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The Integration of Myth and Ritual in South-Central California: The "Northern Complex"

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THERE can be little doubt that religious beliefs (and the ritual practices associated with them) constituted exceptionally important elements in the daily lives of the native peoples of south-central California. Complex mythologies, elaborate cosmographies, and interlocking belief systems served to link both the individual and the community with the realm of the sacred, and in turn were given dramatic expression (in both concrete and abstract form) by shamans, priests, and various other ritualists. The primary setting for these community-oriented religious activities was the "fiesta," a complex of events which also constituted an important medium for significant social, political, economic, and aesthetic interaction (Blackburn 1974; Bean 1972). These ceremonial occasions appear in fact to have drawn many different communities into a coherent yet flexible network of interacting subsystems that transcended normal ethnic, political, and linguistic boundaries. It seems clear to us that a reconstruction of this system, involving both a delimitation of the constituent components and a description of their integration, should be a major goal for future ethnohistoric research in the region; however, it seems equally clear that a necessary

prerequisite to the achievement of this goal must be a general overview of the ideological bases (i.e., ritual practices and mythological beliefs) which served as the primary rationale for ceremonial interaction. We hope that the present paper will serve as an initial step toward the ultimate achievement of just such an overview.

Previous efforts to develop the kind of general synthesis just described have encountered serious—and often insurmountable—obstacles in the form of the extant data. The information available for certain ethnic groups (such as the Juaneño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla), while often relatively detailed, has also frequently been suspect or difficult to use as a consequence of distortions or reinterpretations; an example would be the two different versions of the Boscana manuscript (Kroeber 1959:282-293). In addition, for a number of key groups the data have been either rather fragmentary (as in the case of the Serrano, Gabrielino, and Fernandeno) or almost totally nonexistent (as in the case of the Chumash, Tataviam, and Kitanemuk). As a consequence, many more questions regarding ideological systems in south-central California have been raised in the past than have ever been answer-

ed, and those few societies that have been adequately described still seem to float like disconnected islands in a murky sea of ethnographic speculation.

In 1925, in conjunction with a brief summary of Gabrielino and Fernandean religion, A.L. Kroeber pieced together scattered and fragmentary data to sketch the bare outlines of a major mythological system in south-central California involving an apparent pantheon of six or seven "gods" (1925:622-624). With considerable foresight, he suggested that these deities were in part female and were more or less associated with the *Datura* cult; of equal interest was his discovery that many (if not all) of the deities on his list were also recognized among the southern Yokuts and possibly the Serrano. However, none of these supernatural beings was clearly recognizable on lists of deities collected from ethnic groups south or east of the Gabrielino, even though some of these groups were (like the Gabrielino) participants in the *Chingichnich* cult. Although Kroeber clearly grasped the significance of this "northern complex," and realized that its relationship to the "southern" *Chingichnich* complex warranted a great deal more research, he was unable to pursue the topic further in the absence of relevant data. All he could do was call attention to his discoveries and hope that more information would be forthcoming.

New data have appeared. Within the last fifteen years major syntheses devoted particularly to ideology have been produced for such native southern California groups as the Luiseño (White 1963), Cahuilla (Bean 1972), and Chumash (Blackburn 1974, 1975; Hudson *et al.* 1977; Hudson and Underhay 1978). In addition, a great deal of material relevant to the "northern complex" has recently been discovered among the unpublished ethnographic notes of John P. Harrington, especially those collected from southern Yokuts and Kitanemuk consultants around 1917. As a consequence, the "northern complex" can now

be described in greater detail, and a better understanding of the integration of social and religious behavior may yet be forthcoming for the area as a whole. The primary function of the present paper is simply to integrate the various data now available on Kroeber's "northern complex," in order to add a little ethnographic flesh to his skeletal outline. In addition, some brief general comparisons will be drawn between the "northern" and "southern" complexes, and between California ideological and social structures. However, no real attempt has been made to create a definitive overview at this time, although we do hope that this paper will eventually aid others in achieving that goal at some future date.

KROEBER'S "NORTHERN COMPLEX"

Kroeber presented his data concerning the "northern complex" in a table with a lengthy caption (1925:623); that table is reproduced here as Table 1. Since Kroeber did not cite his sources of information for the data which he included in the table, a general review of both sources and data is necessary here. We will begin with the Gabrielino.

The list of Gabrielino deities was extracted from Hugo Reid's letters of 1852 (see Heizer 1968:52-54, and notes 100-101).¹ *Chukit* (a female being) and her four unnamed brothers are mentioned in a myth; *Chukit* is "enamored of the lightning, after expressing a desire to possess it." She becomes pregnant, and her brothers (with the eldest taking the most active role) attempt to discover which of them is responsible. She tells them that it was lightning. Subsequently she gives birth to a male child named *Mactutu*, who utters his first sentence when the navel cord is cut. As *Mactutu* matures into manhood he becomes wiser and wiser, arguing with the elders and seers (*pulum*) on various subjects. "After gaining a victory he always told them it was useless to dispute with him, as he was the Son of God." The chiefs and wise men finally decide to kill

Table 1

THE "NORTHERN COMPLEX" PANTHEON
according to Kroeber (1925:623)

YOKUTS. In fixed order of Jimson- weed prayers.	YOKUTS. In fixed order of other prayers.	FERNANDEÑO. "Gods" in order of mention.	GABRIELINO.	SERRANO.
Tüüshiut....	Tüüshiut....	Six stones at Nanamüviat, Little Bear Valley, were "gods."
Pamashiut..	Pamashiut....	
Yohahait....	Yohahait....	
	Echepat.....	5. Iuichepet..	
	Pitsuriut.....	4. Pichurut...	
	Tsukit.....	3. Chukit....	Chukit (in myth, sis- ter of 4 brothers).	
	Ukat (their sister).	1. Ukat.....	
		2. Tamur....	Tomar (title of oldest son of chief).	
		6. Manisar (wife of 5).	Manisar (title of old- est daughter of chief).	

FORMULA: 7 Yokuts (-t, prayers) - 3 Yokuts (-t, Jimson weed) + 2 Gabrielino (-r, chiefs) = 6 Fernandeno (-t, -r, gods) = 6 Serrano (?).

him by burning him alive and dissipating his ashes so that he could not ascend into the sky.

Kroeber also believed that two terms mentioned elsewhere in Reid's account were actually the names of additional Gabrielino deities; these terms were *Tomear* and *Manisar*, which according to Reid were titles given to a chief's eldest son and daughter (Heizer 1968:9). Kroeber apparently believed them to be the names of members of the pantheon because of their presence on a list of five "gods" and one "goddess" stemming from the 1811 "Interrogatorio" sent to Mission San Fernando, and because of the following statement made by Reid:

The world was at one time in a state of chaos, until God gave it its present formation; fixing it on the shoulders of Seven Giants, made expressly for this end. They have their names, and when they move themselves, an earthquake is the consequence [Heizer 1968:19].

Kroeber thus apparently assumed that Reid's "Seven Giants" were equivalent to the "deities" mentioned in the San Fernando list: *Veat*, *Taimur*, *Chuquit*, *Pichurut*, and *Iuichepet* (husband of the "goddess" *Manisar*—she who gives them their seeds). In a footnote Kroeber pointed out that some of the spellings were unclear in the original manuscript; thus *Chu-*

quit might also be read as *Chuguit* or *Chugerit*, while *Iuichepet* could be *Inichept* or even *Quichepet* (1908a:14). As shown in Table 1, Kroeber eventually used *Ukat* for *Veat* (a possible error that will be discussed later), *Tamur* for *Taimur*, and *Chukit* for *Chuquit*, and left the remaining names unchanged. Engelhardt (1927:29) and Geiger and Meighan (1976:58, 158), who also worked with the original document, spelled these same names *Veat*, *Jaimur*, *Chuhuit*, *Pichurut*, *Quichepet*, and *Manisar*; however, Geiger and Meighan in an endnote changed the spelling of *Jaimur* to *Taimur* and *Manisar* to *Mamisar*. In the case of *Chukit*, *Taimur*, and *Manisar*, it was evident to Kroeber that the Fernandefio and Gabrielino correspondences were more than coincidental, and that the unnamed deities on the Gabrielino list probably corresponded similarly to the remainder of the named Fernandefio deities.

Kroeber's next step was to attempt a translation or semantic analysis of the names of these deities, in the hope that a better understanding of their ritual or mythological significance might be gained in this way (1925:623). *Manisar*, he noted, was probably derived from *mani-t* 'Datura'. On the basis of data drawn from the southern Yokuts (to be discussed later), *Pichurut* was translated as meaning "the breath of life" and *Ukat* as meaning "looker" or "seer." By using available vocabularies, it is now possible to suggest translations for some of the other names as well; thus *Chukit* probably means "deer" (from F. *šukut* and G. *šukat* 'deer'), while *Tamur* may mean "sun" (from F. *tamiat* and G. *tamit* 'sun') (Kroeber 1907b:78, 80, 82, 160, 1909:251). Reid recorded these same terms as *zucat* and *tamit* (Heizer 1968:12-13).

