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King, Chester

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The Names and Locations of Historic Chumash Villages

CHESTER KING

Assembled by Thomas Blackburn

The map of historic Chumash villages that comprises the core of this report began originally with an interest in explaining the distribution of archaeological sites in the vicinity of the Santa Monica Mountains. In 1966, Steven Craig of the UCLA Archaeological Survey visited Berkeley and discovered some of the valuable ethnographic notes collected by the late John P. Harrington. These notes contained, among other things, a wealth of information on Chumash placenames (see Applegate 1974), and I realized that this material might be extremely useful in interpreting data on sites in the Santa Monica Mountains. However, the Harrington notes proved to be less adequate for this region than for adjacent portions of Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties, and so I decided to enlarge my sphere of interest. An important paper by Alan Brown (1967) on the aboriginal population of the Santa Barbara Channel appeared at this time to add another dimension to my own research. Brown used mission registers, journals from early land expeditions, and other historic sources to describe the location and estimated population of many coastal Chumash villages. He also furnished a map showing the approximate location and number of baptisms from some interior Chumash villages. Often the data from Harrington's Chumash informants correlated with Brown's information; in some cases, however, the informants located villages which

Brown had been unable to locate, or provided more detailed data than were available to Brown. In correspondence regarding Chumash village locations, group boundaries, and so on, Brown provided me with further information drawn from mission registers and other important historic sources. I myself located other historic references to Chumash villages, and used available archaeological data to locate them more accurately, determine their size, and observe correlations between the distribution of site concentrations and the distribution of historic villages. Discussions with Richard S. Whitehead, data from his copies of land grant *diseños*, and site data from Lawrence Spanne were also helpful. In 1969, I published a map of "Approximate 1760 Chumash Village Locations and Populations" (King 1969:3-4); the sources used in preparing the map were referenced in detail. A revised version of the 1969 map was included in a later article (King 1971:30) on inter-village economic exchange.

Table 1 provides revised transcriptions from the notes of John P. Harrington for the names of most historic Chumash villages. Harrington used all earlier extant placename lists as well as mission register names to elicit data not volunteered by his informants, and he was able to obtain transcriptions for the great majority of historic and protohistoric settlements. However, in certain cases none of his informants could recognize or identify village

names mentioned in the mission registers; the names of all such villages have been placed in quotes in Table 1 (e.g., "atajes"). The revised orthography used for the Harrington transcriptions of village names is that employed by Richard Applegate, Madison Beeler, and other Berkeley linguists working with the Chumashan languages and the Harrington notes.

Not all of the villages shown on the map were inhabited at the same time. The first list of coastal Chumash villages stems from the Cabrillo expedition of 1542 (see Wagner 1929). Many of these villages had the same name and presumably the same location in 1800 during the period of missionization as they did in 1542 (Harrington 1928). Still others can be located on the basis of data gathered by Harrington or, in some cases, by Alexander Taylor (1860-1863). Table 2 lists the village names mentioned in the Cabrillo accounts and their probable identity in terms of subsequent data. It appears that in 1542 the Goleta Slough towns had different names and presumably different locations. On the basis of archaeological evidence, other villages which were not occupied in the mission period were relatively small (e.g., *Misinagua*, *Aguin*, *Tucumu*).

The next mention of coastal Chumash villages occurs in accounts of the Portolá land expedition of 1769. Fr. Juan Crespi kept detailed diaries describing the location and size of the villages which the expedition passed through in travelling along the Channel coast. Brown prepared his 1967 paper while annotating translations of newly discovered copies of the Crespi diaries. These diaries provide us with the earliest estimates of village sizes along the expedition's route. The diaries of the later Anza expedition of 1776 also list numerous villages; these are not significantly different from those subsequently mentioned in the mission registers.

Brown's work indicates that the population of the Channel area began to decrease shortly after 1769, and that it continued to decrease throughout the mission period. However, the

number of people baptized from different villages does appear to be proportional to the population in 1769. Since mission register data allow the determination of all villages to which neophytes were native, the distribution of mission period settlements provides the most accurate picture of the distribution of occupied villages in the Chumash area during any period of time.

