis for Basis for Determination:** No lineal descendant has been identified. Weighing biological, geographical, oral tradition, archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic lines of evidence together, a preponderance of the evidence supports the Kumeyaay claim of shared group identity with these ancestral remains. This conclusion rests primarily on the geographical evidence of Kumeyaay oral traditions, songs, and ceremonial ground paintings, and the *probability* of at least some biological relationship of earlier and present-day groups, but it does not rest on the biological /skeletal evidence.

**Cultural Affiliation:** Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee (KCRC)

## COLLECTION SUMMARY PAGE

**Accession #: 215 Site #: CA-SDI-525**

| **Human Remains** | | **Associated Funerary Object** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burial # | Description | Catalog # | Material | Item |
| | Hand bone fragments, age/sex unknown | | | |
| | Juvenile skull fragments, sex unknown | | | |
| | Juvenile skull fragments, sex unknown | | | |
| 9 | | 185 | soil | sample |
| 10 | | 164 | shell, olivella | shell |
| | w/Burial 1 | 95 | stone | metate |

**Accession #: 215 Site #: CA-SDI-525**

**Human Remains**

| Catalog # | Burial # | Provenience | Level | Description | Pre/Abs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 169 | | TT 3, between pits 3 & 4 | 006" | Hand bone fragments, age/sex unknown | p |
| 170 | | TT 3, Pit 4, S 12"-W 11" | 014" | Juvenile skull fragments, sex unknown | p |
| 171 | | TT 3, Pit 1, S 6"-E 9" | 007" | Juvenile skull fragments, sex unknown | p |
| 173 | 9 | between TT1, Pit 6 & T1-W1 | 003 1/2" | "sent to Stanford for dating" written on original inventory; Stanford did not find | a |
| 174 | 10 | TT1, Pit 4 | 010" | "sent to Stanford for dating" written on original inventory; Stanford did not find | a |

**Associated Funerary Items**

| Catalog # | Burial # | Provenience | Level | Material | Item | Quantity | Remarks | Pre/Abs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 95 | 1 | TT 2, Pit 8 | | stone | metate | 1 | in hord pan; over skull in burial #1 | p |
| 164 | 10 | TT1, 19" from E wall; between pits 3 & 4 | 018" | shell, olivella | shell | 1 | 1.5" below burial 10 femur | p |
| 185 | 9 | From above caliche line in Burial #9 | | soil | sample | 2 bags | | p |

**Items:** Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects

**Site Number:** CA-SDI-603

**Site Name:** Batiquitos Lagoon

**Accession Number:** 295

**Geographical Location:** San Diego Co. Encinitas (USGS)

**Collection History:** Excavated in 1960 by R. H. Crabtree and the UCAS under contract with the State Park Service and for the Highway Department. The excavation site was in the proposed freeway right-of-way. The land was owned by either the State Park Service or CALTRANS.

**Documentation:** Catalog, excavation proposal, field notes and maps.

**Site Age:** 1940 +- 200 BC to 5340+- 200 BC, the date range was the result of three C14 dates, (2 on shell and 1 on carbon).

**Collection Summary:**

Human remains and associated funerary objects from site CA-SDI-603, Accession 295, are in the possession of the Archaeology Collections Facility of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History. Human remains consist of 1 burial of a sub-adult female and fragmentary human remains from a second individual (see attached list).

The museum accession records agree with the report that there were no artifacts that were clearly identified as associated funerary objects. There were artifacts, however, recovered from the same unit and level as the burial and other artifacts found stored with the burials. These are considered to be associated funerary objects and consist of a shell bead, a soil sample, and unmodified animal bone and shell. Only one of these objects is not currently present in the collection (see attached list).

**Consultation:** In February 2001, Steve Banegas, Spokesman for the Kumeyaay Coalition Repatriation Committee (KCRC), and Barona Councilmember; Bernice Paipa, Vice Spokeswoman for KCRC and Santa Ysabel Tribal Vice-Chairwoman; Eleanor Miller, Tribal Member, Jamul; George Prietto, Tribal Member, Sycuan; and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr., Campo Tribal Member, visited the Fowler Museum of Cultural History to consult with Diana Wilson and Wendy Teeter on the coalition's repatriation claim and to review archaeological collections and documentation. In April 2001, Diana Wilson traveled to Barona Reservation to consult with Steve Banegas, Bernice Paipa, and Harry Paul Cuero, Jr. Consultation by telephone took place between Diana Wilson and Steve Banegas and Carmen Lucas, Elder and member of KCRC between March 2000 and July 2001.

**Synopsis for Basis for Determination:** No lineal descendant has been identified. Weighing biological, geographical, oral tradition, archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic lines of evidence together, a preponderance of the evidence supports the Kumeyaay claim of shared

group identity with these ancestral remains. This conclusion rests primarily on the geographical evidence of Kumeyaay oral traditions, songs, and ceremonial ground paintings, and the *probability* of at least some biological relationship of earlier and present-day groups.

**Cultural Affiliation:** Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee (KCRC)

## COLLECTION SUMMARY PAGE

**Accession #: 295 Site #: CA-SDI-603**

**Human Remains**

| Burial # | Description |
|---|---|
| 1 | one incomplete sub-adult female |
| | human fibula fragments, age/sex unknown |

**Associated Funerary Object**

| Catalog # | Material | Item |
|---|---|---|
| 597 | bone | bone |
| 599 | shell | shell |
| 600 | bone | mammal bone |
| 601 | bone | animal bone |
| 602 | bone | animal bone |
| 679 | shell | bead |
| 1017 | bone | fish vertebra |
| 1018 | shell | fragment |
| 1020 | bone | animal bone |
| 1021 | soil w/ stone | sample |

**Accession #: 295 Site #: CA-SDI-603**

**Human Remains**

| Catalog # | Burial # | Provenience | Level | Description | Pre/Abs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 580, 581 | | 36" from NE wall and 23" from SE wall | 039" | human fibula fragments, age/sex unknown | p |
| 599, 982 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | one incomplete sub-adult female | |

**Associated Funerary Items**

| Catalog # | Burial # | Provenience | Level | Material | Item | Quantity | Remarks | Pre/Abs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 597 | | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | bone | 8 | Burnt; possibly associated with burial 1 | a |
| 599 | | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | shell | shell | 1 | likely associated with burial 1 | p |
| 600 | | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | mammal bone | 1 | likely associated with burial 1 | p |
| 601 | | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | animal bone | 1 | likely associated with burial 1 | p |
| 602 | | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | animal bone | 1 | likely associated with burial 1 | p |
| 679 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 030-036" | shell | bead | 1 | | p |
| 1017 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | fish vertebra | 1 | separated from cat# 982 | p |
| 1018 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | shell | fragment | 1 bag | separated from cat# 982 | p |
| 1020 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | bone | animal bone | 2 | separated from cat# 982 | p |
| 1021 | 1 | TT-1, Pit 9 | 036-042" | soil w/ stone | sample | 1 bag | separated from cat# 982 | p |

**Basis for Determination:**

The 1996 UCLA Inventory listed these remains as culturally affiliated with the Viejas Tribal Council (one of twelve Federally recognized Kumeyaay Reservations now represented by the KCRC). We subsequently revised that determination, affiliating the collections with these twelve Reservations, all of whom joined in presenting their repatriation claim through the KCRC.

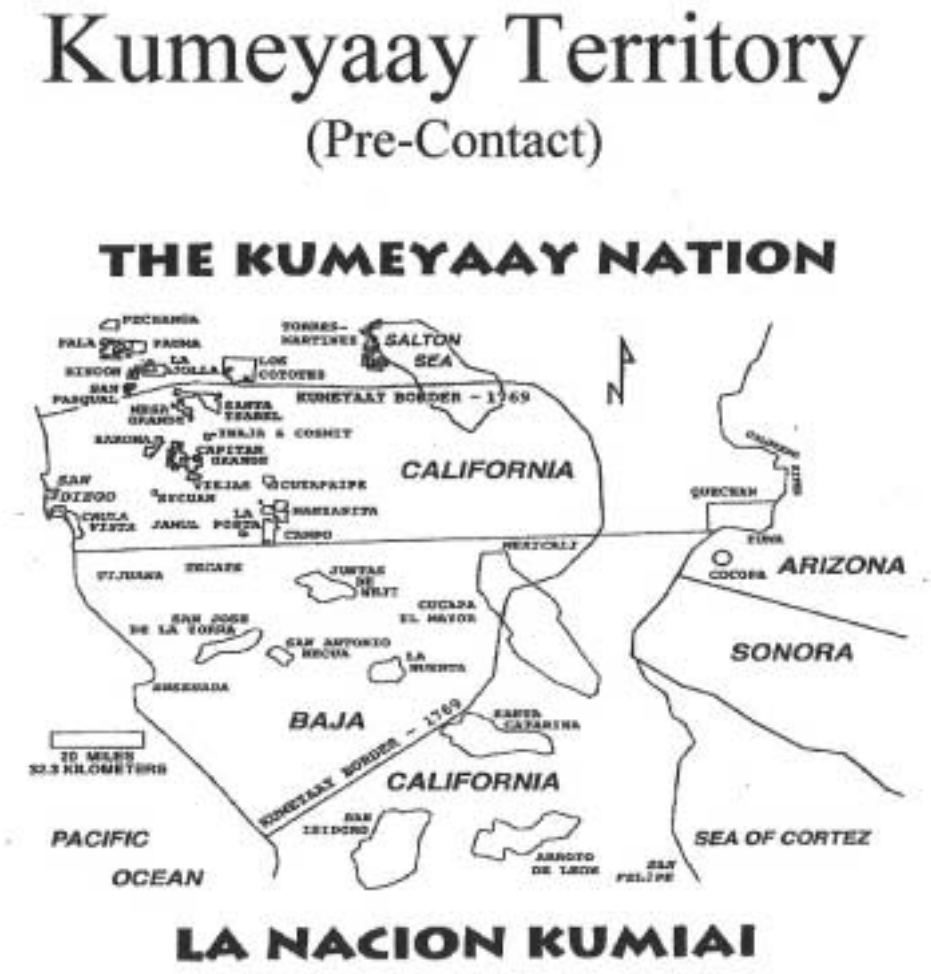


*Figure 1* (Kumeyaay Coalition Repatriation Committee)

The sites from which the human remains in question were recovered are within the ethnohistoric territory of the Kumeyaay Nation which extends across San Diego County and half of Imperial County and from just north of Batiquitos Lagoon to below Ensenada in Baja California (*Figure 1*).

In this document we refer to the cultural traditions of the people living in the region described above during the Late and ethnohistorical periods as the *Kumeyaay*. *Kumeyaay* includes cultural

traditions have been named *Diegueno*, *Ipai*, *Tipai*, and *Kamia* in the anthropological literature. These names were given by anthropologists but are not entirely arbitrary; they recognize the heterogeneity of local groups existing within a regional *Kumeyaay Nation* as named in the present day by the Kumeyaay people themselves.

According to both Kumeyaay and Luiseno oral tradition, Kumeyaay territory once extended much further north, to the border of what is now Orange County and into Riverside County; the Kumeyaay ceded their northernmost territory to the Luiseno people at an unknown time in the past.

The KCRC represents twelve reservations within the Kumeyaay territory in the U.S.. The reservations are located in the foothills, mountains, and desert areas of San Diego and Imperial Counties. None of the reservations are located on the coast, although some present-day Kumeyaay families have ancestors that lived at the coast at the time of contact and into the ethnohistoric period, as documented in Mission records and by oral history.

In this document, earlier groups are referred as the *Archaic* (referring to a *time period* extending from 8,000 B.P. to 700 A.D.), and as *La Jolla* (referring to a *cultural tradition* geographically identified with the Pacific coast of San Diego County). *Yuman* has been used in the anthropological literature to refer to the Quechan Tribe, a time period, and a group of cultural traits (alternately known as "Patayan" and "Hakataya"), and to a language family in the Hokan stock. In this report, *Yuman* refers to the groups of speakers of Yuman languages and to the language family.

Based on archaeological evidence for a consistent material culture, we take as given that a "shared group identity" for the La Jolla cultural tradition existed continuously during the Archaic period. We also take as given that a shared group identity exists between groups living in southern San Diego and western Imperial Counties in the Late Prehistoric period 1000 A.D. to 1542 A.D., and the ethnographic period (1542 A.D. to the present), and that this shared group identity is today known as *Kumeyaay*. These assumptions are based on Kumeyaay Tribal knowledge and archaeological, anthropological, ethnographic, and historical evidence.

This report examines the potential for a shared group identity between the people of the La Jolla cultural tradition during the Archaic period and the people of the Kumeyaay cultural tradtion of the Late Prehistoric and ethnographic periods. Our revised determination of cultural affiliation is based on published sources and on discussion with Kumeyaay consultants and with scholars knowledgeable about San Diego area archaeology and physical anthropology, and also about Kumeyaay language and culture. (The scholars are listed at the conclusion of this report). The consensus among the scholars was that neither continuity nor discontinuity could be conclusively established between earlier, Archaic groups with Late Prehistoric period, ethnohistorical, and present-day Kumeyaay.