However, *Tamur* has also been translated as "chief," and derived from G. *tomiar* (Kroeber 1909:251); this suggests a connection between the chief in Gabrielino society and the sun—it also suggests a link with the "southern"

Chingichnich complex. Merriam states that *To-me-arr'* (= *Tomiar*) was a title given to someone from a prominent village who acted as a captain during the Gabrielino Mourning Ceremony (1955:77); the individual selected had to have lost a close relative in order to hold this temporary position. The title of this office is almost certainly equivalent to Reid's *Tomear*, a term which according to Reid was applied to the chief's eldest son. However, Merriam states unequivocally that the title of the chief's son, who performed the Eagle Dance during the Mourning Ceremony, was not *Tomiar* but *To-ve't* (1955:83). The latter, of course, is a Luiseño synonym for *Chingichnich* (Boscana 1933:30). The seeming discrepancy in derivation noted above for *Tamur* (*tamit* 'sun' or *tomiar* 'chief?') may be more apparent than real; if we assume that the primary referent of both words was "sun," and that the Gabrielino used the expression on occasion as a title for an important ritual office in much the same way as the Chumash used the term *slo'w* in similar situations (Hudson *et al.* 1977), then the problem simply becomes one of faulty or incomplete translation. This suggestion certainly receives additional support as well from the obvious correspondences in both meaning and usage between *Manisar* and *mani-t* ('chief's eldest daughter' and 'Datura').²

Although there was an apparent link between *Tamur-Tove't* in Gabrielino ritual and the *Tobet* of the Luiseño, Kroeber concentrated upon the Fernandefio list of deities and examined it for the known *Chingichnich* synonyms of *Saor*, *Quaguar*, and *Tobet* (Boscana 1933:30); he correctly concluded that they were absent. He noted that the Gabrielino equivalents of *Y-yo-ha-riv-gnina* ("The Giver of Life") and *Qua-o-ar* ("Creator") were also apparently absent from the list (for more on *Qua-o-ar* = *Kwawar*, see Harrington 1933:139, note 59). However, Kroeber seems to have missed the obvious correspondence between the G. *Qua-o-ar* of Reid and the L. *Quaguar* of

Boscana; he also failed to note the fact that the *Veat* of the San Fernando Mission list is almost certainly a phonetic Spanish rendering of *Wiyot*, the name of the "dying god" who was replaced by *Chingichnich*, and who was one of the most prominent figures in Luiseño mythology (Boscana 1933). It seems obvious that Kroeber would have put greater emphasis on the possible involvement of the Fernandeano in the "southern" *Chingichnich* complex than he did if he had realized the connections between *Tamur-Tove't* and *Tobet*, *Veat* and *Wiyot*, and *Qua-o-ar* and *Quaguar*.

Two additional *Chingichnich* synonyms have been reported in the literature and should be discussed. The first of these is *Pura*, mentioned by one of DuBois' informants as meaning *Chingichnich* in the "old language of the coast" (1908:122). Both Kroeber (1925:622) and Harrington (1933:128, note 51) examined this term and concluded that it was probably a corruption of the Gabrielino word for "doctor" or "shaman," and cognate to the term *pul* or "shaman" as used by many southern California tribes (Strong 1929:340, Table 22). The other synonym is *Si'hivit* or *Si'hi'vut*, which appeared in a Gabrielino Mourning Ceremony song and was suggested by the informant as being the name of a deity equivalent to *Chingichnich* (Roberts 1933:65-67). Roberts suggested that the name might be cognate to *L. sivut paviut*, a sacred *Chingichnich* object which was carried from community to community during rituals and exchanged for food. Apparently some of these sticks were tipped with crystals, painted red, white, and black, and inlaid with shell (DuBois 1908:98, and note 40c). Waterman called the crystals "medicine-stones," and added that the sticks were carried by the old dancers (1910:299-301). Harrington discovered that the Kitanemuk had similar ritual items:

Wands presented to visiting chiefs at the *waqac* and placed on the *kutumits* poles were obtained by trade. The *kakait*, obtained from the Tubatulabal, were made

from peeled yucca stalks about two feet long. Quail topknots were attached to them at one-inch intervals, and bunches of white eagle down were fastened to one end. The *mahivat*, obtained from the coast, were about two feet long and a quarter of an inch thick, painted red. The wide ends were indented and had shell inlaid in the wood, while the opposite ends were pointed. These wands were kept carefully stored away with other ritual gear in a huge basket; some chiefs might have to borrow some from others [Blackburn and Bean 1978:567].

In summary, it seems apparent that *Si'hivit* (= *mahivat*?) and *Pura* are both terms that refer to ritual objects and personnel associated with the "southern" *Chingichnich* complex rather than to mythological figures; their absence from the San Fernando list of "gods" is certainly understandable.

Kroeber's remaining data on the "northern complex" concern the Serrano and southern Yokuts. The extent to which the Serrano were actually involved in the subsystem is certainly moot; Kroeber included them on the basis of a statement that six stones in Little Bear Valley were "goddesses" (Kroeber 1908c:34). Gifford suggested that the name of one of these was *Namuyat*, a female being on whom no other information is available (1918:182, note 37). The southern Yokuts data were collected from a Yauelmani consultant named Chalola (Kroeber 1907a:363, 372-374, nos. 33 and 35; 1925:502-504, 623).³ *Tuushiut*, *Pamashiut*, and *Yohahait* were supernatural beings named in a speech given by the old man in charge of a *Datura* ceremony before the initiates drank. The same three beings, along with *Echepat*, *Pitsuriut*, *Tsukit*, and *Ukat*, were also named in a Yokuts good-luck prayer (Kroeber 1907a:372-373; 1925:511). Kroeber noted that the names appeared to be given in some sort of fixed order, and that the 'r' sound in *Pitsuriut* was not Yokuts. Chalola suggested rough translations for a few of these names, although

with some hesitation; thus *Tuushiut* perhaps meant "maker," *Yohahait* "crusher," and *Ukat* "looker" or "seer." Kroeber felt that the meanings suggested for *Ukat*, *Tsukit*, and *Pitsuriut* were highly suspect, since the names were probably originally of Takic origin; Chalola's translations, therefore, were perhaps little more than folk etymologies. In addition, Kroeber speculated that there might be a relationship between the name *Tuushiut* and the *tosaut* stones mentioned in connection with Chumash rituals (a possibility which we will discuss in detail later).

In summary, in 1925 Kroeber drew attention to the existence of a "northern complex," involving a six or seven deity pantheon, among the Gabrielino, Fernandño, southern Yokuts, and possibly the Serrano; he could only speculate as to the possible involvement of such other groups as the Chumash, Tataviam, Kitanemuk, Kawaiisu, and Vanyume in the complex, although he did feel that it was conceivable that the Kitanemuk were intermediaries between the Fernandño and the southern Yokuts. He also pointed out that some elements of the "northern complex" might well be found among the "southern" *Chingichnich* groups as well. Because of the paucity of relevant data, Kroeber could only sketch in the bare outlines of his proposed complex and hope that further information would be forthcoming at a later date.

HARRINGTON'S KITANEMUK DATA

The ethnographic and linguistic notes of John P. Harrington are proving to be of inestimable value to contemporary scholars concerned with native California societies, and have already shed unexpected light on a number of seemingly insoluble problems. Kroeber's "northern complex" is a case in point, for there is a great deal of relevant information on this complex in Harrington's notes, particularly those relating to the Kitanemuk. These notes were collected between 1917 and 1918, at Tejon

Ranch, from three key consultants: Eugenia Mendez (Kitanemuk), Magdalena Olivas (Kitanemuk), and José Juan Olivas (Chumash) (Walsh 1976:39). For the sake of brevity, we will present most of the data we wish to discuss in the form of an extensive quote from a recently published summary of Kitanemuk mythology and cosmography (Blackburn and Bean 1978:568), rather than in the form of undigested original notes. It should be noted that Harrington was aware of the fact that many of the Kitanemuk names he collected corresponded to names on the 1811 list from Mission San Fernando, and that he occasionally asked his informants questions about the *Chingichnich* religion.

Kitanemuk mythology was a mixture of elements, many of which had their origin among the Chumash, Yokuts, or Gabrielino. The universe was originally created by *canniqpa*, a being who formed earth and sky and made the *urehatam táqqátam* 'first people' by breathing on clay images of them. These people included the ancestors of the present birds and animals, the most important of which were five brothers and a sister. The brothers were named *yuqaqat* (the eldest), *pitšurayt*, *hukaht*, *papamaš*, and *pamašyit*, and the sister *tsúqqit*. The siblings created five superimposed worlds, the smallest on top and the largest (that in which people now live) on the bottom. This world was circular and floated on a surrounding ocean supported by two gigantic serpents whose movements caused earthquakes. Later there was a great deluge that covered all but the tops of the highest mountains. All First People were drowned or turned to animals with the exception of the six siblings, who were safe in their home at *aʔiykítsa tivat*, a beautiful place in the south where flowers bloomed continually and it was never hot. Although the brothers lived apart from their sister, *hukaht* began to visit her secretly and *tsúqqit* became pregnant. She gave birth to Hum-

mingbird, and *hukaht* was punished for his incest by having his arm and leg bones removed so that he could no longer move. After that *tsúqqit* had many children, the ancestors of the people living now. She was the wisest of the siblings and taught her children everything they needed to know in order to survive, such as making tools and baskets, hunting, preparing tobacco, and making the *yivar* or sacred enclosure. *yuqaqat* sent them off in different directions, telling each man to marry a certain woman, and where to live and what language to speak. Thus different tribes of people were created. *tsúqqit* and her five brothers still lived at *aʔiykitsa tivat*, and prayers were frequently addressed to her while facing south.