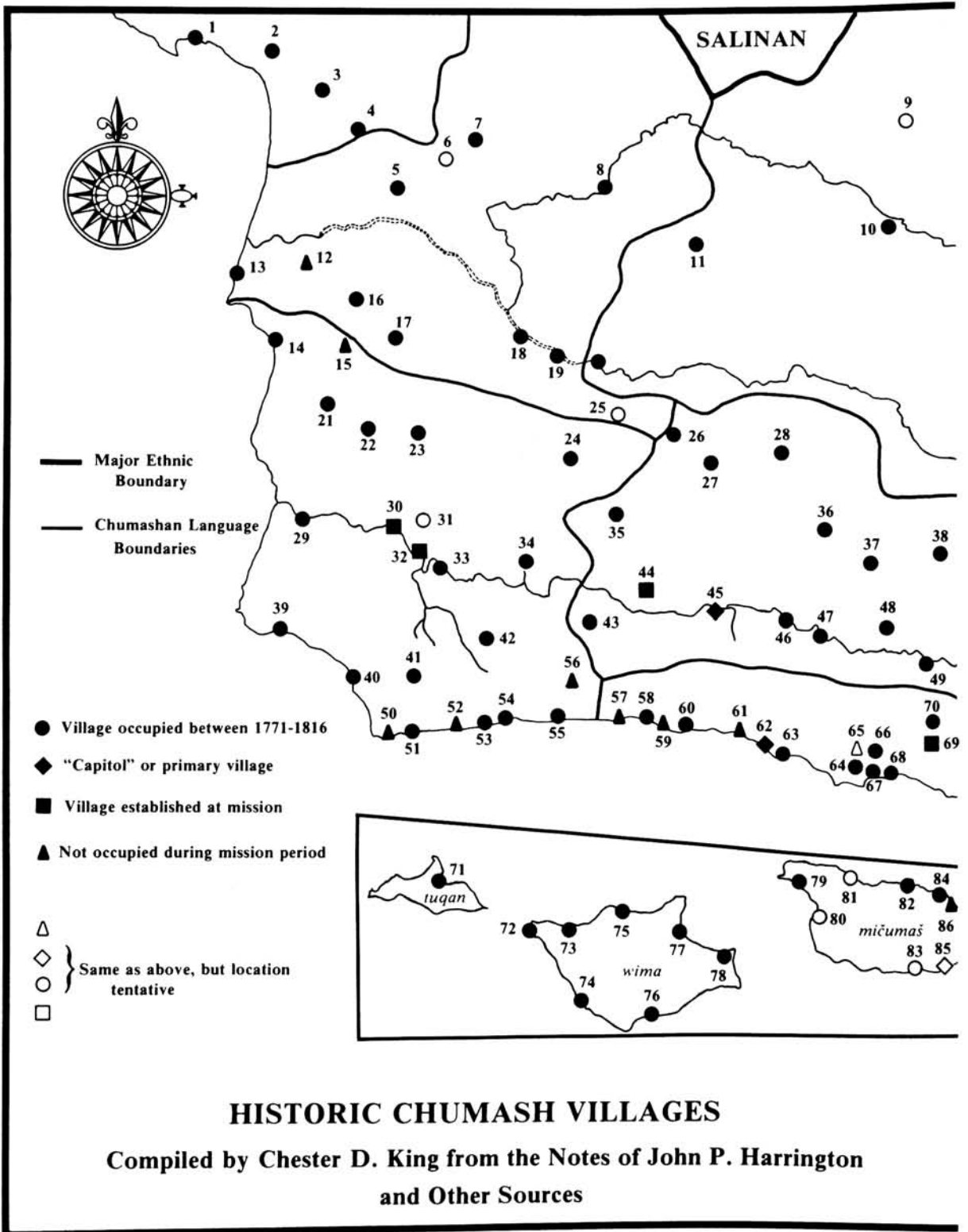
During the later part of the mission period, and even subsequently, some missionized Indians lived at mission sheep or cattle herding *ranchos* or at other locations at which specialized activities related to the maintenance of the missions were carried out. After the secularization of the missions, some Indians established small villages adjacent to Mexican *ranchos*; some were given land grants where small villages were established, or Indians established villages on ungranted land. Post-mission Indian villages are mentioned in contemporary 19th century sources and in Harrington's ethnographic notes; the latter represent my main source for villages of this period. The map presented here is not complete in its depiction of post-mission Chumash village locations.