We have concluded, however, for the reasons stated below, that cultural affiliation has been shown to exist by a preponderance of the evidence, the standard of proof required under NAGPRA.

**Analysis:**

There are four primary reasons given for an interpretation of discontinuity between the Archaic (La Jolla cultural traditions) and the Late and ethnohistoric period (Kumeyaay cultural traditions):

1) The San Diego County area may have been abandoned at some time after 7500 years ago and before the onset of the Late Period at about 1000 A.D..

2) The ancestors of the present day Kumeyaay moved into the San Diego County area at the beginning of the Late period, sometime between 1000 and 600 years ago.

3) Significant biological differences exist between the skeletal remains from the Archaic period and the historic period in San Diego County.

4) Changes in burial practices - cremation replacing inhumations – and in lithic technologies and the introduction of ceramics indicate a shift in cultural identity.

We do not deny that changes in material culture have occurred during the last 7500 years in the San Diego County area, but we find that when these changes are understood within a broad context of anthropological, archeological, biological, linguistic and oral traditional knowledge there is a preponderance of evidence for continuity rather discontinuity of shared group identity. Below we address evidence for abandonment, in-migration, and biological differences, and also evidence for in situ development and for continuity of cultural traditions between the Archaic period and the present in San Diego County.

*The gap in the archaeological record:* Byrd and Reddy (forthcoming) detail substantial new data from coastal sites for the Late Holocene, 3500 years before present to historic contact. Based on dozens of new radiocarbon dates, they conclude:

*"Well-dated major Late Holocene residential sites (shell middens) occur along San Diego Bay, Mission Bay Los Penasquitos Lagoon, Sorrento Valley, Agua Hedionda Lagoon, Buena Vista Lagoon, and from Las Flores Creek to San Mateo Creek on Camp Pendleton. Moreover, many of these sites represent the probable location of coastal villages noted by Portola in 1769 (Carrico 1998). Given the richness of associated cultural remains and the considerable time depth of occupation documented at many of these sites, they probably represented relatively stable sedentary coastal settlements…. [V]ery little independent paleoecological evidence was available to reconstruct the history of local lagoons, and initial reconstructions were based on the Batiquitos Lagoon archaeological sequence and then extrapolated to the rest of the region* [Batiquitos Lagoon silted in and was apparently nearly abandoned between 3500 and 1500 years before present] … *The population decline reconstruction was an empirical argument based on available radiocarbon dates from coastal sites. This was perfectly reasonable at the time* (Byrd and Reddy n.d.: 25).

The problem in San Diego County archaeology is not a gap in the record; there is ample evidence for continuity of occupation across the Archaic and into the Late Period. The critical questions are these: Are the people of the La Jolla cultural tradition related to the people of an earlier western desert cultural tradition and to an inland Archaic tradition (Pauma). Are the people of the La Jolla tradition related to the people of the later Kumeyaay cultural tradition, and if so, how? In terms of finely detailed archaeological analysis, these questions are not answered; the questions themselves are still being refined (Mc Donald and Eighmey 1998). The last section of this report considers in detail how these questions have been addressed.

*Yuman migrations: Does Kumeyaay cultural identity originate outside of Kumeyaay territory?*

There is no doubt that the Yuman language groups absorbed the influences, and apparently the DNA, of people participating in the Hohokam cultural tradition (300 B.C. to 1400 A.D.). Rodgers (1945) suggests that Colorado River "Yuman" people originally came from the Pacific Coast, and over time absorbed the influences of the Southwest cultural area, most specifically, those of the Hohokam, and then passed those influences back to the Pacific Coast at around 1400 A.D., after the final desiccation of Lake Cahuilla. Rodgers hypothesized that at 1400 A.D. major populations shifts of Yuman people to the east of the Colorado River and south into Baja California took place, as well as migrations to the San Diego Coast.

Certainly the filling and draining of Lake Cahuilla must have effected the flow of cultural influence and people over the last 1300 years. Lake Cahuilla filled the Imperial Valley between 900 A.D. and 1400 A.D.. While Lake Cahuilla was filled, people would have been drawn to its shores, but direct contact between River and Coast would have been much more difficult. When the Lake drained, coastal/river contact would have resumed. The southwest quadrant of Lake Cahuilla would have been contained within Kumeyaay territory as defined in the late 1700's. Therefore, if people moved from the western edge of Lake Cahuilla to the San Diego coast, they were relocating within Kumeyaay territory. The draining of Lake Cahuilla could account for the apparently sudden appearance of new cultural traits around 1400 A.D., and to some extent, for greater numbers of people in San Diego County at that time, but other factors undoubtedly played a role as well (McDonald and Eighmey 1998: III-1).

Wallace (1955:226) suggested that a 1400 A.D. onset is not enough time to allow for the cultural developments of the Diegueno tradition. McDonald and Eighmey put Rodgers's ideas into contemporary context:

*Ceramic vessel forms and treatments were diagnostic features of all three* [of Rodgers'] *time periods, but the major difference between the cultural periods as Rodgers (1945) defined them was the increase and spread of Yuman cultural traits and/or actual populations from a homeland in the Colorado River Valley. Unfortunately, Rodgers' (1945) chronological overview is vague and contradictory, lacking in any substantial presentation of his survey data or much of the complementary data used to estimate the dates given for the three periods. In addition, this chronology was developed primarily for the Colorado River Valley sub-area, not the other sub-areas which Rodgers (1945:180) recognized as being archaeologically and ecologically diversified. In spite of these shortcomings, his chronology has been taken all too often as the*

*gospel concerning the prehistory of the Kumeyaay region* (McDonald and Eighmey: 1998:III 9-10).

The question of how southwestern traits such as cremation and ceramics came into San Diego County, and when, is one of the most complex questions in San Diego archaeology, and none of the archaeologists we spoke with said that they could say for certain if these changes occurred through acculturation of existing groups by Colorado River or Baja California Tribes, or by the migration of new people into the area. One of two ceramic traditions appears to have begun in San Diego County as early as 600 A.D.. Griset (1996:184-285) postulates that ceramics came not only from the Colorado River area but also from Baja Californian between 600 and 900 A.D.. New dates for ceramics suggest that the technology spread across the desert to the coast very rapidly (McDonald and Eighmey 1998: III 40-41). Also, the ceramic traditions appear in a sophisticated form from the beginning, without incipient forms (Griset 1996:271).

The earliest date suggested for the beginning of cremation is 2500 B.P. (Moriarty 1966), based on the Spendrift site located in the city of La Jolla showing an unbroken sequence of occupation from the later Archaic through the Late Period (1966:23). This is approximately the same time that cremation appears in the Southwest cultural traditions. The timing of the spread of cultural influences to the Pacific Coast suggests close contact between the coastal region and the river at an early date:

*From the evidence it appears that around 3,000 B. P., elements of the westernmost Yuman were beginning to merge with the coastal La Jolla. The mixing of the two cultures brought about changes distinguishable in the artifact assemblage, and possibly resulted in a modification of burial practices. Whether this was a peaceful merging or the more dynamic Yuman people came as invaders and assimilated the La Jolla survivors is not known. The archaeological evidence tends to suggest a peaceful merging over a fairly long period* (Ibid.:24).

There is some evidence of migrations within Yuman groups. The Quechan have an oral tradition of their migration from the north in what is now Mojave territory, near Wikami Mountain, north of what is now Needles, California (Bee 1983: 86). When this may have occurred in not known.

DuBois gives us the migration story related to her by a Mesa Grande Elder named *Quilpsh*, or Raphael Charles:

*All the tribes of Indians came from that place [*Wik-a-mee*]. They had only one language then…..After the Indians were made*, Tu-chai-pa *and* Yo-ko-mat-is *scattered them from the place where they were at first. All these Indians, the Dieguenos, came from the east….the different families came at different times to San Diego, Captain Grande, etc, and some stopped at all the different places along the way…..(*DuBois 1907:129-130).

Another consultant from Mesa Grande told DuBois that some of the Indians

*went first to Elsinor where the Indians helped to make the lake that is there. Temecula is also mentioned as one of the stopping places where they first settled. Afterward they went through San Diego to Mesa Grande and the various places where they are now to be found* (Ibid.:130).

This suggests a migration from what is now the Mojave Tribal area, through Banning Pass, by way of present-day Luiseno territory. If this oral tradition is correct, we do not know when the migration took place. Despite the fact that DuBois assumes that the Luisenos were indigenous to the area of Lake Elsinore and Temecula when the Kumeyaay bands passed through (Ibid.: 130), the linguistic (Hinton 1991), and oral traditional evidence suggest that Kumeyaay may have been in the Temecula area before the Luisenos. According to both Kumeyaay and Luiseno oral traditions, the Kumeyaay ceded their territory to the Luisenos. According to the archaeological record, the Temecula/Lake Elsinore area has been occupied continuously for the last 4500 years, and sites in San Diego County foothills, mountains, and deserts for even longer.

Together with new technology and cultural practices, new people almost certainly came to the San Diego coast from east and/or south, but we don't know when.

There is also evidence for a Yuman population migration from west to east. The Cocopa are apparently a western Yuman group which moved to the Colorado delta region (Eggan 1983: 737) at an unknown time, and then down river:

*During a pluvial period around A.D. 900 a large lake formed in the Imperial-Mexcialli Valley, a lake referred to in the twentieth century as Blake Sea or Lake Cahuilla. Many Yuman speakers were attracted to settle on its shores; however, the Cocopa remained on the river. The desiccation of that lake between A.D. 1400 and 1500 nevertheless affected the Cocopa drastically when the Quechan and the Mojave returned to the river, displacing the Cocopa and forcing them down river to the southern delta into an area that had been submerged during the earlier pluvial period* (Anita Alvarez de Williams 1983:100).

Eggan also suggested that "the Kamia and the Cocopa appear to have moved from [extreme southern California and Baja California] to the Imperial Valley and the Colorado River Delta region, respectively (Eggan 1983: 742). When those migrations may have occurred is not clear, and this suggestion is contradictory to that of Alvarez De Williams:

*Archaeological studies indicate that ancestors of the Cocopa and other Yuman speakers migrated from the north, perhaps the Great Basin, to the lower valleys of the Gila and the Colorado rivers sometime between 1000 B,.C,. and the time of Christ* (Alvarez de Williams 1983:100).

Ten of fifty Cocopa clans and their totems are derived from Paipai, Tipai, and Kamia (Ibid.:109-110). Perhaps the Cocopa are an amalgamation of clans from north, west and south.

We know that Cocopa is the closest Yuman language to Digueno (Kendall 1979:10). Those Cocopa who migrated from the west may have done so before 900 AD, when the Lake Cahuilla filled. If so, they were in the western region *before* 900 A. D. <u>This strongly suggests that the</u>

Diegueno speakers were also in San Diego County before 900 A.D.. This suggestion is supported by the oral tradition of one Kumeyaay Elder that the Kumeyaay used to all speak the same language, but when the Lake went down they couldn't understand one another any more (Florence Shipek, personal communication). Also, there are no known oral traditions of migrations among the Kumeyaay as there are among the Quechan. The apparently accuracy of a collective memory of language similarities and differences suggests that a collective memory of momentous events like migrations probably would have persisted.

Some linguists have proposed that the close relationship between Paipai in the Baja California and the upland Arizona Yuman languages (Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai) is a result of a very recent migration of Paipai from Arizona, based on a Paipai legend. Alternatively, "Kroeber and Joel have suggested that the affinity between these distant languages reflect the continuation of a generalized ancestral Yuman tradition, the River and Delta departure from this heritage being a result of accelerated changes brought about by cultural specialization" (Hale and Harris 1979:172).

Rodgers (1945:190) suggested the that Yavasupai may have moved into their territory in Arizona as recently as 1100, but Schroeder sees them developing in situ at least since the time of the Hakataya tradition (Khera and Mariella 1969:39).

Finally, Luomala makes a reference to a possible in-migration from the Colorado River to the Pacific Coast:

*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, has 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 archaeological data and comparison of languages, mythology, and legends recorded only after 1540 when Spaniards arrived and the historic periods began; nonetheless, basic cultural patterns of historic Tipai and Ipai were deeply rooted in those of their predecessors in this area, whoever they were* (Luomala 1978:594).

*The questions of the origin of a proto-Yuman group and biological evidence:*

The populations and cultural traits associated with a proto-Yuman cultural area are believed to have originated at the Pacific Coast. Irwin Williams (1979) finds that the Western archaic elements of the southwestern region, distinct from those of Paleo-Plains Indians and Great Basin Archaic Uto-Aztecan speakers, begin on the San Diego coast at about 11,500 years ago and move westward and northward (Figure 2).

Archaeologists agree that the earliest inhabitants of the San Diego coast practiced a cultural tradition related to the Western Pluvial Lake tradition. According to Irwin Williams, the Western tradition is related to the Pinto and Amargosa traditions of the later archaic in the Mojave desert and east into Arizona (Irwin Williams 1979:38-39). The argument for a proto-Yuman geographical area depends on whether or not the people of the La Jollan tradition were related to

both their predecessors and their archaic contemporaries associated with inland mountain and desert areas.