The land of the dead, *tipea*, was located in the east. A few people had gone there and returned to tell their friends. The normal round of activities was reversed there, for the spirits slept during the day and played, danced, and sang all night. *tipea* was a very beautiful place; there was always plenty to eat, and spirits never aged. The chief of *tipea* was *tameat* or Sun, who lived in a shining house with two daughters. They appeared old, but never aged. Sun played peon every night with *tsúqqit*, with Moon as referee; if *tsúqqit* won it was a bountiful year, but if Sun won many people died and there were wars.

The rainbow, the colors of which were those of various seeds and flowers, was held up at both ends by *pahikyit* or Morning Star, a woman with hair so long it reached her heels. She was the grandmother of the three Thunders. Evening Star was a man. The Kitanemuk universe was quite anthropomorphic.

There was a race of dwarves (with adults the size of a small boy) called *?anuhnusi táqqátam* who lived somewhere to the north. The Kitanemuk also knew of the Central Chumash *?elyewun* or Swordfish, whom they called *papamašryam*. These were eight brothers who lived in a house under the sea near Mugu, sleeping

all day and dancing all night. Light was supplied by a creature called *kočeanat*, with an upper torso like that of a man, and a lower body consisting of a burning brand. He sang while the brothers danced. During each song the brothers took turns racing three times counterclockwise around the world. They also hunted whales, tossing them back and forth like balls until they died, then throwing them up on shore. There were also *páppahavim*, dangerous beings that roamed around after dark (equivalent to the Central Chumash *nunašiš*) [Blackburn and Bean 1978:568].

The following additional material on Kitanemuk ritual interaction has been extracted from Harrington's original notes and lightly edited for presentation here:

According to José and Magdalena, the religion of the *yivar* was the custom at Ventura and of the Castec people, and of the Fernandefío and Gabrielino. It was also the custom of the people at Santa Barbara and Santa Ynez, but was not the custom of the Tularefío Yokuts. The Kitanemuk understood it but did not practice it, nor did the Serrano.

The religion of the coast—that religion in which they knew all things—was not here. It was at Ventura and reached to San Gabriel. It was very strong at San Gabriel. It did not pass on to San Luis [Rey], for those were different people. In that religion you took ants or *Datura* and they taught you all things. A few wise ones here knew it, but the Kitanemuk did not have the religion of over there on the coast. Magdalena does not know G. *chingichnich*.

Eugenia says that *yivar* was the same as Venturefío *'antap*. They called the *'antap* in Kitanemuk *yivarakam*. They did not have it here, for it was only over there on the coast. They had these enclosures at fiestas long ago, and the ones inside the enclosure were the "devilish ones," the proprietors of the *yivar*. They swung bullroarers and had deer-bone whistles and feather banners. Eugenia saw such fiestas at Piru, Saticoy,

mat'apqa'w, Las Tunas, and San Fernando.

According to José and Magdalena, *'iwihinmu* [Mount Pinos] was the center and starting place for all of this religious custom. The initiates of the *yivar* are taught to sing songs, long songs with Ventureño Chumash words. Even the words used by the Fernandeano in the *yivar* are in Chumash. Only after a boy has learned these songs is he taught to play the same tunes on the deer-bone whistle.

Eugenia says that the old ones who lived way over on the coast beyond the Fernandeano, who spoke another language and became extinct early, were the enlightened ones. These wise ones sang three songs to make an earthquake. The songs were addressed to the *panahutr*, two large snakes which lived under the earth; when these water snakes rolled or twisted it caused earthquakes. These people along the San Pedro coast not only produced earthquakes, but did other powerful magic as well. They were merely the *Chingichnich* religion people, I imagine.

INTERNAL COMPARISONS

It is evident from Table 2 that the Kitanemuk "deities" mentioned by Harrington's informants correspond closely to those included by Kroeber in his "northern complex," although as might be expected certain discrepancies are apparent as well. Two of the Kitanemuk beings (*Pamašyit* and *Yuxaxat*) have cognates only among the southern Yokuts; five others (*Pitšurayt*, *Hukaht*, *Tsúqqit*, *Manič*, and *Tameat*) have cognates among the Fernandeano-Gabrielino, and three of these are also present on the southern Yokuts list. One would expect *Echepat* or *Iuichepat* to be mentioned on the Kitanemuk list, but he is surprisingly absent. The Kitanemuk deities *Papamaš* and *Tsannixpa* also appear only once in Table 2 (as would the Serrano "goddess" *Namuyat* if she were included). In short, it seems that most of the members of the Kitanemuk pantheon were

also recognized by the other groups as well, but it also seems clear that the Serrano may not have actually participated in the "northern complex" at all.

One of the more important discrepancies brought out by Table 2 involves the topic of creation. The Yokuts being *Tuushiut* ("Maker") was certainly not cognate to the Kitanemuk creator *Tsannixpa*, and in fact may not have ever been regarded in the same way. (The obvious parallels between the *tosaut* and *tišait* stones of the Chumash and Kitanemuk, and the Yokuts "being" *Tuushiut*, lend considerable weight to this argument.) Yokuts creation myths generally lack the Kitanemuk idea of a "high god" creator, nor do they place any real emphasis on the creation of man and his culture. Most Yokuts myths involve Eagle (and Crow, Cougar, etc.), and earth, animals, and man are usually described as being created out of a mixture of soil and seeds (Gayton and Newman 1940:11, 19-20; Latta 1936:19). One Yauelmani myth (Kroeber 1907c:299), however, does have a Kitanemuk parallel so far as the creation of man is concerned; in the Yokuts story Coyote leaves Deer under a tule mat all night, and by morning she has become a woman. Coyotes attempts to have intercourse with her, and finally succeeds. Deer then becomes the mother of modern people. Gayton and Newman remarked that this particular myth had no exact parallel anywhere in south-central California, but that some Yauelmani myths did have a tinge of Shoshonean influence. This suggestion now seems highly likely in light of the Kitanemuk data. If the Kitanemuk and Yauelmani materials do correspond closely, the identification of Coyote as impregnator of *Cukit* in the Yauelmani myth might suggest that *Hukaht* could be Coyote in the Kitanemuk account—as could *Ukat* in the Fernandeano and Gabrielino sources. However, this hypothesis is not supported by the following Kitanemuk information collected by Harrington:

Tsúqqit was brushing her hair and

Table 2
THE KITANUMUK DATA AND KROEBER'S
"NORTHERN COMPLEX" DEITIES

Kitanemuk	Southern Yokuts	Fernandeño	Gabrielino
Tsannixpa	?	?	?
<i>Yuxaxat</i> (?; a brother; Evening Star?)	<i>Yohahait</i> ("Crusher"?)	?	?
<i>Pitsurayt</i> (?; a brother; Morning Star?)	<i>Pitsuriut</i> ("Breath of Life"?)	<i>Pichurut</i> ("a male")	?
<i>Hukaht</i> ("Deer"? a brother; Polaris?)	<i>Ukat</i> ("Deer"? "a sister"?)	<i>Ukat</i> ("Deer"? "a male")	?
<i>Papamaş</i> ("Swordfish"; a brother; Wind?)	?	?	?
<i>Pamaşyit</i> ("Dew"? a brother; Morning Star?)	<i>Pamashiut</i> ("Dew")	?	?
<i>Tsúqqit</i> ("Deer"? a sister; Earth?)	<i>Tsukit</i>	<i>Chukit</i> ("Deer; a female")	<i>Cukit</i> ("Deer; a sister")
<i>Manic</i> ("Datura"; wife of a brother?; Moon?)	?	<i>Manisar</i> ("Datura"; wife of <i>Iuichepet</i>)	<i>Manisar</i> ("Datura"; a female)
<i>Tameat</i> ("Sun"; a bro- ther? Sun)	?	<i>Tamur</i> ("Sun"; a male)	<i>Tomar</i> ("Sun"; a male)
<i>Tiśait</i> (sacred stone)	<i>Tuushiut</i> ("Maker")	?	?
?	<i>Echepat</i>	<i>Iuichepet</i> ("a male")	?

threw away the grime and the next morning they saw a coyote sitting over there where she had thrown it. "How do you think that there are no other people, when there is a coyote?" Magdalena forgets who made this remark, but that was the origin of the coyote. *Tsúqqit* made all the people; only the coyote she did not make. The

oldest brother asked each of his brothers in turn: "Why is it that you said there were no other people?" And at last *Papamaş* answered, "This is no person, this is coyote." The oldest brother replied, "We are the only ones. There are no other people."

In addition, the Fernandeño and Gabrielino

terms for coyote are *hītūr* and *ytur*, respectively (Kroeber 1907b:82; Heizer 1968:13).⁴

Serrano creation accounts are even more anomalous than those of the southern Yokuts, at least with regard to possible participation in the "northern complex." The prominent figures in Serrano myths are *Pakrokitat* and *Kukitat*, two brothers who are constantly bickering among themselves. *Kukitat* is bewitched by Frog, and his heart is stolen by Coyote during his cremation (Gifford 1918: 182-185). This story is obviously akin to the Cahuilla myth involving Mukat and his brother, and clearly aligns the Serrano with other participants in the "southern complex."

