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made for Macahui as a major prehistoric site. That geoglyphs were produced aboriginally in the general region of northern Baja California and southern California by the clearing of desert pavement surfaces is not disputed (e.g., Solari and Johnson 1982). That other clearings were made as habitation areas, "sleeping circles" in temporary camps, also seems highly likely. Some aboriginal features of either or both of these types may be present specifically in the Macahui area, although this is not yet confirmed. We recommend in particular the techniques of detailed morphological examination and controlled study of the surrounding pavement as methods for distinguishing such features from the traces of modern commercial gravel collection.

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To-vah: A Luiseño Power Cave

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IN addition to those archaeological sites in San Diego County, California, that are easily recognized on the basis of artifact scatters, soil discoloration, and/or bedrock features, important cultural elements exist that generally are not identified. Examples are fairly common in the ethnographic literature, and some features are quite well known. The turtle rock at Potrero described by Lucario Cuevish (Du Bois 1908:115) is a good example, as is the place near Rincon known as *Wasimal*.

Wasimal is an unmodified rock which represents a small ground hawk who gave up in the mythical race between the mountain people and the west (Du Bois 1908: 149). There literally are dozens of similar features within the Luiseño territory, but the majority are undescribed and are mostly unknown outside of a select segment of the

surviving Native American community. Figure 1 shows the general location of the Turtle Rock, *Wasimal*, and the study area. This brief paper describes one other such feature located on the Pala-to-Temecula road in northern San Diego County.

The place called *To-vah* is a rather small opening in a large granitic rock outcropping. The site was shown to one of us (DLT) by Luiseño elders on two different occasions during the early 1950s. It was mentioned briefly by Harrington (1986:Reel 119:233, 234) in notes of place names along the Pala-to-Temecula road as *Towvo* and was described by Harrington's informants as "a big rock . . . a devil lived here, old trail went past here--never talked when passed it, a hole in a rock" (Harrington 1986:Reel 119:234). Figure 2 is a photograph showing the general appearance of the feature some 30-plus years ago.

To-vah (or *Towvo*) was described by Luiseño elder "C" as a magic place where a young man could go to test his "faith" and to seek power. To accomplish this, it was proposed that he would crawl first into the cave and then proceed into a narrow crack at the back which led into the interior of the mountain. In the process of moving through the crevice up into the mountain the young man would be confronted by numerous dangerous and threatening apparitions described as messengers of *Chinigchinich*. The described dangers included confrontations with rattlesnakes and black widow spiders. According to the informant, to enter the mountain took a great deal of courage and not all young men were strong enough to face the terror. On the other hand, those who had the stamina could crawl "all the way through," and come out at the top of the mountain with new power and strength. The idea was that one could gain moral strength and important insights by

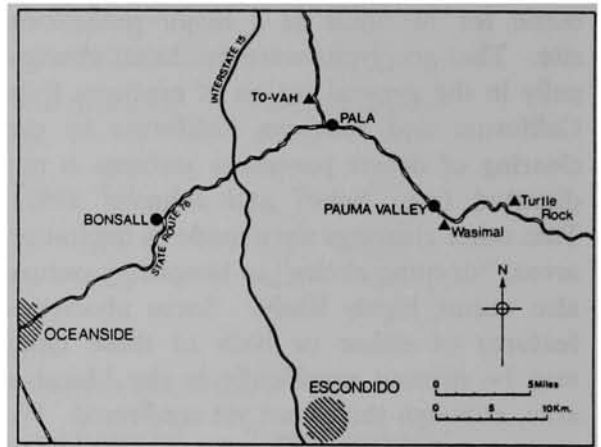


Fig. 1. Map showing the site location relative to the general region and the location of the Turtle Rock and *Wasimal*.

facing the unknown, and it was considered a real test of one's "heart." A person who was "not of good heart" could never hope to survive such an experience. In response to a direct question, the Luiseño elder agreed to identify the specific location. It was understood, however, that we would not stop near the feature and that under no circumstances would (could) he look directly at the cave entrance. With these restrictions in mind, we stopped a short distance below the feature, and he explained that the place we were looking for was around the next curve in the road. He then described the rock and the small opening, and instructed that we were to drive on past without slowing or stopping. It was made very clear that if he looked into the "cave" some terrible disaster would overtake him before the day was done. He then turned his head away from the hillside and held that position until we were well up the road past the site. When asked if there was any reason why I could not stop there at a later date on my own, the response was, "do whatever you want later but not with me in the car."