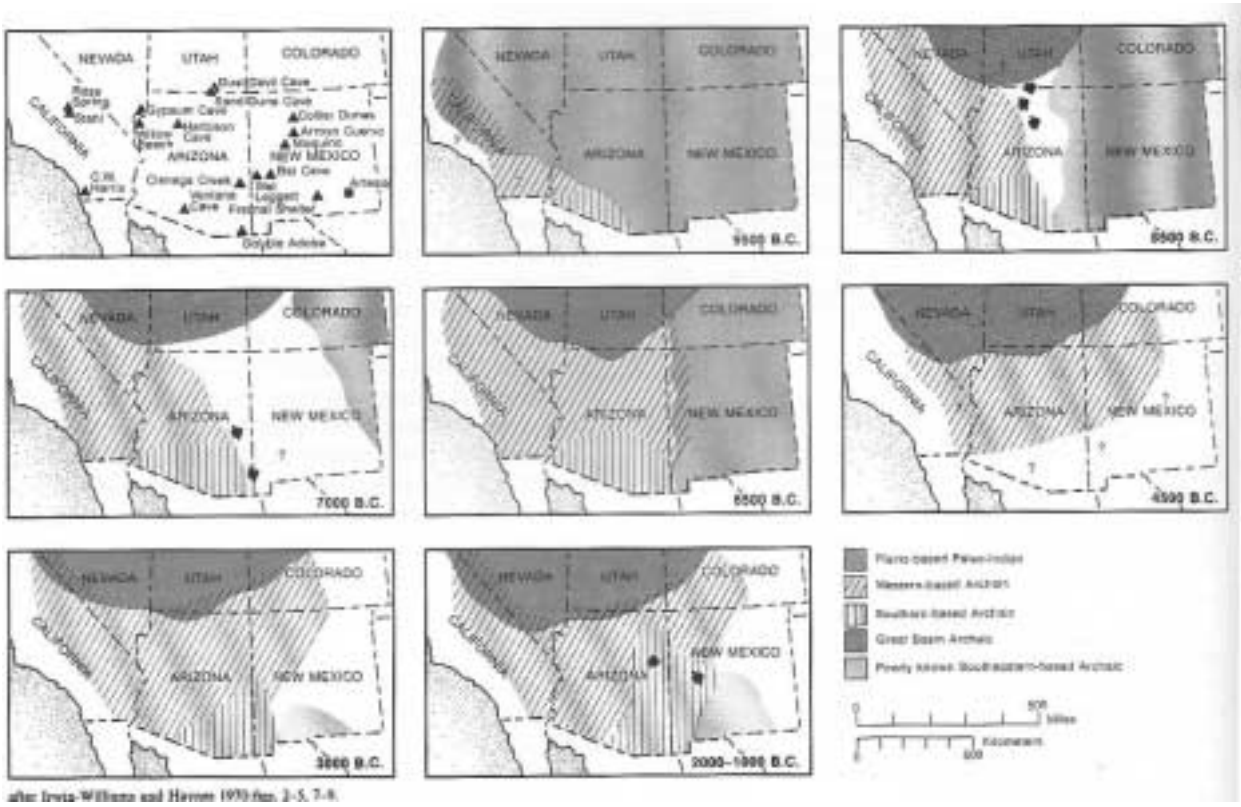


*Figure 2* (Irwin Williams 1979)

The localized version of the Western Pluvial Lake traditions, the San Dieguito cultural tradition, existed on the San Diego coast before 8500 B.P., and its participants may or may not be related biologically with the people of the La Jolla cultural tradition or the inland archaic (Pauma). Warren, Siegler and Dittmer believe that the San Dieguito cultural tradition did not persist much beyond 8500 years ago. Gallegos assumes that all three traditions were related (1987:30), but his argument has been criticized by those who point out that only biological data can support the hypothesis that the San Dieguito and La Jolla populations were related (Warren, Siegler, and Dittmer 1998: II-68-69).

Upon coming to the San Diego County coast, the San Dieguito people may have adapted their material culture to the coastal environment. However, according to Warren, Siegler and Dittmer, "The early La Jollan cultural pattern was already present before the transitional period and La Jolla people appear to have been already adapted to the coastal resources [upon their arrival in San Diego] and perhaps in contact with a San Dieguito population" (Ibid.:II-65).

There is some biological evidence that the archaic people of the coastal La Jolla tradition were related to those occupying the inland desert at a very early age. Spencer Rodgers (1977) reports an early skeleton found in the Yuhu Desert, just about the Mexican border, approximately half way between San Diego and the Colorado River, " in a region where very primitive lithic

artifacts give indication of an early population of simple culture over a considerable time of occupancy" (Ibid.:2). The tentative date for the skeleton is ancient: caliche on the skeleton was dated by radiocarbon at 21,000 years ago, and a thorium date indicated a comparable age (Ibid.:2) [This date is probably not widely accepted.] Rodgers's comparative metrical analysis finds that:

*it would appear that the Yuhu population, as represented by this single specimen, was probably not greatly different in physical structure from the La Jollan people, but did digress in various ways from the early physical stocks in California to the north and to a greater degree from the earliest Arizona population to the east* (Ibid.:6).

The relationship of this skeleton to those found in the Sacramento area seems to corroborate the linguistic data. Linguists and archaeologists have speculated that that the Hokan languages of northern California derive from proto-Hokan groups in central California present at a very early date (Foster 1996:86). The relationships between the early Yuhu desert skeletons and early skeletons from the Sacramento area suggest that the physical type associated with the La Jolla tradition may tentatively be associated with speakers of a proto Hokan languages.

If Richard Jantz's suggestion, based on mtDNA analysis, that the archaic people of the San Diego coast came by the ocean to North America (Jantz, 2000.) is correct, and if Hokan language is assumed to have developed into proto-Yuman *in situ* on the southern California (Foster 1996: 86), then it is reasonable to infer that a Hokan language was spoken by the earliest people of the La Jollan cultural tradition on the San Diego coast and in northern Baja California. Archaeologists have correlated the Western Pluvial Lake traditions with a proto Hokan language (Moratto 1984:90-103). Linguists also assume that the people associated with the Pinto-Amargosa cultural traditions spoke a proto-Yuman languages (Hale and Harris); we can infer that proto-Yuman would have developed from an older Hokan language in situ over a long period of time, perhaps over the entire desert archaic period, during which time Hokan/proto-Yuman speakers were occupying the inland Mojave desert area and eastern Arizona area associated with the Pinto-Amargosa traditions.

Rogers (1945) concludes the this early population is quite different physically from those of historic Tribes in the area. However, like Moriarty, he sees evidence for a slow cultural transition through the final archaic period (1945:172), and he notes the biological heterogeneity present at an early date:

*The La Jollan people were a mixed physical group from the first. Their burials provide both dolichocephalic and mesocephalic types. However, the ratio changes during the second phase (final archaic] in that the long-headed type becomes more rare. The early type (pseudo-Austroaloid) can still be found among the historic Dieguenos of this area, but has little diagnostic value because the latter in post-Spanish times became hybridized through the Spanish bringing in foreign Indians from Lower California and other part of Mexico. On the other hand, the condition could have arisen through miscegenation during prehistoric time* (Ibid.:178).

Dave Hunt, Collections Manager for Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, has studied Archaic remains from Coastal San Diego County and is creating a database for ancient

human remains from North America. He said the Archaic skeletons from San Diego County are similar to the skeletons of the individual from Spirit Cave (Nevada), Minnesota woman, and Kennewick man (Washington), all of which are older than the Archaic Period human remains at UCLA's Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

According to Hunt's non-technical description (personal communication), the earliest Archaic Period skeletons are long-headed [dolichocephalic], shorter, and heavier-boned than human skeletons from the ethnohistorical period. Hunt said that he "recollected" that slightly rounder skulls [mesocephalic ]begin to appear in the skeletal record for San Diego County at about 3000 BP. Hunt said that the cumulative changes over the 6000 - 7000 year Archaic Period are not as drastic as those between the Late Archaic Period and the Ethnohistoric period when skulls became much rounder and facial features changed considerably.

Hunt offered to send us the craniometric data on the Late Archaic period that he recalled showed the beginning of a shift toward more rounded skulls from 3000 B.P to 1300 B.P. However, after talking with Doug Owsley, also of the Smithsonian Institution, and Professor Richard Jantz, of the University of Tennessee (both physical anthropologists), Hunt referred us to a recent paper by Jantz and Owsley which analyzes the available data for the Early Archaic Period in San Diego County as well as from several other early sites in North America and in China. Unfortunately, Jantz and Owsley do not consider the data for the Final Archaic Period in San Diego, the population between our earlier and later groups, which are most critical for our purpose.

In their paper, Jantz and Owsley hypothesize early population movements around the Pacific Rim. Based on data from Middle Archaic skulls from San Diego County and other early skulls from California and the west, and on mtDNA and Y chromosome evidence for the Southeast Asia origins of Polynesians, they conclude:

*a convincing argument can… be made that the early populations of the Western Pacific rim contained populations with a generalized morphology, still seen in such modern groups as Polynesians and Ainu, that also characterizes early Holocene American crania from Western North America* (Jantz and Owsley 2000:13).

Jantz and Owsley emphasized the difference between early skulls and those of "recent" Native Americans that are much rounder and generally smaller. His data for "recent" Native Americans are from the following Tribes: Pawnee, Arikara, Sioux, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, Shoshone, Ute, and Paiute.

Archaeologist Claude Warren (personal communication) believes the La Jollans represent one of the earliest migrations to North America, although not necessarily earlier than Clovis. He believes they came by boat or by a coastal land route, and that the La Jollan cultural tradition was a very old and distinctive coastal adaptation that did not include big game hunting. However he emphasized that there is no conclusive archaeological evidence for his hypothesis.

Hunt (personal communication) said that the oldest skulls in North America tend to be long, with a general shift continent-wide to more rounded skulls over time. Jantz (personal communication)

said that the Athabaskans are thought by some to be responsible for introducing rounder shaped skulls into Plains area populations, but the arrival of Athabaskans in the southwest is too late to account for the rounder shaped skulls of Yuman people (those living in the Colorado River and California Delta area and east into the Arizona desert). He said that rounder skulls begin to appear in the northern Southwest cultural area skeletal record during the "Anasazi" Period, about 2000 to 1500 B.P. This may reflect a genetic influence from the south (Mexico) at that time.

Jantz said that they did not analyze any La Jollan skulls that were not mineralized and therefore he did not consider data from the Final Archaic Period in San Diego County. However, if Hunt's recollection is correct that the skeletal record begins to change at around 3000 B.P, this change would correspond to the introduction of "pre-Yuman" material culture as reported by Moriarty (1966). Together with the ethnographic evidence for a tradition of regional intermarriage, this might suggest an integration of two or more geographically and genetically distinct populations over a long period of time, accelerating at the beginning of the Late Prehistoric period. However, we do not presently have access to skeletal data for the Final Archaic Period.

Anthropologist Florence Shipek, member of the KCRC, pointed out that changes in facial and skeletal features between early populations and present-day people may be due in part to changes from a diet of primarily seafood and meat to one of primarily acorns and other seeds. However, according to Hunt, biological anthropologists do not believe that environmental factors can account for all the changes in the skeletal record, and a consensus exists that genetic mixing took place between Archaic coastal populations and inland populations. However, because we do not understand very well how environmental and genetic factors interact to produce changes in physical characteristics, no one can say conclusively how much genetic mixing occurred.

According to Hunt, the biological evidence does not conclusively point to discontinuity. He said it is conceivable that there is a biological relationship between Archaic and present-day populations at the range of 35-40 generations, a degree of biological relationship he finds "insignificant" and not "meaningful". However, this biological relationship is both meaningful and significant to the Kumeyaay.

There is no doubt that great physical changes have taken place among the indigenous people of San Diego County. Given the context of regional language and cultural groups over a long period of time, we do not consider that there biological changes imply discontinuity but conclude that they can be understood as changes taking place within in continuum of a shared group identity.

*Linguistic and anthropological evidence for in situ development*:

Late Prehistoric period and ethnohistorical Kumeyaay communities spoke/speak Digueno dialects/languages of the Yuman family of languages, Hokan language stock, which is presumed to be among the earliest in California:

*The oldest language group still more or less in situ in California would seem to be Hokan…. Perhaps these languages were spoken over most of the area, very likely along with speech families of which no trace remains. A comparison of the Hokan situation with the Penutian one*

*brings to light a dramatic contrast. The interrelationships of the Hokan language lie much deeper in time, a fact paralleled by their geographical discontinuity* (Shipley 1978: 81 - 85).

In addition to Digueno, Yuman languages include Cocopa, Kiliwa, Mojave, Quechan, Maricopa, Paipai, Yavapai, Hualapai and Havasupai. In the ethnographic period these languages were spoken in areas across western Arizona, central Arizona, northern Sonora, Mexico, and northern Baja California.

Linguists believe that the many, widespread Yuman languages spoken at contact (Figure 3), developed in the relatively short time of 2000 years. During this 2000 years, specialization, both cultural and linguistic, was apparently most intense among Yuman speaking groups in closest proximity to the Colorado River and to the Southwestern cultural areas (Foster 1996:86).