Papamaš (the Kitanemuk being whose name was suggested by one of Harrington's informants to mean "clouds running before the wind") was the only member of the Kitanemuk pantheon of First People for whom there appears to have been no cognate among other groups. However, the term *papamaš* was also applied by the Kitanemuk to the supernatural Swordfish Brothers, who were important to the Chumash and Fernandefio, and probably to the coastal and island Gabrielino as well. A Swordfish Song called *papumarata* was performed by Fernandefio singers at Chumash rituals during the winter solstice (Hudson *et al.* 1977:61, 105, note 61), and these beings figured prominently in Chumash mythology and ceremony. It is possible that *Papamaš* was one of *Cukit's* unnamed brothers in Reid's Gabrielino myth, and was either omitted or given the name *Iuichepet* on the San Fernando list. However, it is even more probable that the Kitanemuk informant unconsciously linked *Papamaš* and *Pamašyit*, when only the latter was actually a member of the pantheon. The existence of the cognate southern Yokuts name *Pamashiut* again lends credence to this hypothesis. Future research may resolve the problem, since there are many unstudied Harrington notes on the southern Yokuts that may yet shed light on both *Pamashiut* and *Echepat*.

The Kitanemuk beings *Maniç* and *Tameat* clearly correspond to *Manisar* and *Tamur-Tomar* of the Fernandefio and Gabrielino. There is an interesting comment on the San Fernando list to the effect that *Manisar* was the wife of *Iuichepet*, one of the brothers. It seems odd that this brother is not mentioned in the Kitanemuk material, since they (like the southern Yokuts) named the pantheon members in their *Datura* prayers. *Tameat*, or Sun, was almost certainly one of the brothers whose name was forgotten by Harrington's Kitanemuk informants, since he played a prominent role in Kitanemuk religion and undoubtedly received considerable emphasis as a team leader in the celestial peon game with *Tsúqqit*. This game, representing the eternal struggle between the forces of life and death, was also important in both Chumash and Yokuts mythology.

According to one of Latta's informants, the Chunut, Wowol, Telumne, and Tachi Yokuts believed that a celestial peon contest took place following the burning of the things of the dead (1949:238-244). The game was played at *Tihpiknits Pahn*, "Land-of-the-Dead," a place about six days journey to the north. The ruler, *Tihpiknits*, a great bird person, played against *Ki'yu*, Coyote. When *Tihpiknits* won someone would die and go to the Land-of-the-Dead, but if *Ki'yu* won he would try to bite his opponent and pull feathers from him. *Ki'yu* would toss the feathers to the south, and the north wind would bring them to the Yokuts in the form of white geese in winter. When people saw the geese coming someone would say, "Well, I guess *Ki'yu* won that time." Gayton and Newman reported a nearly identical version of this myth among the Yauelmani Yokuts, and identified *Tipiknits* as the guardian spirit of the afterworld, adding that when he won people died, but when Coyote won wild doves and seeds increased (1940:18, 85). Harrington also collected data on this belief from two of his

Yokuts consultants, Dion and Juana D. They stated that *Tipik'nic* was a captain or caretaker of the Land-of-the-Dead and the father of daughters. He played peon at night with *Ka'yiw*. When *Tipik'nic* won people died, but when *Ka'yiw* was victorious he tossed out many pigeons. It is also interesting that the informants added that the uncle of *Ka'yiw* was *Chraka'a* or Thunder.⁵

Harrington's Yokuts informants stated that the Land-of-the-Dead was reached by a little bridge that moved up and down. A bear and a snake were stationed at the bridge to bite any living person who tried to cross. The bridge was called *K'a'nal*, a name also given to the gravepole erected at Yokuts fiestas and later moved to the cemetery for erection over the grave of a captain. This behavior obviously had close parallels among the Kitanemuk, Chumash, Gabrielino, and Fernandño (Blackburn and Bean 1978:567; Merriam 1955; Blackburn 1975).

EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Any external comparisons should properly begin with the Chumash, since they were geographically contiguous to each constituent participant in the "northern complex," and may therefore have shared a number of significant ideological traits with them. Blackburn's recent work on Chumash mythology and cosmogony (1975) provides a reasonable basis for comparison, and indicates that there were both similarities and differences (with the differences being perhaps the more immediately obvious) between the Chumash and their Takic and Penutian neighbors. The Chumash appear to have lacked the concept of a single creator, nor is there any mention of an incestuous relationship between two important supernaturals; however, in one myth (Narrative 5) a father does suspect his daughter of having been impregnated by one of his twelve sons, although there does not seem to be any other similarity between the daughter and

Tsúqqit, nor between the respective brothers in the two stories. Certainly the members of the "northern complex" pantheon are not collectively represented in Chumash mythology. Also missing is the attribution of any specific origin to the First People, although they were considered giants in some cases, and their disappearance or transformation was due to a great flood (Blackburn 1975); however, these cognate elements have a wide distribution and are not particularly significant. Accounts of the origins of Hummingbird, Coyote, and Dog, as well as the idea that Deer's leg-bone was removed to make the first ceremonial whistle, are also absent from the existing corpus of Chumash narratives.

The Chumash and Kitanemuk do appear to have had similar cosmogonies in some respects. Thus the Chumash believed that there were either three or five worlds floating in an abyss; the middle world (of man) was supported by two gigantic serpents, and earthquakes were caused by their movements (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 1). The Fernandño and Gabrielino may very well have had similar beliefs.

Although the Kitanemuk believed that *Tsúqqit* and her brothers created man, the Chumash attributed this achievement to Sun, Sky Coyote, Morning Star, Eagle (*Slo'w*), and Moon. Lizard aided in shaping man's hand. These events took place after the great flood, the transitional event during which the First People became the present animals, birds, and plants (Blackburn 1975:25, Narratives 6 and 7). The celestial beings just described do appear to have composed a kind of Chumash pantheon analogous in some respects to that of the Kitanemuk. Thus they also played peon in the sky, with Sun as captain of one team and Sky Coyote (rather than *Tsúqqit*) as his opponent; Moon was scorekeeper. Hudson and Underhay (1978) have recently suggested that these mythological beings can be equated with specific celestial objects; the correspondences seem fairly clear with regard to the Morning

Star (which probably occurred in most myths as the two Thunders), the sun, and the moon (which was probably equated with old woman *Momoy* or *Datura*). Eagle or *Slo'w* probably corresponded to the Evening Star, while Sky Coyote was linked with the North Star, Polaris. Another important personage (who was not, however, a member of the pantheon) was the chief or caretaker of the Land-of-the-Dead. He may possibly have been equated with the star Altair, while the two companion stars were the caretaker's sons or daughters.

The Chumash, Kitanemuk, and Yokuts shared very similar beliefs regarding the effect the peon game played by the pantheon had upon the human condition. The team of Sun and Evening Star was associated with death, and if it won people would die. The opposing team of Sky Coyote (Polaris) and Morning Star was associated with rain, food, and life. When it won the coming year would be a rich one with lots of rain, acorns, islay, chia, ducks, and (another cognate) geese. The Chumash and Yokuts also shared a number of beliefs concerning the soul's journey to the Land-of-the-Dead.

In light of the data now available on the Chumash, we can reasonably suggest that the members of the "northern complex" pantheon may have also been associated with important celestial objects. This inference is virtually a truism in the case of Sun (*Tameat*) and Moon, of course, but it is also supported by the Kitanemuk belief that the celestial peon teams were composed of from two to four players, with Moon as scorekeeper, and by the knowledge that the Chumash players were members of their "pantheon." With this hypothesis in mind, let us examine the various beings described in Kitanemuk mythology to see what corroborative evidence can be marshalled.

The Chumash associated Morning Star with rain and thunder, and it appears that the Yokuts and Kitanemuk may have held similar beliefs. In one Yauelmani myth, for example,

Coyote insists upon howling at Morning Star, and precipitates a flood (Latta 1936:19). Among the Kitanemuk, Morning Star and Rainbow are given the same name—*Pahikyit*. The latter is regarded as an attractive female who is the grandmother of the three Thunders. Two Thunders were important in Yokuts mythology, however, and were obviously associated with rain (Kroeber 1907c:Myth 23). The apparent Yokuts association of rain with both the two Thunders and Morning Star suggests a possible equivalency between the mythological beings and the celestial object; this is certainly supportable for the Chumash. Perhaps the Kitanemuk name *Pahikyit* was incorrectly attributed to Morning Star and should be applied only to the rainbow, since it does not occur on the list of pantheon members; however, its absence could be due to a use of secular as opposed to ceremonial titles, or to the use of multiple terms for the same deity (as in the case of the several *Chingichnich* synonyms). The first explanation seems most probable. Perhaps *Pamašyit* (whose name has been etymologized as meaning "dew") and *Pitšurayt*, both of whom have Yokuts cognates, were thunder brothers; we can only speculate.