Population estimates for the Chumash during the early period of intense contact provide our best data for the number of people living at archaeological sites occupied at that time. Further work needs to be done to measure the archaeological remains of early historic villages and describe their internal variability. Brown recognized correlations between site size and early historic estimates of population size. In preliminary research, I have noted correlations between cemetery size, site size, and early historic estimates. It appears that a correlation between cemetery size and site size extends back into a relatively early period in Chumash prehistory, and that at most site clusters only one locus is usually occupied at a given time. The sites occupied in earlier periods are generally smaller or the same size as those of later time periods at the same site cluster.

Table 1

KEY TO MAP

1. <i>šepxato</i>	42. <i>?itiyaqs</i>	83. <i>šawa</i>	124. <i>šalawa</i>
2. <i>pismu?</i>	43. <i>?anaxuwi</i>	84. <i>maščal</i>	125. <i>qoloq</i>
3. <i>šeleqini</i>	44. <i>?alaxulapu</i>	85. <i>liyam</i>	126. <i>mišopšno</i>
4. <i>"temesati"</i>	45. <i>kalawašaq</i>	86. <i>nimatlala</i>	127. <i>šuku</i>
5. <i>nipumu?</i>	46. <i>teqepš</i>	87. <i>lisahux</i>	128. <i>"misnagua"</i>
6. <i>"tsquieu"</i>	47. <i>"elijman"</i>	88. <i>"guelecme"</i>	129. <i>čwayik</i>
7. <i>wasna</i>	48. <i>wišap</i>	89. <i>kuyam</i>	130. <i>quyuy</i>
8. <i>"huenejel"</i>	49. <i>wililik</i>	90. <i>sxenen</i>	131. <i>kamexmey</i>
9. <i>ko?owšup</i>	50. <i>?upop</i>	91. <i>malpwan</i>	132. <i>micqanaqan</i>
10. <i>sxaliwilimu?</i>	51. <i>šišolop</i>	92. <i>tašlipun</i>	133. <i>šišolop</i>
11. <i>heqep</i>	52. <i>lišil</i>	93. <i>takuy</i>	134. <i>"alcui"</i>
12. <i>?alexlele</i>	53. <i>"tehaja"</i>	94. <i>matapxwelexwel</i>	135. <i>?ixša</i>
13. <i>"atajes"</i>	54. <i>kaštayit</i>	95. <i>tinliw</i>	136. <i>"canaputegon"</i>
14. <i>lospe</i>	55. <i>?onomyo</i>	96. <i>kapelušnač</i>	137. <i>sa?aqtikoy</i>