We do not know far back in time proto-Yuman was spoken, but the time needed for Yuman to separate, at the level of language families, from other Hokan languages such as Salinan, Seri, and Pomoan, is considerable (Chumash is now only tentatively grouped with the Hokan language stock [Goddard 1996:6-7]). The wide separation of the Yuman language family from other Hokan language families, together with the relatively shallow separation *within* the Yuman family languages, suggests a long period of linguistic interaction among proto-Yuman speakers relatively isolated from outside influences. The shallowness of Yuman linguistic separation does not necessarily mean that the Yumans have been in a location for a shorter amount of time than the Uto-Aztecans, rather it suggests that the need for linguistic specialization may have been less. Languages change at vastly different rates, depending on specific social and cultural circumstances.

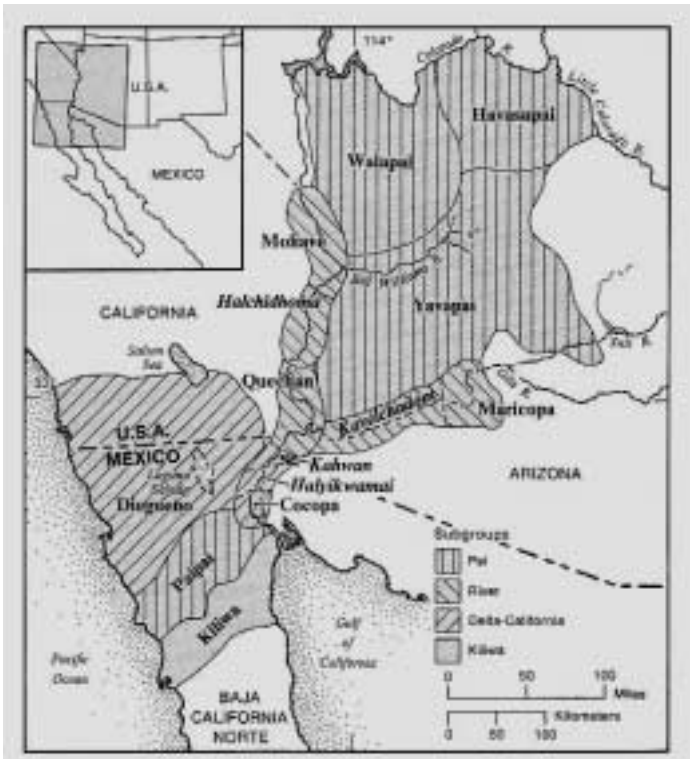

Fig. 1. Approximate distribution of Yuman languages at time of European contact. Extinct languages are in italics.

*Figure 3* (Kendall 1979)

Hale and Harris suggest that 5000 years ago a single proto-Yuman language was spoken over the archaic desert culture area:

*The evidence provided by the recorded languages indicated that the center of dispersal of Yuman languages is somewhere in the south of the area over which they are now distributed, since that is the area of greatest diversity in Yuman. It should perhaps be pointed out that under hunting and gathering conditions, it is possible for a single language to be spoken over a vast region. Consequently, the ancestor of the modern Yuman languages may have been spoken over an extensive circum-delta area including northern Baja California, southern California, southwestern Arizona, and northwestern Sonora. In any event, it is reasonable to assume, with Irwin –Williams, that the ancestors of the Yumans were responsible for certain examples of southern Californian Desert culture, such as that of Pinto Basin (Campbell and Campbell 1935). They may also have been responsible for some materials identified with the Amargosa variety at Ventana Cave father to the east* (Hale and Harris 1979:174).

Foster reaches a similar conclusion:

*A case can be made for long in situ development of Hokan peoples in the southern coastal region of California, a sequence uninterrupted unit the arrival around 1000 B.C of Takic branch of Uto-Aztecan in the Los Angeles Basin……The effects of the Takic incursion can be detected in the influence that Yuman languages exerted on the phonological systems of the Cupan languages [Luiseno and Cahuilla-Cupeno]) of the Takic branch that border Yuman just to the north. It is hypothesized that the territory once occupied by the Cupan languages was once Yuman, and that intertribal marriage and periods of conquest led to a situation of bilingualism, with Yuman populations in the border area eventually switching to Luiseno and Cahuilla/Cupeno, which were much affected phonologically in the process (Hinton 1991). …A study of reconstructed Yuman vocabulary concludes that the Yuman segment of the family at least has occupied either its present area, or one with a similar environment, from proto-Yuman times on, and that the proto-Yuman practiced shamanism and depended on both agriculture and hunting and gathering for subsistence* (Foster 1996:86-87).

Apparently developing out of the proto-Yuman (Pinto-Amargosa) desert tradition, (Schroeder 1979:102), the Hakataya culture tradition covered the roughly the same geographical area (Figure 4), and existed from about 600 A.D. to 1400 A.D.

According to Hale and Harris:

*There is no difficulty associating the most recent phases of Hakataya with speakers of Yuman languages, and Schroeder has been able to suggest specific assignments of Hakataya branches to extant Yuman communities. However, it does not necessarily follow that all Hakataya manifestations are due to the same linguistic groups, a consideration that led to the replacement of Rogers (1945) designation "Yuman" by more noncommittal terms: Patayan (Colton 1945) and then Schroeder's term Hakataya. It is conceivable, even quite likely, that Uto-Aztecans were*

*also responsible for some sites and materials identified as Hakatayan* (Hale and Harris 1979:175).

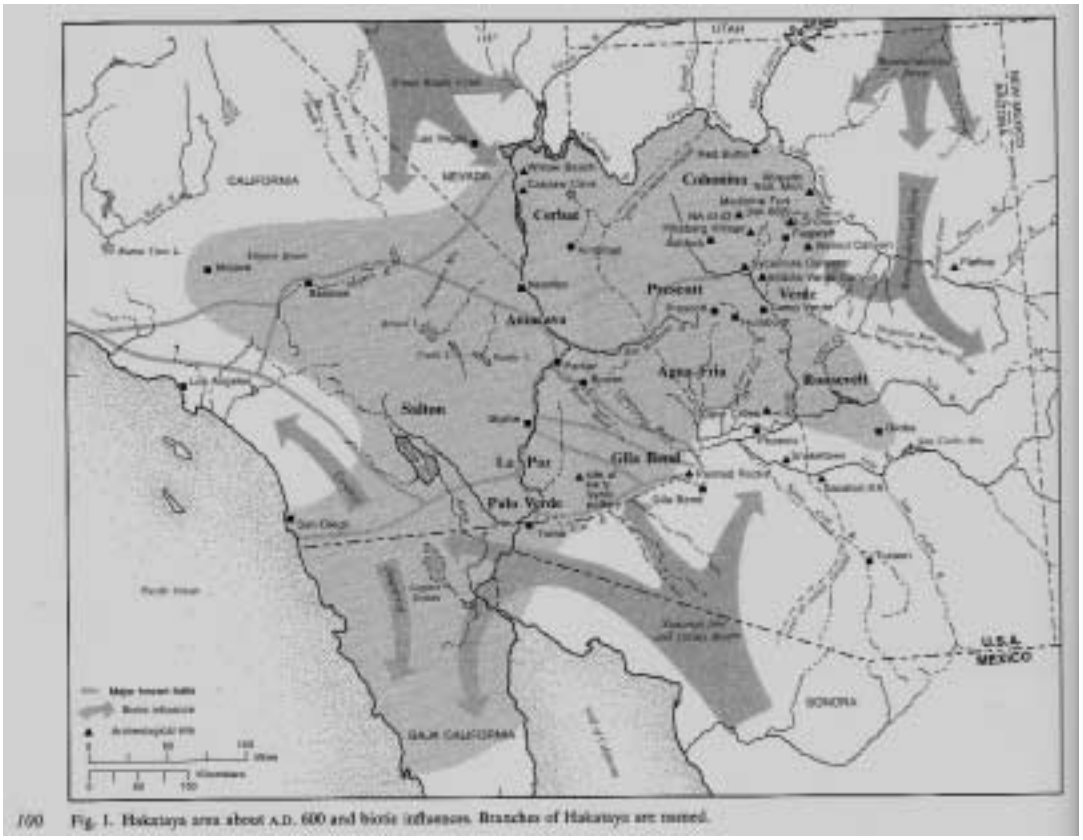


*Figure 4* (Schroeder 1979)

Comparing Figures 3 and 4, and assuming that at least some people of the Pinto-Amargosa tradition spoke a proto-Yuman language, we can infer that Uto-Aztecan speakers apparently occupied the Mojave Desert and the present day Cahuilla and Serrano territories sometime before or during the Hakataya period.

<u>*Anthropological evidence:*</u> A distinctive Yuman kinship and social organization (Eggan 1983:737) also supports the idea of a proto-Yuman group covering a wide geographical area. Furthermore, Eggan observes that the social organization of the northernmost California Yuman speaking groups have been influenced by the patrlineality of the Uto-Aztecans but that the most southernmost groups may represent the earliest form of social structure in an "old Yuman homeland".

*It is probable that the Takic or southern California Uto-Aztecan expansion took place in the first millennium B.C. The proposed Hokan affiliations for the Yuman suggest that the groups in extreme southern California and extending well into Baja California may be located in part of the old Yuman homeland, since they have apparently move divergent languages and a simple social system. Cochimi is apparently extinct, but Kiliwa may be the most aberrant language, and Kiliwa and Ipai with remnant of patrilocal bands, may represent an earlier form of social*

*structure. The Tipai-Ipai have both band groups and patrilineal named clans that were localized and that may well be related to contact with the Takic speaking Uto-Aztecan to the north. Both the Kamia and the Cocopa appear to have moved from this region to the Imperial Valley and the Colorado delta regions, respectively* (Eggan 1983:742).

*Summary of evidence for the in situ development of present-day Yuman groups*: A very early archaic group originating on the San Diego or Baja California coast probably moved inland, east and north, developing into an archaic desert tradition referred to as *Pinto-Amargosa*, extending across California, into western Arizona and north into the Mojave desert by 2000 B.C. (Irwin-Williams 1979, Schroeder 1979). Linguists assume that most early and late archaic desert groups spoke a proto-Yuman language (Harris and Hale 1979, Foster 1983). We assume that the archaic period La Jolla tradition on the San Diego coast is related to archaic proto-Yuman groups by shared language and perhaps by shared cultural practices and knowledge. Linguists believe that proto-Yuman speakers and Uto-Aztecan, Takic/Cupan speakers came into contact with one another when the latter came into the Los Angeles Basin area from the Mojave Desert area, around 1000 B.C. (Hinton 1991, Moratto 1984:560). Beginning at about 600 AD, the Hakataya cultural tradition developed, influenced by the Hohokam agricultural and ceramic tradition in Arizona. The Hakatya tradition extended across roughly the same geographical area as the Pinto-Amargosa desert culture (Schroeder 1979). By the beginning of the Hakataya cultural tradition, Uto Aztecan Takic/Cupan speakers, the Serrano and Cahuilla, may have already inhabited the entire northwestern part of the Hakataya area, which was their territory at contact. By the end of the Hakataya period, 1400 A.D., the Yuman language branches known at contact had developed. The proto-Yuman and Yuman cultural traditions received influences from both the east (southwestern cultural area) and the north (Uto-Aztecan speakers); the San Diego coast and Baja California Yuman language areas, most remote from the sources of change, seem to have been the least affected by changes (Eggan 1983).

*Contemporary oral traditions:*

They Kumeyaay people have a wide range of traditional knowledge that is not documented in the ethnographic record. For example, they have song cycles describing migrations of peoples, animals and their behavior, the creation of the world, and many other kinds of knowledge, including several song cycles. Each song cycle includes dozens of individual songs; no single person is responsible for knowing more than one song cycle. These songs are not only ceremonial; they contain the collective knowledge of the Kumeyaay people and are distributed among the various families and clans for safekeeping. The fact that there are no translations of these Kumeyaay song cycles, or any comprehensive written record of these songs' scope and content, suggests how much knowledge is unrecorded and unknown to non-Kumeyaay people. Kroeber (1923) does describe some song cycles of the Mojave, and notes that his description of their content does not begin to convey the meaning of the narratives and song. These are structured on altogether other principles than those with which European are familiar.

The Kumeyaay Tribal representatives stressed that the present anthropological record of Kumeyaay is seriously deficient. They pointed out that Kroeber did not himself visit the Kumeyaay area; he sent his protégé (presumably Leslie Spier), who did not speak any of the

Kumeyaay languages. According to the oral tradition of Tribal representatives, the Kumeyaay Elders tried to convey their considerable astronomical knowledge to an ethnographer who was unable to fully understand them due to his own ignorance of constellations.

Elder Carmen Lucas, member of the Kumeyaay Repatriation Coalition, told us that it is common knowledge among her people that they have been here "since the beginning of time"; that their various ceremonial song cycles emphasize knowledge and legends about features of the landscape; and that Kumeyaay Bird Songs tell of the "creation of the people here, and their being here from the beginning".

Elder Carmen Lucas said that both her father and grandmother respected the Native cemeteries on and near their family's land for as long as she could remember. Her grandmother knew the identity of many of those buried, but she made no distinction between named and unnamed ancestors, and all were accorded the same respect. In the 1950s, Ms. Lucas's father was distraught at the desecration of a family cemetery by developers. Many other family histories concerning Kumeyaay people demonstrate the concern and respect accorded to deceased ancestors by their traditional religious practices.