The Chumash regarded Morning Star and Sky Coyote as members of the same peon team, associated with rain, life, and food; the Yokuts seem to have had very similar beliefs. One of Harrington's Yokuts informants stated that Coyote's uncle was *Chraka'a*, or Thunder. Among the Tuhohi Yokuts, the two important creator beings Eagle and Coyote ascended into the sky after their work was done; they can still be seen there (Kroeber 1907c:209; Gayton and Newman 1940:57). The Chumash drew a clear distinction between Sky Coyote (the "father of mankind" and Morning Star's teammate) and the regular Coyote of mythology. The former (Polaris) always "looked down from above over the well-being of man," while the latter (Aldebaran) was most conspicuous during the month of *Datura* (January) when he was

engaged in administering *Datura* (Hudson and Underhay 1978:100-103). There are parallels between the Chumash idea that Sky Coyote was the "father of mankind" and the mythology involving *Cukit* among the Yauelmani Yokuts and the Kitanemuk. We have already noted the Yokuts myth in which Coyote seduces Deer (*Cukit*), thereby giving rise to mankind. The cognate Kitanemuk story does not mention Coyote, but does state that *Tsúqqit* was the mother of mankind, with *Hukaht* (deer) as father. It seems reasonable to suggest that *Hukaht-Ukat* of the "northern" pantheon was Sky Coyote or Sky Deer. His connection with Two Thunders may be implied in Reid's Gabriolino account in which *Ukat* impregnates *Cukit* with lightning (see note 4 on Sky Deer).

Tsúqqit, as the mother of mankind and provider of knowledge, seems equivalent in some ways to earth; this suggests a secondary (or even primary?) Sky Father-Earth Mother theme with parallels elsewhere in southern California. The apparent Chumash equivalent is *Chup*, described as a provider of food and an important female supernatural being. It is interesting that *Chup* was frequently associated with the deer in Chumash ritual practices; for example, an 'antap costumed as a deer opened the Earth ceremony, and deer-tibia whistles were used by the 'antap during the ritual. The 'antap were also said to have played these whistles at 'Iwihinmu, where the appearance of deer apparently had ritual significance (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 102; Hudson *et al.* 1977:43-53). The Chumash, like the Kitanemuk, also believed Sun and Earth were in balance with one another; this recalls the Kitanemuk belief that Sun and *Tsúqqit* were opponents in the celestial peon game. However, in view of the Chumash and Yokuts parallels equating the Sky People with celestial objects, it is possible that the statement that *Tsúqqit* was one of the peon players was in error. The captain of the benevolent team among the Kitanemuk should have been

Hukaht rather than *Tsúqqit*, by analogy with the Chumash and Yokuts pattern (see Note 3). Unfortunately, we lack information concerning the peon game among the Gabriolino, although we do know that they associated north with geese (Heizer 1968:40); they may have regarded this as a clue to the game's outcome, just as the Chumash, Kitanemuk, and Yokuts did.

Evening Star is linked to Eagle (*Slo'w*) in Chumash mythology, and as Sun's peon teammate is also associated with death. One of Harrington's Kitanemuk informants stated the Evening Star was called *Yihahurç*, but this name does not appear on the list of *Tsúqqit*'s brothers. However, it is possible that we are once again confronted by the problem of synonymous terms; could *Yuxaxat* or *Yohahait* be another designation for Evening Star? Another possibility is raised by the phonetic similarities between *Yuxaxat* (or *Yuqaqait* in Harrington's original transcription) and *ka-kait*, the term given to the ritual wands used in the Mourning Ceremony and mounted later on the *kutumits* pole. The association with death is obvious, and there already exists a precedent for the apparent deification of a Kitanemuk ritual object by the Yokuts in the case of the *tišait* stones (= *Tuushiut*). The point, however, is certainly moot at this time.

It is highly likely that *Papamaş* or Swordfish was not a participant in the celestial peon game, although he was undoubtedly an important supernatural being; he definitely did not participate in the Chumash or Yokuts versions of the game. However, Swordfish was important to the Chumash in other ways; he was considered the chief of all other fish and thought to be endowed with considerable supernatural power (Blackburn 1975:Narratives 4, 14, and 27). There is a great deal of archaeological (Rogers 1929:410; Orr 1944) and ethnographic evidence (Heizer 1952:46; Bowers 1878:318-319; Mohr and Sample 1955) to connect this being with the elite group

around which Chumash ritual was organized, and the Fernandefio *papumarata* songs previously mentioned suggest that a similar situation existed among that people as well. However, we do not know the exact significance of *Papamas* for the Kitanemuk, although one informant etymologized the word as meaning something like "clouds blowing swiftly before the wind."

Many of the beliefs which have been discussed so far were attributed by the Kitanemuk to coastal peoples like the Chumash and Fernandefio-Gabrielino, whose ritual activities involved ceremonial officers referred to as *'antap* and *yivarakam*, respectively. It was said that the origin of the two groups was the same, and that both sang Venturefio Chumash songs within the sacred enclosure at fiestas. In the case of the Chumash, there have been several descriptions in the literature of the *'antap* cult, its *paha* or ritual leader, and such ritual objects as the bullroarer and deerbone whistle used at ceremonies; the significance of *'Iwihinmu* (Mount Pinos) in Chumash religion and mythology has also been discussed (Blackburn 1975; Applegate 1974:198-199; Hudson and Underhay 1978). However, the fact that there existed an awareness of (if not actual involvement in) the cult on the part of the southern Yokuts has not previously appeared in print.

Gayton and Newman recorded a Yauelmani Yokuts myth in which twelve brothers, called *'ane'tapi*, were brought to earth by Coyote to reside at *Tashupunau* (1940:85-86). Kroeber places this village in the San Emidio Mountains, not far from the Kitanemuk but within Chumash territory (1925:Pl. 47). Still another mention of the *'antap* can be found in Harrington's Yokuts notes; one of his consultants talked about a man named Chololo [Kroeber's Cholola?, see Note 2] who committed the error of dancing by the light of a lantern. This was not considered proper. The shadow of a tail appeared during his dance, and the consultant asked Chololo what it

meant. "He said something about the *'anetapi* coming." Harrington ended the note with the following (edited) comment:

Informant understands *'anetapi*, but does not know any details about them, nor how many there were nor what their pets might have been. She never heard of them making a house at a fiesta, but she does know that the Indians of the San Fernando region had them; it was not the custom of the Indians here.

As in the case of the Kitanemuk data, there is the definite suggestion here that the *'antap* complex had a wide distribution which included the Chumash, Fernandefio, and Gabrielino. Among the Chumash the cult was apparently tied into each political province; it also served to integrate provinces, some of which cross-cut linguistic boundaries (Hudson and Underhay 1978:27-32). It seems probable that both the Gabrielino and Fernandefio were similarly organized; Johnston describes what appear to have been political provinces among the Gabrielino, as in the case of several villages in the San Pedro area which were ruled by one chief (1962:24), and Harrington (unpublished) recorded the fact that the captain at San Gabriel invited the captains of other villages from as far away as Azusa to attend fiestas. Reid describes ritualists within the *yobagnar* (= *yivar*) or sacred enclosure who were homologous to the *'antap*; these ritualists included seers, captains, adult male dancers, and female singers, and they were said to be able to cure diseases or create them, poison people with herbs and ceremonies, make rain, communicate with supernatural beings, transform themselves into animals, and foretell the future (Heizer 1968:21, 40-42). It is interesting to note that Johnston rendered *yobagnar* as *tobangar* or "the whole world," a term which may be related to *Tobohar*, the first man (1962:46-47; cf. Heizer 1968:19, 119-120, note 57). The Chumash term for the sacred enclosure or *siliyik* was also said to mean "the whole world"

(Hudson *et al.* 1977:112).

Another item that seems to have been common to the Chumash, Fernandño, and Gabrielino was the deerbone whistle, which ethnographic accounts describe as being used in historic times in both Gabrielino (Heizer 1968:30) and Chumash mourning ceremonies (Hudson *et al.* 1977). The missionaries at San Gabriel, San Fernando, and San Buenaventura also noted that this instrument was used in conjunction with "great feasts" (Geiger and Meighan 1976:133-134), and its archaeological distribution is generally coterminous with Chumash, Fernandño, and Gabrielino territories (Hudson 1969:40-44). Still another cult object that seems to have been shared by these people was the sunstick, a device used to "pull" the sun back to a central position at the time of the winter solstice (Hudson *et al.* 1977:56-58; Hudson and Underhay 1978:62-66).

A number of ritual activities were undoubtedly shared as well. One example of this would be the performance of the *Papumarata* song at Chumash ceremonies by Fernandño ritualists, while another would be the *tari tari* song sung in conjunction with the Barracuda Dance (Hudson *et al.* 1977:47, 61, 90, 101, 105-106, and notes 28, 61-62, and 77). An even more striking example was volunteered by Simplicio Pico, one of Harrington's Ventureño consultants.

Wiwiyit is like a god, mentioned in their [Chumash] songs and witchcraft. He is not mentioned in stories (the *kwayin* and *'ilish* are different stories), but this was the name of a person, a male person Simplicio thinks, mentioned in vocative in their songs. *Manesal* is another person mentioned in songs similar to *Wiwiyit*. He thinks they danced [to them] too. These two were Shoshonean gods, he thinks and volunteers [Harrington, unpublished].

Wiwiyit and *Manesal* undoubtedly were Shoshonean "gods"—*Wiyot* and *Manisar*. It is interesting that Simplicio specifically denied

their presence in Chumash mythology, although they did figure in ritual activities and sacred songs.