15. <i>kasmali</i>	56. <i>?anawpe</i>	97. <i>čipowhi</i>	138. <i>sisxulkuy</i>
16. <i>?axwapš</i>	57. <i>tuxmu?</i>	98. <i>tacikoho</i>	139. <i>kačantuk</i>
17. <i>?anaquwuk</i>	58. <i>šiš uči?</i>	99. <i>kaštiq</i>	140. <i>šumpaši</i>
18. <i>swei</i>	59. <i>taxiwax</i>	100. <i>ciwikon</i>	141. <i>šimiyi</i>
19. <i>siswa?</i>	60. <i>qasil</i>	101. <i>matapxaw</i>	142. <i>kasunalmu</i>
20. <i>homomoy</i>	61. <i>?axwin</i>	102. <i>piibit</i>	143. <i>kayiwiš</i>
21. <i>saxpilik</i>	62. <i>mikiw</i>	103. <i>"tsnojotso"</i>	144. <i>"lalimanuc"</i>
22. <i>step</i>	63. <i>kuyamu</i>	104. <i>mišip</i>	145. <i>sapwi</i>
23. <i>saqsiyol</i>	64. <i>heliyik</i>	105. <i>siwaya</i>	146. <i>huwam</i>
24. <i>?awašlayik</i>	65. <i>"anacbuc"</i>	106. <i>"snihuax"</i>	147. <i>simomo</i>
25. <i>"guyam"</i>	66. <i>saxpilik</i>	107. <i>šnaxalayiwiš</i>	148. <i>muwu</i>
26. <i>?asaka</i>	67. <i>helo?</i>	108. <i>matilha</i>	149. <i>saptuhuy</i>
27. <i>soxtonokmu?</i>	68. <i>?alka?aš</i>	109. <i>?awhay</i>	150. <i>hipuk</i>
28. <i>hawamiw</i>	69. <i>kaswa?</i>	110. <i>sis</i>	151. <i>talopop</i>
29. <i>lompo?</i>	70. <i>mismatuk</i>	111. <i>seqpe</i>	152. <i>?alqilkowi</i>
30. <i>laxšakupi</i>	71. <i>tuqan</i>	112. <i>kaštu</i>	153. <i>lisiqsihi</i>
31. <i>stipu</i>	72. <i>"nemxelxel"</i>	113. <i>kamulus</i>	154. <i>"sumawawa"</i>
32. <i>"amuu"</i>	73. <i>"nyakla"</i>	114. <i>xanayam</i>	155. <i>loxostoxni</i>
33. <i>šipuk</i>	74. <i>"nawani"</i>	115. <i>sulukukiy</i>	156. <i>sumo</i>
34. <i>šahuču</i>	75. <i>silimihi</i>	116. <i>kašomšomoy</i>	157. <i>humaliwo</i>
35. <i>xonxoni ata?</i>	76. <i>nilalhuyu</i>	117. <i>somis</i>	158. <i>kaxas</i>
36. <i>?aqicum</i>	77. <i>xičwin</i>	118. <i>mupu</i>	159. <i>lu?upš</i>
37. <i>stuk</i>	78. <i>qšiqšiw</i>	119. <i>alalhew</i>	160. <i>swaxil</i>
38. <i>saqaya</i>	79. <i>čološiš</i>	120. <i>maxaxal</i>	161. <i>nanawani</i>
39. <i>noqto?</i>	80. <i>"geluascuy"</i>	121. <i>kimišax</i>	
40. <i>šilimaqštuš</i>	81. <i>talakaya?mu</i>	122. <i>ta?apu</i>	
41. <i>xalam</i>	82. <i>lalale</i>	123. <i>syuxtun</i>	