According to Florence Shipek, an anthropologist who has for decades worked with Kumeyaay people documenting their oral traditions and indigenous knowledge, some Kumeyaay persons' interpretations of their origin is that: "We came from the ocean." Also according to her, Kumeyaay oral tradition tells of the people moving inland from the sea because "that is the best place to plant and grow acorns." Shipek believes this oral tradition reflects the gradual shift in the archaeological record from a marine-based diet to an acorn and plant-based diet.

The contemporary Tribal view is that there is no break in continuity between present-day Kumeyaay and the earliest inhabitants of the coastal area. Steve Banegas, Chair of the KCRC, said: "The 'La Jolla man' is a ruse by archaeologists so they don't have to go through all these hoops. There is no difference; we consider them our people, it's still our traditional territory, and we have a history of at least 10,000 years".

Another point relevant to shared group identity of the present day Kumeyaay with the indigenous groups in San Diego County more than 1200 years ago is the idea of a Kumeyaay group identity inclusive of three ecological zones: coastal, foothill/mountains, and desert. The Kumeyaay emphasize the importance of all the regions to their cultural practices, and they point out that major ceremonies require materials from each. They also emphasize that they have always had to depend on more than one ecological niche in order to survive. In his study of the indigenous groups in southern California and Northern Baja California, Hicks concluded:

*Among all the non-agricultural people included in this study, local group territory was not limited to single altitude, rainfall, vegetation, or land use zones, but cross-cut them…. In our area at least, there were no desert people or mountain people, and as we have seen, it would have been extremely difficult for any sizeable number of individuals to have existed as such* (Hicks 1963:322-324).

The recognition of the La Jolla cultural tradition as an ethnic group inclusive of three ecological zones in the Archaic Period time is not the standard archaeological view, but neither is it contradicted by archaeological evidence. An important research question for San Diego County archaeologists is how the research adaptations of the coast, foothill/mountain area interacted with one another through time. Seed grinding, dependent on the use of foothill areas, began in the late Archaic (Warren 1964:194) at "La Jolla" sites. Thus,

*it must be stressed that cultural ecological factors are not a part of the definition of cultural traditions, but that a cultural tradition is the mechanism by which prehistoric populations adapted to their environments. A single cultural tradition is logically capable of adapting to several environments through time and/or space* (Warren 1968:1).

The Kumeyaay understand their society, culture, and ecological adaptation as heterogeneous and diverse, and in doing so they are more accurate than those who would define a cultural tradition as based solely on material culture. Archaeologists have recognized that the fallacy of using a sole determinate of cultural tradition applies to San Diego archaeology (Byrd and Reddy: 26), but it persists in the name "La Jolla". A shared group identity can include a heterogeneous population within a defined geographical area, and does not depend on a perceived homogeneity of material cultures, physical types, ecological zones, or even language. The stated heterogeneity of their Tribal territory -- coastal, foothills/mountains and desert zones -- together with the representation of a bounded territory apparently predating the beginning of the Late Period by its association with a time before the Luiseno and Kumeyaay territories may have been socially differentiated, strongly suggests a shared group identity based on a specific geographical region that has continued from at least the later Archaic Period until the present-day.

*Shared group identity for proto-Yumans and oral traditions recorded in the ethnographic literature*.

From an outside, objective perspective, we have inferred the existence of a proto-Yuman group spanning the Archaic period, occupying a Yuman homeland between the Pacific Ocean and Colorado River, and developing in situ *as a whole* into the Yuman groups of the Late Period. But if there was such a proto-Yuman group, what was their own understanding of "shared group identity"? And can we regard that identity to be shared by the present day Kumeyaay? Oral tradition is a strong line of evidence for ascertaining the origin of the Kumeyaay people and their shared group identity through time. Below are described three different oral traditions: ground painting, an origin narrative, and a ball lightning song cycle. These three traditions each present a different set of interpretive problems, and they each contribute to our understanding of Kumeyaay shared group identity through time.

1) Origin narrative: some accounts of Diegueno /Kumeyaay origin narratives incorporate a mountain of creation named *Wikami,* located in the Mojave Desert. This creation narrative does not contradict or supercede the oceanic origin narrative given by Kroeber; the ocean monster and and the Wikami mountain of creation are two elements of the same Yuman Creation narrative:

*One other episode the Yuma and Mojave share with the Diegueno. Sky Rattlesnake – Kammayaveta, Maihaiowit, Maiaveta, or Umasereha, is sent from his ocean abode to Avikwame [Wikami], where, on entering the house, his head is chopped off or is burned. The motive is punishment of the doctor of evil design, or the desire to acquire his ritualistic knowledge. This is an incident not recorded among any Shoshonean tribe; but the monster recurs in the Zuni Kolowisi and is an ancient southwestern concept with water associations* (Kroeber 1925:791).

Many of these elements are contained in the narrative as told to me in English last April by Steve Banegas:

[Recounting the origin narratives as told to me in this way is analogous to outlining the main events of the Canterbury Tales to a Chinese speaker in Chinese– most of the specific cultural and historical meanings are lost.]
Steve Banegas's telling, as written in my field notes: The actual creation took place by a sea monster rattlesnake, who, after emerging from the ocean, traveled inland where creation took place, in the vicinity of Needles. The people then traveled southwest, and were finally placed in Kumeyaay territory where, from the death of the ocean snakes, they established knowledge of the death ceremony, the passing over ceremony, and the contact with the other world.

Also in Mr. Banegas's telling, the monster's head was chopped off at the Big House, in PineValley, in the mountains of Kumeyaay territory. He said that the blood of the brother who died [implying the existence of two brothers] was gold, and they [the Kumeyaay] knew this gold was very valuable, but they themselves resisted it for it was dealt with only at the price of greed.

Mr. Banegas did not name Wikami Mountain, but the sea monster/rattlesnakes were explicitly mentioned; Wikami may have been implied by the description of the "place of creation" near Needles.

Like Kroeber, Waterman also finds the oceanic strata of the Yuman origin narrative to be primary:

*We have two independent ideas, then among the Digueno, with reference to this general topic of origins. These are embodied in two types of myth. One type, the "Chaup" story, tells among other things of the modifications of an already existing world, by "Chaup". The other type tells of the origin of the mundus itself, and is a real Creation story* (Waterman 1910:337).

*Chaup*, or "ball lightning" is the subject/agent of the lightning songs as described below. According to Waterman, *Chaup* was not the original creator of the world but the *maker* of many plants and animals. "He is the "origin of the most striking features of animate nature and the useages obtaining among human being" (Ibid.: 337).

Waterman gives the entire original creation story, which concerns the water snakes monster, twin brothers, and the inland destruction of the snake, resulting in the distribution of ritual knowledge

among the various people, who were then scattered about to their territories. Finally, he concludes:

*It is of course impossible to determine at this time, either from the myth just quoted or from other versions, just what elements enter properly into the Diegueno myth. All the evidence extant, however, point quite unmistakably to the conclusion that as far as the mythology of Creation is concerned, the Dieguenos are thoroughly independent of the Shoshonean people north of them* (Ibid.: 341).

This independent cosmogony supports the idea that a discrete proto-Yuman group once shared, and continues to share, an origin myth involving a oceanic monster Sky Rattlesnake. This is suggestive, but with due respect to the Kumeyaay persons who take these origin narrations literally, as non-Kumeyaay, we can not simply conclude that these narratives are evidence of the Yuman groups' oceanic origin. In order to interpret the origin narratives with the care they deserve, we would need fluency in the Kumeyaay language and an understanding of traditional uses of allegory and metaphor. The Kumeyaay themselves could perhaps best accomplish this kind of translation/interpretation if they found that to be appropriate. The evidence we can take from these origin narratives is that the fact that the oldest strata in the creation narrative is associated *only* with the Yuman speaking groups may suggest a considerable time depth for proto-Yuman speakers and their cultural traditions in southern California.

Kroeber discerns a second strata in the narratives as well, in which:

*the world begins with two quarreling brothers, of whom one causes and the other opposes death....one of the pair manufactures mankind. This is also in general the Yuman idea, however, these people add the fact that the two brothers, the creator and his death-instituting opponent, are born at the bottom of the sea, and that the younger brother emerges blinded by the salt water. This underlying* [strata] *is represented by the Serrano, Cahuilla, Diegueno, and in the main by the* [Quechan] *and the Maricopa* (1925:788-789).

The apparent early exchange of influence among the Serrano, Cahuilla, and Diegueno can be explained by their coming into contact when Takic/Cupan speakers came into the Los Angeles Basin in 1000 B.C.. Contact could have occurred earlier, in the Mojave Desert, if the Mojave was occupied by proto-Yuman speakers during the Archaic Period, or it could have occurred later as well.

Finally, Kroeber associates the philosophy of the Gabrielino and Luiseno with the Puebloan conception of cosmogony in which human kind are born *with* the gods, not made by them:

*The upper* [in which mankind and all things in the world are born from mother Earth, with Sky or Night as father] *crops out among the Gabrielino, Luiseno, and some distance away, among the Mojave, with some indications among the* [Quechan ] (1925:788-789).

Of three strata in the origin narratives in Southern California, the second oldest is shared by all Yuman groups as well as the Serrano and Cahuilla, and the primary strata is exclusively Yuman.

Consistent with the archaeological evidence, this suggests a long, in-situ development of proto-Yuman traditions in the territory of present day Yuman speakers, and early contact between proto-Yuman and Takic/Cupan language groups.

The narratives account for the beginning of cremation practices, which we saw above may have begun as early as 2500 years ago. Cremation did not replace inhumation everywhere at once, and archaeologists are reluctant to place a date on its inception.

Summary: The origin narratives are evidence for a shared group identity based on a common tradition of oceanic origins particular to Yuman groups. A second origin trait of twin brother creators is common to all Yuman groups and is shared with the Serrano and Cahuilla, both Uto-Aztecan speakers. This may indicate the influence of Yuman groups on the latter as they moved into Yuman territory, or the assimilation of Shoshonean ideas by Yuman speakers. Linguistic exchange between Yuman groups with the Serrano and Cahuilla in the Los Angeles Basin probably dates to 1000 B.C.. Cultural exchange may have occurred in the Mojave Desert area even earlier.

2) Ground painting. The ground painting, as the uses of origin narratives, seem to vary. However, ground paintings, like the song cycles, may encode collective memory in tradition.

Kroeber notes a Diegueno (Kumeyaay) propensity for creating maps of the visible universe, the surface of the earth and the celestial sphere (1925:662-664). One Kumeyaay ground painting was shown and explained to Waterman by Manuel Lachuso, an Elder at San Isabel Reservation, and is reproduced in Waterman (1910:350) and in Kroeber (1925:663). According to Waterman: "The painting, which is some fifteen or eighteen feet in diameter, is a map or diagram of the world as known to the Diegueno" (1910:300).

The ground painting has four geographical locations marked on or outside its circular boundary. The two upper locations are clearly associated with identifiable places: San Bernardino Mountains, and Catalina Island. The lower left hand corner was a "witch mountain on an island, identified with Coronado Island, and the lower right hand "corner" of the ground painting was identified as the "Mountain of creation", but not associated with a specific location.

When the two known locations of this ground painting are superimposed on a map of Southern Californian and Northern Baja California and aligned with Catalina Island and the San Bernardino Mountains, the territory within the circle corresponds to present-day Kumeyaay Tribal territory (San Diego County and Baja California south to approximately Ensenada), *together with* present-day Luiseno and Juaneno territory (from northern San Diego County to the Santa Ana River basin to eastern Riverside County).

This map is significant because, according to Steve Banegas, Kumeyaay oral tradition states that the Kumeyaay withdrew from present-day Luiseno territory, ceding Kumeyaay territory to the Luiseno because of increasing tensions between the two groups. Thus this map may represent the Kumeyaay world boundary before the social consolidation by Luiseno and Juaneno people of their present-day territories.

In regard to the following consultation, the Kumeyaay Tribal representatives emphasized that other groups have their own points of view on geographical boundaries, that different groups' spheres of influence traditionally overlapped and were flexible through time, and that other groups may have had influence in the same areas at the same time as the Kumeyaay. If the map does suggest an early and continuing association of Kumeyaay people with a northern territory now occupied solely by Juaneno and Luiseno people, this does not necessarily assume that the people ancestral to the present-day Luiseno were not also in the same area at an earlier time together with people ancestral to the Kumeyaay. It may be that a single group common to both present day Kumeyaay and Luiseno people was present, or that two distinct ancestral groups shared the same geographical territory.

According to Kumeyaay Tribal representatives with whom we consulted, the ground painting would have been used in their traditional puberty ceremony. They said that the circle boundary indicates the Kumeyaay world, that area for which a young man or woman would be held responsible in their adult lives. They noted that the ground painting represents five constellations, which may be linked with specific seasons and associated with the timing of the ceremonies. They did not associate the "Mountain of creation" with a specific location. They did not attribute any specific significance to the Coronado Islands, but they do regard Catalina Island as the origin of certain Chinigchinich traditions that are represented in the ground painting. They also regard the San Bernardino Mountains as a significant location mentioned in their oral traditions and as associated with the Cahuilla people.