Another interesting series of correspondences between the Chumash and their Takiic neighbors involves the use of charmstones. Yates (1889:305; 1890:19) collected several descriptions of Chumash ceremonies in which charmstones were used to bring rain, cure the sick, and so on, which not only suggest a symbolic involvement on the part of the *'antap*, but an involvement with Gabrielino parallels. For example, in one ceremony the Chumash arranged twenty charmstones in a circle, and after sprinkling them with water pushed them violently together. In another ritual twelve charmstones were arranged in a circle with a black stone called *Tu-Cait* [tišait] placed in the center. The stones were then showered with chia seeds, goose down, and red ochre while men danced and sang. Yet another ritual involved arranging the stones in a square with five on each side. A bowl was centered in the middle of the square with a "medicine man" standing beside it and blowing smoke toward the stones and the bowl. What is perhaps the most significant in all of these descriptions is the use of ritual numbers; thus *twelve* stones are used, or *twenty* stones, or *twelve* stones with a *thirteenth* in the middle. These numbers appear to correspond nicely to the ritual number of *'antap* ritualists that took part in various ceremonies; the thirteenth member of the group was the *paha* or cult leader (Hudson *et al.* 1977).

A Fernandño ritual that symbolically mirrors the ceremonies just discussed was described by a Yokuts man who had lived at San Fernando as a boy (Kroeber 1908b). It is curiously reminiscent of the ceremonies described by Yates. The ritual was performed by thirteen men, one of whom was the leader, with all being considered very strong in supernatural powers. Three men lined up on each side of a square, with the thirteenth man in the

center. (The square was evidently a ground-painting.) The man in the middle of the square held four strings, each of which ran to one side and was held by one of the three men on that side. When all was ready the strings were shaken, and the result was either an earthquake or illness for whatever person the central man had in mind (Kroeber 1925:626). While the presence of twelve men led by a thirteenth in this Fernandean ceremony is interesting and strongly suggests Chumash ritual practices, another feature of the ritual first pointed out by Kroeber (1925:665) is also worth noting: the strings used remind one of the cords employed by the Luiseño in conjunction with ground-paintings to symbolize the human spirit and "tie the world."

Recent evidence indicates that interaction between the Chumash, Fernandean, and Gabrielino was considerably greater than previously suspected, and economic (and in some cases political) integration no doubt promoted ritual exchanges as well. Brown noted that a Catalina Island man was married to a Chumash woman and was the chief of her village at Malibu (1967:45-47), while a Fernandean man named Rogerio (Heizer 1968:6; Johnston 1962:183) is described in Chumash sources as belonging to the *'antap* cult—it is interesting to note that he also had ties to Malibu (Hudson *et al.* 1977:31, 91). Economic ties linking the three groups under consideration have also been described (Brown 1967:8; Kroeber 1925:629-630, 899-900), and Chumash placenames are known to have been given to islands occupied by Takic speakers (Applegate 1975:28, 30; Blackburn 1975:Narratives 19, 23, 92; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:150). It is particularly interesting that Santa Barbara Island was called *'Icunaš* (a Chumash word meaning "deer-bone whistle") by both the Fernandean and Chumash (Hudson 1978:27), and that many of the mariners (whether Chumash or Gabrielino) who traveled from island to island were members of the *'antap* cult (Hudson,

Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:174, 178).

Titles given to ritualists in southern California constitute still another argument for intensive panethnic interaction. Among the Chumash, for example, the *'antap* cult leader was called *paha* (Blackburn 1974:105; Hudson *et al.* 1977:19); the cognate title *pahave* was said to mean "medicine man" among the Gabrielino (Kroeber 1909:251). The Serrano and such members of the "southern complex" as the Luiseño, Cupeño, and Mountain and Pass Cahuilla applied the term *paha* to the major *Datura* ritualist; the Desert Cahuilla used the same word for the ceremonial assistant of the *net* or chief (Strong 1929:340, Table 22). A similar term, *paha-m*, was used by the Tübatulabal, and was said to mean "weather shaman" (Voegelin 1938:64), while a Luiseño informant translated *paha* as "crimson snake" (Tac 1952; White 1963:147-148).⁶

The apparent correspondence noted by Kroeber (1925:623) between the Yokuts deity *Tuushiut* and the *tosaut* stones employed in Chumash ceremonies (and mentioned in Juaneño mythology) constitutes additional evidence that tends to support the notion of widespread ritual interaction; it also sheds some light on the relationship between the "northern" and "southern" complexes. According to Boscana (1933:31), the *tosaut* stone was a sacred rock used by *Nocuma* (Sky) to secure the earth's motion, and Fish opened such a stone and poured out its liquid contents in order to expand the ocean. Harrington commented that his Chumash informants were also acquainted with the word, and said that it referred to a black rock (charmstone) obtained from Santa Barbara Island (1933:145, note 66). Henshaw made a nearly identical statement concerning the acquisition of *tosaut* stones from this island (1885:6-7; Heizer 1955:158, note 69), and added that they were considered "magician's stones" and were associated with the charmstones (*ma-nuc-nu*) used in rain-making; Yate's use of the term *Tu-Cait* has

already been mentioned in a previous context. Harrington also recorded Kitanemuk descriptions of these ritual objects:

Most people had sacred sentient stones (*tisait*) in their houses to protect them from storms, or to place in water to be drunk as a medicine. These stones, variously shaped, were obtained from the coast. They were kept wrapped with offerings of eagle down, seeds, beads, and tobacco; the offerings were changed yearly at the winter solstice [Blackburn and Bean 1978:567].

The fact that *tosaut* stones are mentioned in connection with myth and ritual in both the northern and southern areas raises the question of possible parallels between deities as well. Kroeber suggested (1925:623) that the G. *Ukat* might be equivalent to the L. *Ikaiut* (or *Ycaiut*) mentioned in one Boscana account (1933:31-32) though not in the other (1934); *Ikaiut* and her husband *Sinout* were described as being the parents of *Wiyot*. Boscana translated *Ikaiut* as meaning "that which signifies above"—i.e., the sky. Harrington could only assume that this translation was correct (1933:147, note 75). In a Luiseño version of this myth Darkness and Earth are a brother and sister (with Earth, not Sky, being female) who commit incest and become parents of many things, including *Wiyot* (Boscana 1933:11-12; Harrington 1933:115-116, note 35; DuBois 1906:52-60; 1908:128-148). Another Luiseño version identifies *Wiyot*'s parents as Sky Father (*Tukmit*) and Earth Mother (*Tomaiyowit*). The incestuous affair between a male sky and a female earth is equivalent to the incident involving *Ukat* and *Chukit* in the "northern complex" myth, although the personnel involved are Sky and Earth in the one case and Coyote and Deer in the other. Nevertheless, it seems probable that Boscana's *Ikaiut* was actually a male deity, equivalent to both *Ukat* and *Tukmit*. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that in Luiseño mythology Deer (G. *Cukit*) was thought capable of becoming a

seductive woman at will (White 1963:144).

However, the analogy is weak (if not absent) as far as other members of the "southern complex" are concerned. Among the Cupeño, and the Pass and Desert Cahuilla, the two principal creators are both male, and are called *Mukat* and *Temaiyauit* (or *Tumaiyowit*) (Hooper 1920:317-328; Strong 1929:130-143, 253, 268-270). An incestuous affair does take place, but it involves *Mukat* and his creation Moon (a beautiful woman). For this and other actions, *Mukat* (like *Wiyot*) is poisoned and dies; his body is cremated but Coyote steals the heart.

Cahuilla and Cupeño versions of this myth match previously mentioned Serrano narratives more closely than they do the Luiseño account popularized by Boscana. Here the correspondences would be between *Mukat* and *Kukitat*, and between *Temaiyauit* and *Pak-rokitat*. *Kukitat/Mukat* conceivably could be equivalent to L. *Tukmit* and thus in turn to G. *Ukat*, but this would result in some major problems involving *Wiyot* and *Mukat*; both are described as having been poisoned by the First People—*Mukat* for seducing Moon, while *Wiyot* becomes Moon after he dies (DuBois 1908:135, 148; Harrington 1933:117, note 39). In light of the San Fernando list recording *Veat* (= *Wiyot*) as an important deity, it would appear that Boscana's material (derived from coastal informants) was biased in many ways in favor of Gabrielino rather than Luiseño sources.

The most notable distinction between the "northern" and "southern" complexes involves yet another deity, *Chingichnich*. He appears to have figured prominently among the Gabrielino, Juaneño, Luiseño, Diegueño, and to some extent the Cupeño (DuBois 1908:75-76; Boscana 1933; Waterman 1910:274-275; Strong 1929:324). While *Wiyot* was described as being one of the First People, *Chingichnich* was the creator of modern people. As a "captain of greater power" than *Wiyot*, *Chingichnich* (the

“all-powerful,” “almighty,” and “omnipresent”) taught people how to create rain, influence the dew, and produce various plants and animals. He also taught people the laws by which they were to live, how to build the sacred enclosure, and how to conduct its important rituals; those so entrusted with these powers became a *pul*. Ascending into the sky, *Chingichnich* watched over mankind, sending avengers (bears to bite, serpents to sting), misfortunes, infirmities, or death to chastise those who did not obey (Boscana 1933:29-30, 34-35). Kroeber (1925: 656) has pointed out that this religious concept was totally unique in southern California, and some others have suggested that the *Chingichnich* cult developed as a result of contacts between Europeans and native Californians between A.D. 1542 and 1788, and actually had its origins in one of the world's dominant religions (White 1963:94-95).