A nearly identical story was told by Luiseño elder "P" a couple of years later

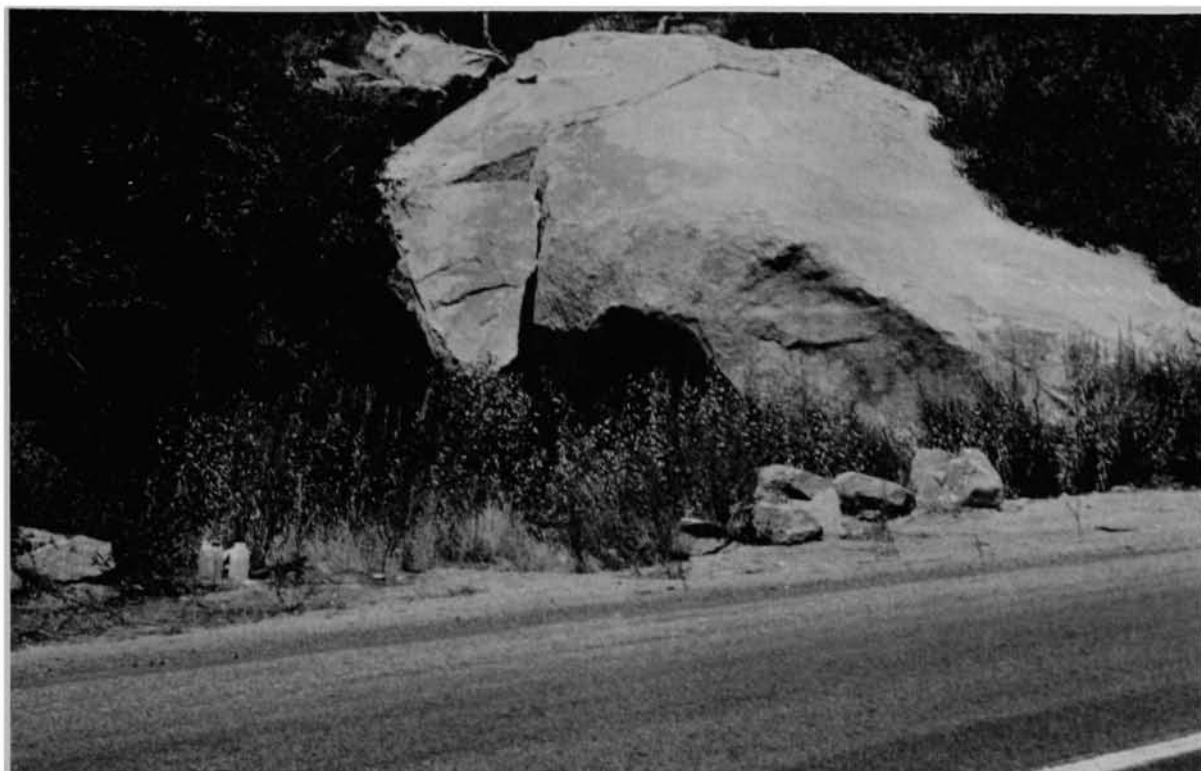


Fig. 2. Photograph showing *To-vah* as it appeared in the mid 1950s.

who also agreed to identify and locate the place as long as he did not have to look at it. He explained that it was very dangerous to look into the cave and that this had always been the case. People traveling on the trail to *Temecu* in the old days went out of their way to get past this place before dark, and *always* passed by without looking into the cave or looking back. To look back would lead to sure death, and it was possible that one would be turned to stone (there being several large upright boulders along the margin of the same canyon which were described as “ancestors”). These rocks are also named and represent other examples of important or sacred features known to exist in the general area.

A later examination of the feature *To-vah* without a native Luiseño present revealed that the cave opening which appears from

the road to lead into the mountain, was in reality no more than a few feet deep, and ended in solid granite with no crevices, cracks, or possible other exits. There was no evidence of cultural modification, no evidence of fire on the ceiling, no altered soil, and no artifacts in the vicinity. At best, it was simply a small opening under a granitic boulder that under ordinary circumstances would never be recognized as culturally significant.