This particular ground painting is not the only representation of a Kumeyaay world known in the ethnographic record:

*Principle mountains on earth are…represented in the painting…. The identity of these mountains seems to vary for the different villages which at various times have made the painting. That is, the local topography around each village was reflected in the painting. At Santa Ysable they drew Mountain San Jacinto, the islands of Santa Catalina and San Clemente, which are considered to be mountains out on the ocean, and a mountain call nyapunxaua, whose location is vaguely indicated as southward on the desert… the people at Mesa Grande also drew four mountains. These were San Bernardino, represented in the northern part of the circle, and the three Cuyamaca peaks in the southern part. San Bernardino is easily identified, since it is called "white-top". It is the only mountain in southern California with a snow cap….At Los Conejos rancheria the people seem to have represented six mountains, which could not be identified by the present writer in terms of the modern geography of the region* (Waterman 1910:302-303).

Waterman describes the ground paintings as "representing the visible limits of the earth – in other words the horizon" (Ibid.:301). The Tribal representatives thought that Catalina and San Bernardino Mountain could be seen from Mt. Tejate. However, the circle boundary may not only be the representation of a view scape for the following reasons:

1) The circle corresponds with a specific cycle of songs associated with a creation narrative of Lightning, describing the same geographical boundary, and relating social interactions of Kumeyaay groups with neighboring groups outside the boundary.

2) The circle may be purposefully constructed by the determination of three points to encompass and describe a shared social sphere; the lower two corners of the map may be mythological locations. At the time the ground painting was interpreted for Waterman, there was no specific location given of the "Mountain of creation", and Kroeber questions the identification of the lower left-hand corner (1925:662). However, the upper two locations are actual places, together with a center point located possibly as far north as the village of San Isabel or possibly as far south as Mt. Tejate, determine a circle of a specific size that corresponds remarkably well with the Ipai Tipai geographic territory and linguistic and social sphere of interaction.

Taken together, the above reasons suggest that the circle boundary is not only a viewscape, but is purposefully constructed.

The Tribal representatives were interested in determining the locations corresponding to the center position marked on the ground painting and suggested two possibilities: Pine Valley and the site of the "Big House", the cultural center of the Kumeyaay world and the place at which ceremonial knowledge was given to the Kumeyaay people; and Mt. Tecate, very close to the Mexican/US border, from which they said that possibly two of the geographical locations marked on the ground painting could be seen (the distance to Santa Catalina Island is over 100 miles, and further to San Bernardino Mountain). They said it was significant that the circle encompasses a large amount of ocean because Kumeyaay territory extended as far as one could see from the coast. The center could also be located San Isabel Reservation, where the ground painting was done.

The Kumeyaay representatives were not asked to consult on another boys' initiation ground painting described by Spier, but it is nonetheless instructive to compare the two. The ground painting described by Spier (Figure 5), represents constellations, mountains and springs. The mountains are: (b) *Wi'toloi*, Viejas mountain near Descanso; (c) *Xiwi'* a rock in the ocean near San Diego; (d) *Wikaiyai,* San Jacinto Mountain, (g) *Wikemun,* or Picacho Peak in Mexico, near Yuma, Arizona; (h) a mountain northeast of Picacho Peak, and finally in the upper right corner (k) *Xakwinnyimcop* "white water" far east of the Picacho (1923:319-320). No circle was drawn around this figure. The letters "l", "m", '"n", "o", and "p": are constellations.

The four landmarks outside the boundary of the ground painting given in Waterman (Figure 6), (1910:350) are, clockwise from upper right: *Wikaiyai,* San Bernardino Mountain; *Nyapukxaua*, mountain where people were created; *Atoloi*, witch mountain on an island, identified by the informant with Coronado Island; *Axatu*, Santa Catalina Island.

The mountain described as "where people were created" in Waterman's sand painting could also be Picacho Peak near Yuma, which Kroeber reports serves as *Wikami* for some Dieguenos.(1925:788). Also, the Kumeyaay name for San Jacinto Mountain, *Wikaiyai,* given in Spier (1923:319), is the same as given by Waterman (1910: 350), for San Bernardino mountain.

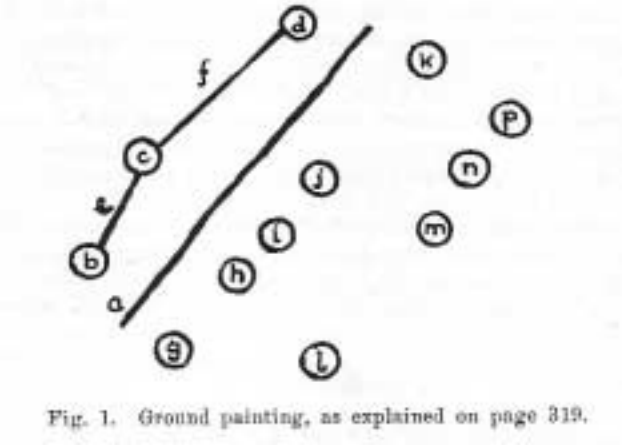

Fig. 1. Ground painting, as explained on page 319.

*Figure 5* (Spier 1923)

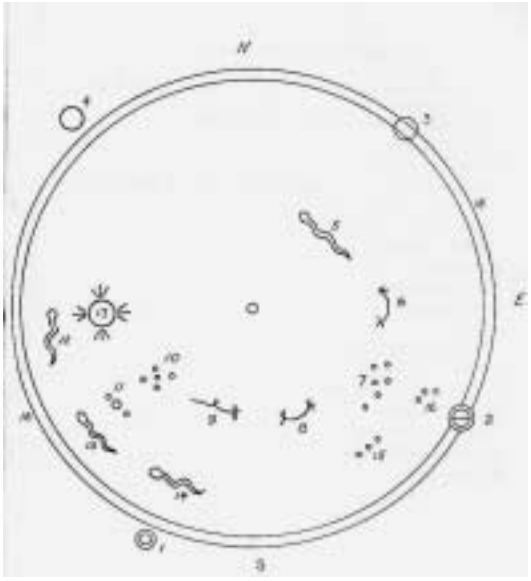

*Figure 6* (Waterman 1910)

This mountains of the ground painting "map" recorded by Spier also encompass a large geographical area extending from (k) "white water" far [north] east of Yuma, to (g) Yuma, to (b) south of San Diego, to (d) San Jacinto Mountain in present-day Cahuilla territory. The center of the territory mapped by this ground painting, which was drawn at Campo near the Mexican border, would be significantly to the east of that of the ground painting given in Waterman, which was drawn at Santa Ysabel, in the northern part of Kumeyaay territory (see Figure 1 for the location of Kumeyaay reservations).

The Kumeyaay representatives told me that the ground painting in Waterman was used in a puberty rite to represent all that for which the young men would be held responsible as adults. Presumably both of these ground paintings represents a geographical area with which both the initiates and initiators identify. This geographical area defines the geographical boundaries of the initiates responsibilities; the mountains define the specific group territory associated with an adult member's role.

Both ground paintings encompass San Jacinto Mountain which is located in an area that would later be occupied by the Cahuilla and Luiseno tribes. If the Cahuilla entered into the Los Angeles Basin area as early as 1000 B.C., both ground paintings suggest a Yuman world, or homeland, dating to a time well before the beginning of the Late Period. The Kumeyaay representatives I spoke with said that Kumeyaay groups had ceded territory to the Luiseno at sometime in the past, and Luiseno people with whom I have spoken agree.

3) "Ball Lightning" song cycle.

The social, and cultural significance of this ground painting for a Kumeyaay geographical territory predating the beginning of the Late Period is linked with the existence of a cycle of songs that describe the same circle boundary. According to Harry Paul Cuero, Jr., Kumeyaay speaker and traditional singer, the circle corresponds with both creation narratives and a major

cycle of traditional songs they called the Lightning Songs (possibly the songs of *Chaup*, a supernatural being associated with ball-lightning and who travels above the ground (Waterman 1910:342). Paul Cuero, Jr. knows two Elders who sing the Lightning Songs. He has himself on occasion helped out in their singing. The Lightning Songs record the social and cultural relationships with Tribes on the other side of the circle/boundary, such as the Mojave and Cahuilla.

Harry Paul Cuero, Jr. said that the Lightning Songs describe geographical locations as seen from the perspective of the air, beginning in the northeastern desert area (to the right of the San Bernadino Mountains), and moving south, following the circle boundary. He recalled that one site the songs described was the well-known tidal plume near Ensenada, Mexico. Other coastal locations are mentioned, including Catalina Island. The songs also describe social interactions with different groups. Unnamed tribes living on the other side of the northern boundary are described in the songs, and the Cahuilla are mentioned as living near to the San Bernardino Mountains. Describing various kinds of interactions with the Cahuilla, the songs' descriptions ultimately return to the northeastern desert area where they began, describing relationships with other desert Tribes near the former Lake Cahuilla. Luiseno groups are not mentioned in the Lightning Songs, and both San Jacinto and San Bernardino Mountain are north of present-day Luiseno territory.

There was an alignment of the Mojave and Quechan against the Maricopa, Cocopa and other Yuman groups (Kroeber 1925, and Alvarez De Williams 1983). The first songs are sung in Quechan, the next in Mojave, and the others in Diegueno, according to the areas they are describing.

The first songs in the Lightning cycle are in the Quechan language, then in Mojave, and finally in the Kumeyaay language. Other song cycles describe how the Quechan and Mojave nations were placed on earth at the time of creation, and their social and cultural relationship to one another: the Mojave are younger than the Quechan, and both are younger than the Kumeyaay who are culturally mature and responsible for instructing the other Tribes in ceremonial practices given to the Kumeyaay at the area called in English "Big House" in Pine Valley, near Viejas and El Captain Reservations. Non-Kumeyaay people do not understand the exact ceremonial purposes of the Lightning Songs.

Paul Cuero, Jr., who described the Lightning songs to me, has helped out in the singing of them, but he does not sing them on a regular basis. Because of the difficult problems presented in the translation of Kumeyaay concepts into English, the evidence of the songs should be considered carefully until we can interview the Elder who does sing them.

Ball Lightning is associated with a Kumeyaay mythological hero named *Chaup*. Constance DuBois recorded two Chaup narratives in the first decades of the 20th century, one from the Mesa Grande Reservation (DuBois 1904), in northern San Diego County, and two others from Manazanita Reservation in southern San Diego County (DuBois 1906). Consultants at Manzanita for one of the Chaup narratives said that the story had come from Mesa Grande. (DuBois also heard the *Chaup* story at the Luiseno reservation of La Jolla; consultants there told

her they got the story from Mesa Grande. In the Luiseno language, *Chaup* is known as *Taakwish*) The Kumeyaay consultants told her that the narratives originated with the Mojave, who are referred to "not as the ancestors of the Dieguenos, (called by themselves "Western Indians"), but as the latest born of the related tribes, who remained in the ancestral home when the other scattered" (DuBois 1906:146.) The narratives are interspersed with songs, which are not translated in DuBois. The narratives themselves have significant differences, but are clearly related in structure. I assume that these narratives may be the context for the Chaup/Ball Lightning songs describe to me by Paul Cuero Jr..

The accounts recorded by DuBois are compilations of mythological events described in a mundane context. The narratives account for the origins of cultural traditions and for the names of plants and animals. In an outline summary of the three accounts given by DuBois [such a summary of a translation cannot begin to do justice to the narratives' actual content in the Kumeyaay language], *Chaup* is the grandson of the earth mother, *Sin-yo-hauch*, the daughter of Sky and Earth, and the first woman. The narrative tells of the birth of *Chaup's* father, his own conception and his birth among his mother's people, with whom he has a difficult relationship: he is ultimately responsible for the death of his mother and most of his other relations. *Chaup* has extraordinary powers of transformation and leadership from the time was born. Finally, *Chaup* undertakes a journey to find his grandmother, *Sin-yo-hauch*. On that journey, as in his other exploits, many landscape features as well as different groups of people are described without being named. In one narrative, *Chaup* returns with his grandmother to San Bernardino Mountain, or, *per* Spier, San Jacinto Mountain (1923:319). (San Jacinto Mountain is located, as are the San Bernardino Mountains, approximately in the middle, north /south, of what was Cahuilla territory at contact, and far north of the border at contact between the Kumeyaay and the Luiseno.) In another version, *Chaup* flies in the sky as ball lightning and his grandmother lives in the mountains underneath wherever he travels.

Comparing Mr. Cuero's description with those from the beginning of the century, we could infer that the landscape features and tribal groups described in the translation given by DuBois are implicitly known by Kumeyaay auditors to be those described by Mr. Cuero. This assumption is supported by the fact that Maricopa people associated a large rock feature in their territory with the story of *Sin-yo-hauch* and *Chaup's* father. (DuBois 1906:164). Mr. Cuero's described the songs as recounting a journey by *Chaup* beginning in the northeast desert, proceeding south, then west to Ensenada, north to Catalina Island, east to Cahuilla territory, and returning to the place of origin. In one of the three versions published by DuBois (from Mesa Grande, DuBois 1904), *Chaup* journeys south, west and then returns with his grandmother to San Bernardino Mountains, northeast of Kumeyaay territory.