The name *Chingichnich* has never been recorded in conjunction with southern Yokuts groups, and Harrington stated that his Kitanemuk informants were not familiar with it either. However, certain general *Chingichnich* parallels did exist among the Kitanemuk, but they involved the deity *Tsúqqit*, the mother of modern peoples, who taught her children how to construct and use the sacred enclosure, and how to perform such important activities as hunting, basketmaking, and so forth. It is probable (though not specifically stated) that she also promulgated the basic behavioral norms, but we do not know if she (like *Chingichnich*) sent avengers to punish those who disobeyed her rules. Latta noted (1949: 210) that the Yokuts believed that an avenging rattlesnake was occasionally dispatched to both punish and spy. The Chumash considered these avenging animals to be the “pets” of Sun (Blackburn 1975), and it is quite probable that the Kitanemuk held similar views. The concept of a vengeful deity who brought culture to man thus does not in itself appear to be a sufficient reason for considering *Chingichnich* unique.

What was unique about *Chingichnich* was that he was viewed not as a member of a pantheon of deities, but rather as the single source from which all power had come to man; it is this aspect that probably had its origins in Christian theology.

There are two accounts of the origin of the complex of beliefs involving *Chingichnich*, both of which state that it developed among coastal peoples. The first account, collected by DuBois (1908:75), relates that the complex originated in the north and was brought from there to the islands of Santa Catalina and San Clemente; from there it spread to the mainland at San Juan Capistrano and then eastward and southward to the Luiseño and Diegueño. The second version, recorded by Harrington (1933: 88), attributes its origin to a place called *Pubunga* in Gabrielino territory, not far from modern Long Beach. Either account places the mainland source south of San Pedro, while DuBois' data suggest that the ultimate origin was someplace north of Santa Catalina Island, perhaps among the Chumash. The latter hypothesis now seems rather unlikely in light of our present knowledge of Chumash mythology and religion (Blackburn 1975; Hudson *et al.* 1977). In fact, while it is possible that the name *Chingichnich* and its synonyms were simply not recorded by the priests at Mission San Fernando, the complex would appear to be largely a creation of the southeastern Gabrielino and their neighbors below San Pedro.

It is conceivable that DuBois' consultant confused the complex of ideas associated with the deity *Chingichnich* with the ritual officers or *publem* (a term said by one informant to be synonymous with *Chingichnich*) who promulgated it. There are a number of corroborative pieces of evidence that can be marshalled in support of this hypothesis. Harrington's Kitanemuk consultants stated (see above) that the religion practiced by the *'antap/yivarakam* was present on the coast among the Chumash, Fernandefño, and Gabrielino, and we have

already noted that it involved a great deal of social, economic, and political interaction. Chumash oral tradition also states that this religion developed on Santa Cruz Island sometime after initial European contact, and spread from there to the mainland (Hudson *et al.* 1977:11, 17-19). It seems reasonable to infer that the *siliyik/yivar* complex originally had a fairly wide panethnic distribution, and that the *Chingichnich* elements incorporated into it southeast of San Pedro were essentially a result of the readaptation of concepts involving Sun and *Cukit*. In short, we suggest that *Chingichnich* represents an historic, nativistic reaction to European intrusion, involving a fusion of the creative figure of *Cukit*, the powerful and vengeful figure of Sun, and elements of Christian theology to form a syncretic native equivalent of "God."

There is some evidence to suggest that many of the religious elements that we have been discussing (such as *Wiyot*, *Chingichnich*, and the *siliyik/yivar* complex) may have been developed out of certain ideological concepts, involving a pantheon of deities, with considerable antiquity in southern California. This hypothesis is based upon the apparent link between the mythic duality expressed in the celestial peon game and the duality in social organization involving sibs/clans and moieties that characterizes much of southern California. The striking parallels between these two cultural subsystems are shown in Table 3, in which data on social organization presented by Strong (1929:341, Table 23) and King (1969:46, Table 4) have been organized according to mythological affiliation. It is readily apparent that kin group membership was closely correlated with peon team affiliation. There naturally were many more sibs than peon players, but it would seem that each such group was associated with one of the important Sky People, and therefore belonged to the same moiety (i.e., Crow, Raven, Rattlesnake, and Bear, as Sun's "pets," would be expected to be

affiliated with the same moiety as Sun).

The correspondences just noted seem more than coincidental, especially if we consider the mythological origins of moieties as well. Among the Serrano, for example, the creator *Pakrokitat* was the being who assigned the people to the various sibs (Gifford 1918:178), while among the Cahuilla it was Moon, a being created by *Mukat*, who performed this task (Strong 1929:136). Gifford believed (1918:117) that the Luiseño had sibs but not moieties, but both Strong (1929:288-289) and White (1963:135) thought that moieties had once existed and were an integral part of Luiseño social structure.

The dualism inherent in the continual interplay between social organization and ritual behavior that characterized so much of southern California is evident in other data as well. The Serrano Coyote moiety, for example, had the ceremonial chief and dance house, while the Wildcat moiety had the *paha* and fetish bundle (Gifford 1918:178-179; Strong 1929:12). It has been suggested that the Luiseño once had a similar arrangement (White 1963:149-157), and a cursory examination of Harrington's notes on southern Yokuts religion indicates that these people may have been organized in the same way. Strong has suggested (1929:291) that moieties were once present from the Miwok south to the Cupeño, but were replaced at an early date along the coast by other social systems. Gifford has argued (1917:217) that a moiety-sib complex was once centered in southern California, possibly among the Gabrielino; outward from this center, sibs were lost to the north and moieties to the east and south. As an alternate hypothesis, Gifford suggested that moieties and sibs might have been separate institutions in their respective areas, with both diffusing into the central region occupied by the Serrano, Cupeño, and Cahuilla. We believe that the links between mythology and social organization discussed above reinforce the suggestion

that sibs/clans and moieties once constituted basic and essentially interdependent elements in social and ideological systems throughout the region under consideration. While a definitive choice between Gifford's two hypotheses might perhaps be premature at this time, it is worth noting that the mythic bases of social organization are reflected more clearly in the structure of the "northern complex" pantheon than anywhere else.

CONCLUSIONS

Over fifty years have elapsed since Kroeber first suggested the existence of a shared pantheon of deities (comprising a "northern complex" distinct from the *Chingichnich* religion) among the Gabrielino, Fernandeano, and southern Yokuts. Quite a few relevant and essentially corroborative data have accumulated in the interval (largely as a consequence of recent

Table 3

ASSOCIATION OF CELESTIAL PEON PLAYERS WITH CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA MOIETIES AND CLANS (Adopted from Strong 1929:341, Table 23; King 1969:46, Table 4)

	Celestial Peon Game Players	Miwok	Western Mono	Combined Yokuts	Salinan	Inezeño Chumash	General S. Calif.	Luišeño	Combined Cahuilla
Moiety A	Sun's Team	Land	Down	Down	Bear	High Tone	Wildcat	Up Wildcat	Wildcat
Moiety B	Earth or Sky Coyote's Team	Up	Up	Up	Deer	Low Tone	Coyote	Down Coyote	Coyote
Sun	Captain, A Sun	A	?	?	?	?	?	?	A
Eagle	Team A Evening Star	A	A	A	?	A	?	A	(B)
Coyote	Captain, B North Star	B	B	B	?	?	B	?	B
Water, Fog	Team B Morning Star	B	?	?	?	?	?	B	?
Deer	Captain, B Earth	B	?	?	B	?	B	(A)	?
Crow, Raven	Team A? Sun's pet	A	A	A	?	(B)	?	A	A
Bear	Team A? Sun's pet	A	?	A	A	A	?	?	A
Wild Cat	?	A	?	A	?	?	A	A	A
Fox	?	A	?	A	?	?	?	?	A
Badger	?	A	?	?	?	?	?	?	A
Lizard	?	A	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Buzzard	?	B	B	B	?	?	?	?	B
Falcon	?	(A)	B	B	?	?	?	?	?

Notes: ? = missing or unknown; () = questionable.

access to John P. Harrington's field notes), with the result that a substantive expansion and amendment of Kroeber's rather sketchy formulation can now be undertaken. The Kitanemuk must clearly be added to the list of groups involved in the "northern complex," while the Serrano should apparently be excluded (Fig. 1). Some southern Yokuts groups adopted elements of the complex and combined them with their own mythology—the resultant blend seems to owe more to central than southern California. The mythological system of the Chumash (like that of the Yokuts) was distinct from that of their Tatic neighbors to the east, although certain broad similarities can be discerned. A pantheon of

Sky People (perpetually engaged in a great celestial peon game whose outcome could affect life and death) was seemingly recognized by both Chumash and "northern complex" peoples.