Luiseño elder “P”, after recounting the story of *To-vah*, explained that he had once had an experience with another “power cave” on the nearby Santa Margarita Ranch. This had taken place many years previously when Luiseño elder “P”, in the company of an “older Indian,” was working cattle. According to the story, if a person was of good heart, he could go into the Santa Mar-

garita cave and request special powers such as writing ability, music, etc. To gain entry, however, one had to request permission from a rattlesnake that lived near the entrance. The snake was described as the "Boss" with the suggestion that it represented *Chinigchinich*, or a messenger thereof.

It seems that once a deal was struck, the "applicant" would be given certain talents or powers, but from that time on, the "Boss" would have complete control of the person's life, especially with regard to how long he lived. For example, a person might be given great power or talent, but would have only five years to use it. In response to a question, Luiseño elder "P" agreed that the idea of trading *time for knowledge* was a good way to explain the process.

At the time, the consultant reported that he had declined to enter the cave. Although he said it was supposed to be oval-shaped inside and had painting on the walls he could provide no details on the painting. At a later date while in the same canyon *alone* he was unable to find the cave even though the entrance was marked by a distinctive tree, and it was an area he knew very well. He searched for the opening off and on for several years, but never again saw the cave. It was explained to him later by the other "Indian," that the *reason* he could not find the cave by himself was because he probably was "not of good heart." Luiseño elder "P" then explained, that this meant that in the eyes of the "Boss" he was not really a good Indian since he had gone to work for the government at an early age and had spent a lot of time away from the reservation. Put another way, he was a good person, but was not "thinking right." These comments were consistent with those of other informants relative to the concept of a "good heart" and the idea that special places were associated with power.

The association of caves with power, particularly the power of spirits, is not uncommon in ethnographic accounts for the Takic-speaking peoples of southern California. The "houses" and stopping places of *Taawic*, or *Taakwitic*, the powerful and evil personification of "ball" lightning are depicted as holes in rocks or cave-like places (Hooper 1920:364; Harrington 1933:181). The perilous association with other dangerous caves, as pathways to knowledge or power, is described in the account by Du Bois (1908:151) for an underground cave in the Aliso Creek area near Santa Ana and by Harrington (1933:128) for a cave at Dana Point near San Juan Capistrano. An informant of the latter specifically described this cave as the habitat of *tcátcnitcum* the men of *Tcanitcnic* (*Chinigchinich*), ". . . los sabios del mundo . . . the wisemen of the universe" (Harrington 1933:128), thus indicating the close relationship of danger with knowledge-power and, parenthetically, of its acquisition. Consequently, the recurring theme in North American Indian myth systems (Lowie 1908) of testing as a means of acquiring power or knowledge, is woven into the beliefs involved with the veneration of *Chinigchinich* and precautions to be observed with his messengers and their habitation sites.

The importance of these unmarked cultural features in the overall understanding of the local native lifeways is obvious, and to the degree possible they should be recorded while the few people who still know their locations are still alive.

It would seem only a matter of time until population pressures in northern San Diego County lead to the widening of the Pala-Temecula road. Because *To-vah* lacks evidence of use and has not been modified in any cultural sense, it would likely not be identified in an archaeological survey, and

would almost certainly be destroyed in any significant grade or curve modifications. Forewarned is forearmed.

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Patterns of Demographic Change in the Missions of Southern Baja California

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BETWEEN 1720 and 1737, the Jesuits established six missions among the Indian groups of southern Baja California. By the end of the Jesuit period in the peninsula, in 1768, only a thousand Indians remained in the missions. Disease and a major rebellion against the mission regime between 1734 and 1737 contributed to rapid depopulation, and in 1768 and 1769 the government ordered a major redistribution of population within the region and a repopulation using Indians from missions to the north.

In 1768, *Visitador-General* José de Gálvez initiated a major population relocation that changed the ethnic composition of the southern missions. The goal was to repopulate the missions with greatest agricultural potential, and thus increase agricultural production in the peninsula and supply the mining communities of Santa Ana and San Antonio with food. Gálvez ordered the closing of Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga missions and the relocation of Guaycura Indians from these two missions to Todos Santos. The surviving Indians from Todos Santos were removed to Santiago. Gálvez ordered another 500 people moved to other missions. Some 200 went from Guadalupe to La Purísima. San Francisco Xavier contributed 44 individuals to San José del Cabo, and sent 25 families to Loreto. Sixteen families and 10 single men moved from Santa Gertrudis and San Francisco de Borja to Comondú (Engstrand 1976:51-52; Palou 1966,I:137, 167; Aschmann 1959:181). Table 1 summarizes population changes resulting from Gálvez's plan.