Ideally, we would have a transliteration of these songs from Kumeyaay to determine, if possible, exactly what groups and areas they describe. Some of the groups described seem to have southwestern cultural traits such as corn. Without either a literal translation or any understanding of the use of allegory and metaphors in the Kumeyaay language – a cultural translation - we simply don't know the full content of the songs or how to interpret the few translations we do have. Mr. Cuero's description of the songs may be a cultural translation, and may help us

understand what the *Chaup* narrative and songs convey to some knowledgeable Kumeyaay persons.

As described by Mr. Cuero, these songs may be important evidence for a shared group identity associated with a large, specific, geographical area and extending back into the Archaic Period. They not only literally picture a world view, the songs cycles may be more conservative and less prone to the fission and fusion of narrative elements which seems to occur with the origin narratives and ground paintings:

*A comparison of the songs – both words and tune – which appear to be the elements most frequently and completely transmitted, should readily solve most of the interrelationships of source and of borrowing by the several tribes. The [mythic] narrative material has presumably been much more thoroughly broken up and reassembled in its wanderings from nation to nation* (Kroeber 1925:788).

As do the ground paintings, these descriptions and events suggest that the songs reflect knowledge of a Kumeyaay world at a time when the Cahuilla and the Yumans were first coming into contact at the northeastern corner of the Los Angeles Basin, as early as 1000 B.C. but perhaps later as well.

The Ball Lightning song cycle as described does not account for the origins of the world, it may draw the boundaries of a Kumeyaay world by weaving known landscape features into the narrative. The songs may also chronicle relationships of southern California Yuman groups with non-Yuman groups beyond the boundaries of their cultural sphere.

Just as the narratives account for the origin of some cultural traditions, the songs may also be interpreted a traditional pan-Yuman account of the origin of social and linguistic differentiation within a shared Yuman geographical sphere. Scholars estimate those events occurred gradually over the last 2000 years. The Mojave and Quechan groups are not described as outsiders in the songs, as are the Cahuilla, rather the songs are sung in the Quechan and Mojave languages, suggesting that these Yuman groups continued to recognize each other as having a common ancestry or origin, and as kin, even after they developed their distinct languages. The Quechan and Mojave are apparently described in the song as the younger relations of the Kumeyaay; this is particularly significant because the use of kinship terms that distinguish by relative age is a trait particular to the Yuman (Spier 1923:75-76, Eggan 1983:738).

According to Paul Cuero, Jr., the Lightning songs are organized by the journey of Chaup around the boundary of the ground painting. The songs begin in Quechan, then change to Mojave, and finally to Kumeyaay. The Mojave are the youngest, and the Kumeyaay the eldest of the three groups. The present-day Mojave are located north of the present day Quechan, but according to their oral tradition, the Quechan migrated from the area around Needles (Bee 1983:86). This suggest that the songs date to a time before the migration of the Quechan to their present homeland, whenever that occurred.

Ball Lightning songs and the ground paintings may be evidence that the Kumeyaay recognized a common ancestry among Yuman groups, and that they also recognized an area much larger than that occupied by localized bands as a shared homeland, and that they have done so over a long period of time. The social and linguistic distinctions described in the Lightning songs describe several generations, or stages, of creation. The origin narratives, and to some extent the Lightning songs, link the second stage of creation with the destruction of the original creator, oceanic monster Sky Rattlesnake which led to the knowledge of cremation practices and other esoteric knowledge, thus implicitly recognizing cultural change in the context of an ancient common ancestry of Yuman people not shared by any other southern Californian group.

*Shared group identity and a "homeland":*

Based on linguistic and archaeological evidence we have described a proto-Yuman region in the archaic period, extending from the San Diego coast into the Mojave Desert, northern Baja Californian, to the Colorado River, and into central Arizona. At contact, this territory, with the exception the Mojave Desert area south into northern San Diego county, was occupied by Yuman speaking groups. Uto-Aztecan speakers apparently moved in the Mojave Desert before 1000 BC and into the Los Angeles Basin area by 1000 B.C., continuing to expand south into northern San Diego county. According to the oral traditions of both the Kumeyaay and the Luiseno, traditional Luiseno territory, immediately north of traditional Tipai and Ipai territory, was ceded to the Luiseno by the Kumeyaay at an unknown time in the past, presumably at the beginning of the Late Period. (There are sites without stratigraphic breaks in Luiseno territory that date to 4500 years before present (John Gomez, personal communication), but it is difficult to determine Tribal ethnicity in the archaeological record.)

The above is an etic description of a Yuman territory, for which we have relied on linguistic and archaeological data. However, in the emic view, from a Kumeyaay perspective, language may be only one of several factors that influence who is "in" and who is "out" of the clan, band, tribal, and territorial "ethnic" group. For example, we have seen that the oral traditional evidence of the Ball Lightning songs suggests that the Yuman groups of Mojave, Quechan and Diegueno/Kumeyaay people have identified as a group with particular geographical areas, but that the Mojave and Quechan were allied against the Halchidhoma, Maricopa and Cocopa Yuman Colorado River Tribes (Kroeber 1925:727).

If a shared group identity, described by the Kumeyaay, can be associated with a geographical region, then we would be justified in calling that geographical territory a Kumeyaay/Yuman "homeland".

The ground paintings represent an emic view of a Kumeyaay group identity, and the fact that among Yuman groups only the Kumeyaay made such images may represent the special significance of their land base for their group identity. The Luiseno made similar ground paintings, but they map a cosmological, not geographical world (Kreober 1925:663). This may represent a difference in philosophical outlook between the Luiseno and Kumeyaay, as Kroeber suggests, or the importance of the Kumeyaay's relationship to a specific land base, or both.

The ground paintings were used to initiate young men as members of a group whose territory was enclosed within four identifiable mountains and landmarks. In the two ground paintings we have examined, these mountains inscribe two different areas, both of which are included within the etic view of Yuman groups' territories after 1000 B.C. and before the beginning of the Late Period at 500 – 1000 A.D.

A shared group identity is a recognition of difference, a cognitive map of an "us" as opposed to "them", and the ground painting and initiation ritual represent and reinforce that distinction for the Kumeyaay by placing physical, and perhaps also metaphysical, boundaries on one's social and spiritual responsibilities.

The initiation ritual constructs a shared group identity based on a geographical territory, but because neither land base nor identity is named, the group is invisible to non-initiated Kumeyaay. A Kumeyaay shared group identity with a region is not an artifact of material culture or language, or even an artifice of social organization, it is a spiritual practice of constructing a relationship with the land (and with the constellations which are represented in both ground paintings), as the Kumeyaay representatives pointed out, it is the construction of a relationship with, and within, both space and time.

However, according to the anthropological literature, most of the Dieguenos' social organization was locally based:

*The Paipai, Kiliwas [in Baja California], and their neighbors…seem to have the simplest social organization extant. They have a remnant of named patrilocal bands, with bilateral descent and inheritance, although names are inherited patrilineally. The kinship systems vary somewhat, but all are basically Yuman. Marriage is monogamous and exogamy is extended to all known bi-lateral relatives. The Tipai-Ipai to the north have, in addition to autonomous, semi-nomadic bands, some 30 or more patrilineal, named clans. The bands were not named, and an individual identified himself by his clan and its places of settlement. Clans were localized, except for the Kamia, so that the clan names implied band and territory as well. There was no standard tribal names, and the terms Tipai and Ipai have been applied by anthropologists in the relative absence of self-designations. One of the western groups, the Cocopa , earlier moved to the Colorado River delta region, where it developed a more complex social organization, related to that of the Quechan and other river peoples* (Eggan 1983:736-737).

How can we reconcile this with the idea of regional shared group identity?

In the western Diegueno Yuman groups, Eggan considers that tribal names were absent. (Colorado River groups and the upland Yuman groups in Arizona did have tribal names). However, as we learned above, according to DuBois the Kumeyaay referred to themselves as the "Western Indians".(DuBois 1906: 146). There is no name known to us that has been used to describe a pan-Yuman geographical region/group. Rather, ethnographic descriptions of the Kamia (Gifford 1933) and the Tipai and Ipai (Spier 1923) describe numerous semi-nomadic bands forming, and formed from, a network of interconnected clans. The clan network extended over a wide area: mission marriage records indicate numerous marriages between Kumeyaay and

the Cocopa and Quechan, as well as with the Luiseno (Florence Shipek, personal communication), who at the time of European colonization occupied what was once Kumeyaay territory. It is this regional network of clans to the north, east and south that appears to be recognized through an association with a specific territory in both the Ball Lightning songs and in the puberty ceremony ground paintings.

Perhaps the absence of tribal social organization is not so much an absence as it is presence of the participation in both a localized and regional identity based on the recognition of generalized commonalties such as language, origin narratives, and territorial occupation through time. This network may have accommodated differences in material cultural traditions and ritual practices. Such heterogeneity within a regional identity does not match the anthropological model of a tribe as a homogenous social group. But Kroeber observes that the Kamia and the Quechan appeared to be a single nation along the southern border of California, extending from the Colorado River to the Pacific Coast, even through the respective cultural traits of those areas differed considerably (1925:725).

The social and cultural complexity of the earlier groups in Kumeyaay territory is represented today by the variety of language dialects, geographical diversity, and distinct cultural traditions of the twelve reservations represented by the Kumeyaay Coalition. Among Kumeyaay people today there are those who identify with the inland areas and those who identify with the coast and a maritime tradition. Margaret Langdon said that some Kumeyaay Elders she has known do not identify with the ocean and "abhor fish." Luomala reports that Kumeyaay mythology is "locally and idiosyncratically variable like much of Tipai-Ipai culture" (1978: 604).

*Conclusions for cultural affiliation:*

In 1995, Kumeyaay consultants claimed a shared group identity between the remains in question and closest Kumeyaay Reservation, Viejas. If we acknowledge that there may be different levels of shared group identity, both local and regional, the 1995 claim is not inconsistent with the hypothesis of a proto-Yuman group located between the Pacific Coast and Colorado River in southern California and sharing traditions extending well into the Archaic Period.

Weighing all the lines of evidence together, we conclude that a preponderance of the evidence supports the Kumeyaay claim of shared group identity with these ancestral remains. This conclusion rests primarily on the ethnographic oral tradition of Kumeyaay origin narratives, songs, and ceremonial ground paintings in the context of a shared group identity with archaic proto-Yuman groups in the entire region, and the *probability* of at least some biological relationship of earlier and present-day groups. Our interpretation of the probability of biological continuity rests on the assumption that the present-day Kumeyaay are descended from the Late Prehistoric and Archaic populations Yuman speaking people residing on the coast. We acknowledge the archaeological evidence that some, perhaps many, Yuman-speaking people came from the California Delta and other inland areas to the San Diego coastal region at the beginning of the Late Prehistoric period. However, we have found linguistic and archaeological evidence for Yuman speakers from the Colorado River area and from the Pacific Coast having shared ancestors dating to the earliest Archaic Period.

Even if Archaic and Late Period in-migrating populations are completely unrelated, and if a considerable number of Yuman people came to the coast, then some present-day Kumeyaay may not have ancestors that were members of the coastal Archaic population, it is at least probable that at least some members of the Archaic coastal population have descendents alive today, and that those descendents are counted among the present-day Kumeyaay. There is no evidence that the Archaic populations moved out of the area or became extinct as a population without leaving any biological descendents.

"Shared group identity" as defined by NAGPRA acknowledges an emic component of group identity and is thus substantially different from the terms used in most anthropological and archaeological research. We acknowledge the evidence for substantial cultural and biological changes in Kumeyaay territory over the last 8000 years, and we note that the greatest changes have occurred during the last two centuries. We do not find in the evidence continuity of whole cultural traditions as defined by archaeologists, or of significant biological relationships as defined by physical and biological anthropologists, but neither do we presume that biological or cultural changes preclude a shared group identity.

*Appendix A: Detailed Archaeological evidence*:

A general review of the archaeology of San Diego County in the context of the entire state is available in Moratto (1984). The following discussion focuses only on archaeological evidence relevant to two questions concerning the biological continuity of earlier groups with present-day Kumeyaay communities: a hypothesized collapse of population on the southern San Diego Coast at about 3500 BP, and an apparent cultural shift, and possible population replacement, between 1000 and 1300 AD, the transition between the Archaic and Late Prehistoric periods.

There is now a consensus among archaeologists for the continuity of the La Jolla cultural tradition and populations on the south San Diego County coast during the Archaic Period, from about 8000 BP until 1300 BP. Archaic coastal sites are characterized by flaked cobble tools, basin metates, manos, discoids, and flexed burials. For our purposes we designate the following periods within the Archaic Period: (Warren, Siegler, Dittmer 1998):

Transitional: 8200 BP to 7200 BP.

Middle Archaic: 7200 BP to 4000 BP. Coastal populations appear to have declined and many sites apparently abandoned.

Final Archaic: 4000 BP - 1300 BP (beginning of the Late Prehistoric period).

These chronological periods are units of time defined by radiocarbon dates and what appear to be significant changes in cultural assemblages and/or ecological relationships (Warren, Siegler, Dittmer 1998: II - 3).