One of the significant features of this pantheon involved the equation apparently drawn between its more prominent members and certain celestial objects. Moon (a neutral female figure) acted as the scorekeeper for the peon game in the upper world; the Chumash probably equated her with *Datura* (*Momoy*, *Manic*, *Manisar*). Kitanemuk (and to some extent Fernandeno and Gabrielino) data indicate that Sun (*Tameat*, *Tamur*) and (Sky) Coyote or Sky Deer (*Hukaht*, *Ukat*) were

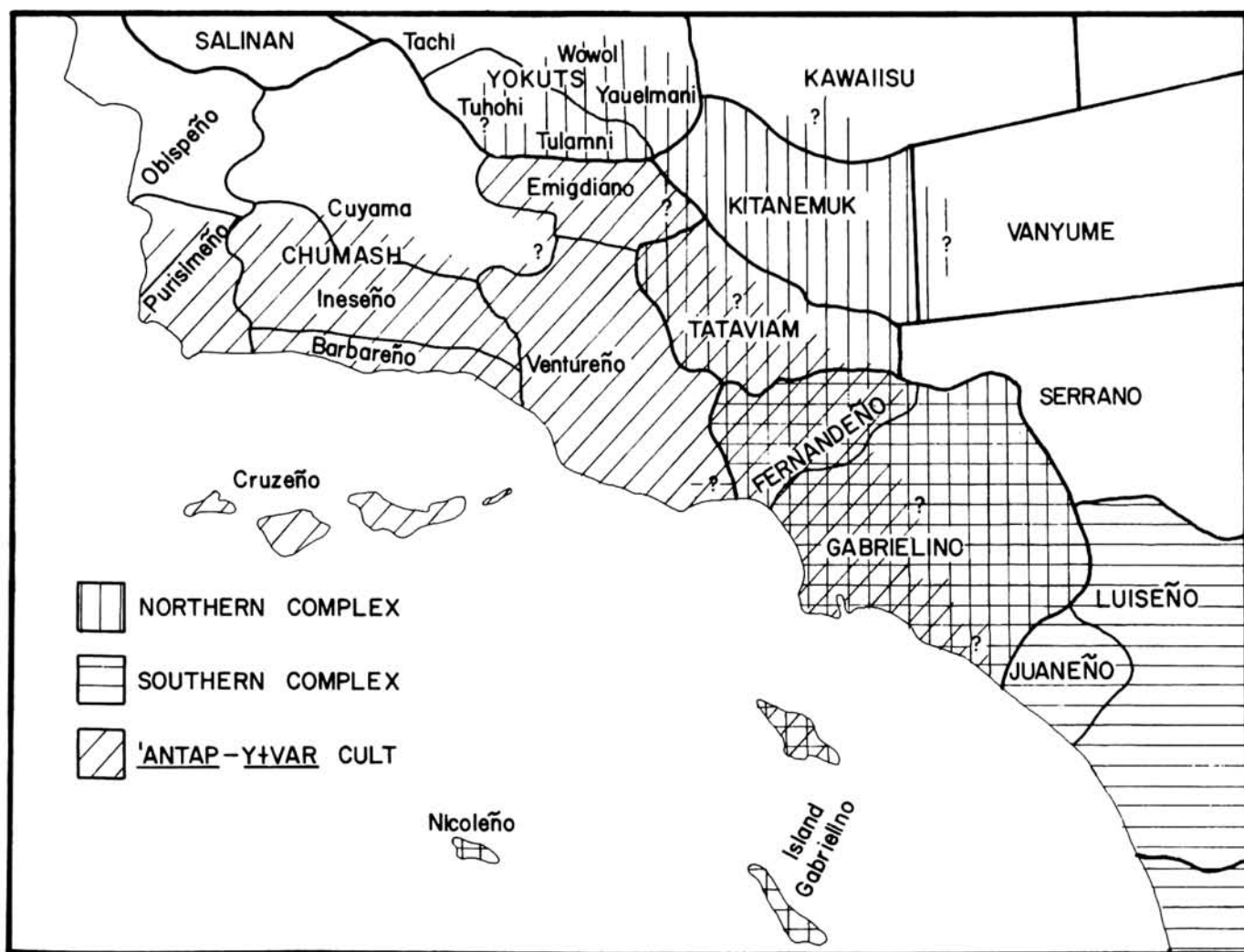


Fig. 1. Distribution of mythic-ritual "complexes" in south-central California.

opposing team captains. *Tsúqqit* (*Cukit*) seems to have symbolized Earth, and for this reason was apparently not considered one of the Sky People. Among the Chumash, the remaining team members were Evening and Morning Star; Morning Star was also equated with the male Two Thunders. In view of other general similarities between the Chumash and "northern complex" groups, it seems likely that the latter also believed that these two celestial objects were players in the peon game, although we can only suggest that they may have been equated with *Yuxaxat* (Evening Star) and either *Pamašyit* or *Pitšurayt* (Two Thunders or Morning Star). *Papamaš* or Swordfish was a prominent being among the Chumash, Fernandefño, and perhaps the Gabrielino, and was considered to be one of *Tsúqqit*'s brothers by the Kitanemuk; it is possible that he may have symbolized or been equated with wind. It can be suggested as well that the division of the Sky People into two opposing teams was closely tied to the dichotomous social organization that characterized many groups in central and southern California. It is conceivable that members of the pantheon were once more widely recognized, since some elements of "northern complex" mythic organization are reflected in the social structures of groups who did not belong to the complex as usually defined; for example, there is some evidence to suggest that Boscana's coastal peoples (whether Gabrielino or Juaneño) retained certain features associated with the pantheon in their mythology.

Some of the most significant religious developments in southern California appear to have taken place among such coastal peoples as the Chumash, Fernandefño, and Gabrielino, with the Chumash playing a leading role. These developments revolved around the *'antap/yívar* cult or religious complex, which appears to have had its origins in a convergence of such mythic and ceremonial elements as sun worship, highly developed mourning

and solstitial rites, and elaborate eschatological beliefs. The Kitanemuk, as a consequence of economic and political ties to groups to the west (Chumash) and south (Tataviam and Fernandefño), acted as intermediaries between the coast and the southern Yokuts. The Luiseño and Cahuilla (on the basis of cognate ritual terms and certain mythic elements) were similarly influenced by the Gabrielino. Coastal beliefs associated with the *'antap/yívar* cult were adopted by many inland groups and combined with older concepts to form a kind of ideological mosaic. Thus it was the coastal groups who were the religious innovators, and the spread of their innovations was ensured by the very fervor and intensity of their ritual interaction. Some of the diagnostic characteristics of this coastal religion included the use of a sacred enclosure, the employment of the bull-roarer and deer-bone whistle in ritual, and cult officers who specialized in the performance of community-oriented ceremonies and (perhaps most importantly) enjoyed reputations for controlling awesome and unprecedented amounts of supernatural power. As one Kitanemuk informant put it, these were the people "who knew all things." It was the *'antap/yívar* cult, not beliefs in *Chingichnich*, that inland groups most associated with the coastal Chumash, Fernandefño, and Gabrielino.

As might be expected, Christian influences on native belief systems seem to have been strongest among coastal peoples; one example of this process might be the Luiseño being *Wiyot*. *Wiyot*, who was known to the Chumash as *Wiwiyit* and to the Fernandefño as *Veat* (= *Wiyot*), may have been equivalent to both the Gabrielino god-child of *Cukit*, *Mac-tutu*, and to the Kitanemuk being *Pituru'*. It seems probable that *Wiyot* was a rather minor figure in the "northern complex" pantheon prior to European contact, and was only accorded some prominence protohistorically as a result of Christian influences. These influences certainly appear to be reflected in

the *Chingichnich* complex, which seems to be a mission period nativistic movement that developed among the Gabrielino. Some facets of the complex suggest that the Gabrielino combined Christian themes with reinterpreted native beliefs in order to create it. The figure of *Chingichnich* was apparently formed by fusing beliefs associated with *Cukit* (the creator of man and his culture) and Sun (a supremely powerful male being). Many of the symbols connected with *Chingichnich* appear to consist of beliefs that were originally associated with Sun (e.g., titles such as *Tamur* and *Tobet*, and Sun's "pets"—who became *Chingichnich* "avengers") and simply reinterpreted in order to accommodate new and radically different religious concepts. This elaboration of beliefs and symbols thus appears to have formed a kind of thin veneer covering older concepts shared to some extent by the "northern complex" Gabrielino and western members of the "southern complex."

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NOTES

1. We have not tried to use a standardized orthography throughout this paper; most transcriptions appear in their original form.

2. It should be noted that linguist William Bright believes *G. tamit* and *tomiar* to be unrelated (personal communication 1978); however, a ritual or symbolic association might still be possible.

3. Chalola may have been the same individual as the Chololo mentioned by one of Harrington's Yokuts informants as a dancer; there is a strong probability that he was also José María Sholola (or Chulula), an older brother of María Solares (Harrington's main Inezeño informant) who lived on the Tule Reservation and reportedly supplied 'ayip (a strong "medicine"—probably alum) to one of Harrington's Chumash informants.

4. However, Harrington has *G. itar* 'coyote' (William Bright, personal communication 1978).

The entire problem is too complex to be fully discussed here. "Deer" is *hukaht* in Kitanemuk but *šukat/šukut* in Gabrielino/Fernandeño. Bright suggests that *Tsúqqit* and its cognates might or might not be derived from the word for deer in some Takic language, although the sound shifts are rather unusual. There has obviously been a great deal of reciprocal borrowing of terms in the area; it is conceivable that the southern Yokuts may have linked *Hukaht* to Coyote. It is also possible that the Kitanemuk recognized two deer supernaturals; Chumash accounts mention the appearance of red and white deer at Mount Piños (Blackburn 1975: Narrative No. 102), and it has been suggested that the Chumash associated the color red with the earth and white with the sky (Hudson and Underhay 1978:146).

5. The phonetic form of these words strongly suggests a Kitanemuk rather than a Yokuts origin.

6. In Luiseño, *paxa* is "red racer snake" and also "a ceremonial official"; there are similar words in other Takic languages (William Bright, personal communication 1978).

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