Warren proposes two different ecological adaptations for the La Jollan coastal populations during the final Archaic Period: Land Resource Collecting and Incipient Maritime. The latter is the subsistence strategy of the Middle Archaic that continues at the San Diego and Mission Bays in the Final Archaic (Warren 1964:187).

Six possible relationships exist between earlier, Archaic populations and those of the Late Prehistoric period and the present-day have been addressed by archaeologists:

1) Abandonment of the coastal area by earlier groups.

2) Replacement of earlier groups by later groups.

3) Assimilation of earlier grouped by later groups.

4) Transformation of earlier groups into the later groups (adoption of new cultural ideas).

5) Independent cultural traditions co-existing in the same area.

6) Earlier and later groups represent different resource specializations of the same groups through time.

- Possibility #1 and 2: Abandonment of the area by earlier groups or replacement of earlier groups by later groups.

According to Claude Warren (personal communication), Batiquitos Lagoon (the origin of one set of human remains being claimed by the KCRC) was a large population center in the middle Archaic Period, with over 40 residential sites surrounding the entire lagoon dated to this period. The Batiquitos area was apparently abandoned after 3500 BP when the lagoon filled in with silt and marine food resources became much less plentiful (Miller 1966). However, it was re-occupied at around 1500 BP, during the Final Archaic. An early focus of San Diego coastal archaeological excavation and research at Batiquitos led to the hypothesis that the population of the entire coastal area may have collapsed for a period during the Final Archaic (Warren 1964, Gallegos 1992).

Also, the names of different time periods may give the impression that "La Jollans" were replaced, or as Rose Tyson of the San Diego Museum of Man suggested, "pushed out" by "Yumans". Pat Masters, a consulting archaeologist in San Diego County, also said she believes it possible that the coast was entirely abandoned during the final years of the Late Archaic Period. This is because of the lack of radiocarbon dates for that time, and because of apparent stratigraphic breaks between La Jollan Period and Late Period middens in many sites. However, she had not yet seen the data from Byrd and Reddy's unpublished paper cited below (personal communication).

Based on recent archaeological data for the San Diego Bay area, Gallegos and Masters (1997) conclude that the collapse of the Batiquitos Lagoon population is probably not representative of the entire coastal region:

*The cultural response to declining coastal productivity at the end of the Middle Holocene remains an issue for continuing research. Did coastal populations intensify use of inland resources to replace lagoon resources? Or did they migrate out of the region or suffer population collapse? Datable stream valley sites indicate occupation continues there into the Late Prehistoric period with no hiatus circa 3500 RYBP…. With the collapse of the north county lagoon ecosystems about 3500 RYBP, the San Diego Maritime tradition survived and continued into the Late Holocene in two very different localities, San Diego Bay and Los Penasquitos Lagoon, both remaining tidally flushed lagoons with access to offshore fisheries* (Masters and Gallegos 1997: 20-21).

Byrd and Reddy similarly conclude against abandonment, based on their presentation of new radiocarbon dates:

*The proposed chronological gap from 3500 RYBP to 1500/800 RYBP is exacerbated by classification procedures. Often if lagoon species dominate the shellfish at an archaeological site, it is assumed to be of Archaic age. Many excavations at sites with lagoon shellfish…have*

*not obtained absolute dates, perpetuating hypotheses instead of critically evaluating them. …Overall it is clear that Late Holocene settlement and subsistence in the San Diego area were dynamic, locally innovative, non-environmentally deterministic, and certainly did not entail coastal abandonment* (Ibid, n.d. pp. 26-27).

Recent radiocarbon dating at several sites suggests that coastal occupation continued elsewhere after the collapse of the Batiquitos population. Twenty-seven radiocarbon dates from the Los Penasquitos area span 7140 RYBP to 2355 RYBP. At the nearby Sorento Valley site 30 dates span from 3000 RYBP into the ethnohistoric period (Sorento Valley site is the location of the ethnohistorical Kumeyaay community of *Yastagua*). Los Penasquitos lagoon is located on the coast between Batiquitos lagoon and the community of La Jolla and the Scripps Estate site. San Elijo Lagoon, directly south of Batiquitos Lagoon, has yielded 20 radiocarbon dates from 5 sites spanning 8000 RYBP to 2500 RYBP. At Mission Bay, 10 kilometers south of the community of La Jolla, the Rinconada de Jamo midden of maritime resources yielded a suite of dates from 2570 RYBP to 650 RYBP (all dates cited in Byrd and Reddy, n.d.: 18-19). These dates strongly suggest that the San Diego coast was not abandoned at any time during the Archaic Period.

The collapse of the Batiquitos population center at around 3500 BP suggests shifts of residential/resource utilization locations occur between 3000 BP -- 2300 BP in San Diego County settlement locations, including an increased presence in the more southerly coastal areas. This could be interpreted as the establishment of separate population groups and the subsequent decline of Archaic populations, but no archaeologist known to us has put forward this hypothesis**.** Moriarty suggests that distinct cultural traits begin to appear around 3000 BP (1966), but he does not suggest these appear as isolated from existing cultural traditions or groups. (These shifts may have to do with changing environments and/or changing methods of resource utilization, but neither is relevant to our discussion.)

Continuity of occupation suggests, but does not prove, biological continuity. However, based on the ethnographically documented association of regional trade and marriage alliances in the Late period, it is more probable that any new groups or individuals in the area intermarried with existing groups rather than remaining genetically isolated.

Also, both material cultural evidence and biological evidence (see below) suggest that groups occupying both lagoon and river valley sites were related. The particular Archaic lithic traditions associated with maritime and lagoon resources are coextensive with the addition of ceramics and new lithic traditions such as arrowheads (Brian Byrd, personal communication, Tim Gross, personal communication). This suggests the assimilation of new ideas and/or new people from the California Delta and Colorado River area.

*Yuman* (Rogers 1945) refers to a cultural area dispersed from the western coast of San Diego County and upper Baja California to the Colorado River and south to the California Delta in Mexico, and further east and north into the Arizona desert. Groups within this area share related languages and similar cultural traits, including ceramic styles, mythological and religious traditions, and the practice of cremation.

Rogers is often referred to as the primary source for Late Prehistoric period San Diego archaeology. His three Yuman periods are based primarily on ceramic vessel styles, and on the presumed spread and increase of Yuman cultural traits and/or population from a homeland in the Colorado River area. Based on refinements of ceramic analyses, subsequent scholars have criticized Rogers' chronology (Van Camp 1973). Also, McDonald and Eighmey note:

[Roger's] *chronology was developed primarily for the Colorado River Valley sub-area, not the other sub-areas which Rogers (1945:180) recognized as being archaeologically and ecologically diversified. In spite of these shortcomings, this chronology has been taken all too often as the gospel concerning the prehistory of the Kumeyaay region* (1998:III-9-10).

Beginning with the Late Prehistoric period there is a substantial increase in population across southern California, including southern San Diego County. There is no published hypothesis for the collapse or replacement of the Archaic population in southern San Diego County at the time of the transition to the Late Prehistoric Period.

Reasons given by archaeologists for the increase in population in southern San Diego County and accompanying cultural changes include environmental changes (O'Connell 1971); the final desiccation of Lake Cahuilla and subsequent "emigration" (Jefferson 1974:7; Rogers 1945), (Wilke 1974:28-29, 1978:10); improved hunting and storage technologies; and an increased dependence on acorns as a food resource (McDonald and Eighmey 1998:III-1).

- Possibility #3 and 4: Assimilation and/or Transformation of earlier groups by later groups.

In determining a preponderance of evidence for or against cultural and biological continuity we must consider what accounts for the sudden population increase and appearance of a distinct Yuman cultural tradition beginning with the Late Prehistoric period, 1000 A.D. This period is characterized by the appearance of small projectile points, ceramics, and the replacement of inhumation with cremation. None of the San Diego archaeologists interviewed (listed below) thought there was any conclusive evidence that these changes were a result solely of either in-migration of people from the Colorado River area or of an influx of new ideas. Many said they thought it was probably both. The preponderance of opinion is that new people came to the area rather abruptly.

Similar cultural and social changes occurred around the same time in Orange and Los Angeles Counties, some of which are attributed to an immigration of Takic/Shoshone speakers from the Great Basin area to the coast.

The following observations drawn from archaeological evidence are relevant to our consideration of the biological and kinship continuity of earlier and present-day groups:

Based on evidence from the Spindrift site (located in the community of La Jolla), Moriarty (1966) suggests the merging of Archaic populations with Pre-Yuman people from the desert as early as 3000 BP, continuing until 2,000 BP. He notes an increase in exotic lithic material and the diversification of pressure flaked lithic artifacts at around 3000 BP and the beginning of

cremation at around 2,500 BP. However, Warren has questioned Moriarty's radiocarbon data (1964:143) and no other San Diego archaeologists that were consulted were aware of these data.

While some cultural traditions and material artifacts changed, many, especially those associated with marine resources, remained the same. Brian Byrd (personal communication) suggested that ceramics were a novelty item on the San Diego coast, and that tar-pitched basketry continued to serve basic utilitarian needs as it had for millennia. The presence of material continuity as well as change suggest that cultural and material changes occurred as a process of assimilation and transformation, not replacement, despite the appearance of completely new traditions such as ceramics and cremation.

- Possibility #5: Independent cultural traditions co-existing in the same area.

Cultural change did not happen at the same rate throughout the San Diego County area. Cultural and social distinctions probably existed among earlier groups in present-day territory, as is also true today. D. L. True proposed two separate cultural traditions developed in San Diego County which at contact were represented by the Ipai and Kumeyaay dialects/languages:

*[T]he continuation of the basic milling stone base, modified by the introduction of an acorn economy, modified by the introduction of cremation disposal of the dead and by a continuous series of influences from the areas to the southeast. Not all of this area responded to the exterior influences in a like manner, however, and some regions retained a measure of the original coastal flavor and maritime oriented interests. Thus the area in and around San Diego bay proper, although greatly influenced by the developments taking place with the area later, were measurably different than their mountain neighbors to the east. At the time of contact these people were recognized as a separate subcategory of the Diegueno speaking population* (True 1966:291-292).

*Warren noted that Wallace's Intermediate Horizon [immediately preceding the Late Prehistoric], appeared to be a period of increasing regional variation in artifact assemblages. San Diego County shows the least variation, adding only the mortar and pestle and showing only a slight increase in the number*
*of projectile points…. Warren (1964:8) believed that the "The La Jolla Complex was geographically and culturally marginal and essentially isolated during most of its development"* (McDonald and Eighmey 1998:III-11).
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*In the San Diego and Mission bays area, the economy of the Incipient Maritime stage probably persisted. Unfortunately, information for the critical period of 3,000 B.C. to A.D 500 is lacking. The description of the historic groups inhabiting the San Diego Bay region seems to support the conclusion that the Incipient Maritime stage persisted until historic times* (Warren 1964:228-229). [We now have some data for the period 3,000 B.C. to A.D 500.]

*Synthesis of technological trends for coastal sites are lacking. The available evidence, albeit not quantitative, indicate lower frequencies of arrow points, ceramics, and imported obsidian at*

*coastal sites than inland sites, and possibly the later introduction (or widespread use) of ceramics along the coast* (Byrd and Reddy n.d.: 24).

Thus according to Byrd and Reddy, True, and Warren, a coastal population associated with a maritime tradition continued in the San Diego Bay and Mission Bay areas (the latter being about 15 kilometers south of La Jolla and the Scripps Estate) as a distinctive cultural and linguistic group until the ethnographic period. This strongly suggests, but does not prove, the biological continuation of some members of the Final Archaic population into the Late Prehistoric period.

Unfortunately, we have little written ethnographic information about the groups who occupied the coastal area at contact. Most of the ethnohistoric reconstructions of Kumeyaay society are from the inland communities whose cultural traditions better survived missionization and colonization. However, based on the geographical evidence, inland and coastal groups are related.

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In addition to Tribal experts, Diana Wilson consulted the following scholars between April 2000 and July 2001:

Brian Byrd, ASM Affiliates, consulting/contract archaeologist at Camp Pendleton

Lynne Christenson, Director of the South Coast Archaeological Information Center in San Diego

Dennis Gallegos, consulting /contract archaeologist

Lynn Gamble, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, San Diego State University

Tim Gross, consulting /contract archaeologist

John Hildebrandt, Scripps Institute of Oceanography

Dave Hunt, Collections Manager for Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution

Richard Jantz, Professor of Physical Anthropology, University of Tennessee

Margaret Langdon, linguist, Emeritus, San Diego State University

Anna Noah, archaeologist

Meg McDonald, consulting /contract archaeologist

Pat Masters, archaeologist, Inman and Masters Consultants, La Jolla

Glenn Russell, Environmental Management Specialist/Archaeologist, San Diego County Planning Department

Florence Shipek, Professsor of Anthropology, emeritus, University of Wisconsin, member of the Kumeyaay Repatriation Coalition

Del True, archaeologist, Emeritus, UC Davis

Rose Tyson, Curator of Physical Anthropology, Museum of Man, San Diego

Claude Warren, Professor of Archaeology, Emeritus, University of Nevada

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