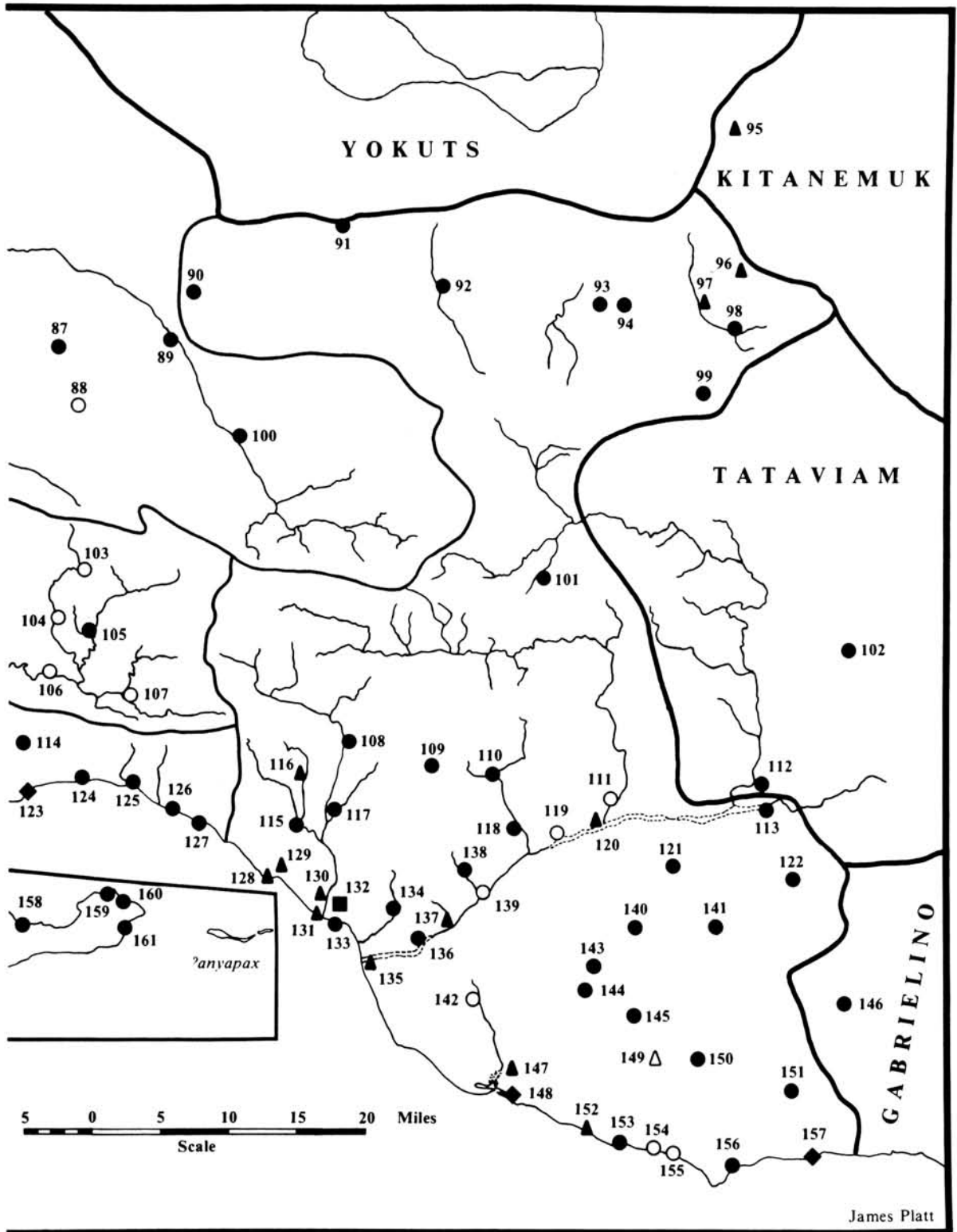


Table 2

CABRILLO PLACENAME IDENTIFICATIONS

Cabrillo Name	Identification	Comments, Sources ¹
1. <i>Mugu (Pueblo de las Canoas)</i>	<i>Muwu</i> (#148)	Brown 1967:3.1.24. JPH: <i>muwu</i> ; Henshaw: <i>muwu—la boca del estero</i>
2. <i>Quelqueme ?</i>	<i>Wene?mu</i>	Kroeber suggests g for q— <i>welweme</i> —JPH: <i>wene?mu</i> , in historic period a temporary camp; the point had calm water and was nearest point to islands. Midden in area.
3. <i>Misinagua</i>	<i>Misnagua</i> (#128)	Brown 1967:3.1.22. "A woman from <i>Sucu</i> baptized at the place of <i>Misnagua</i> , alias <i>los Pitos</i> "
4. <i>Xuco</i>	<i>Šuku</i> (#127)	Brown 1967:3.1.21. JPH: <i>shukuw</i> = Rincon
5. <i>Bisopono, Misesopono, Garomisopono</i>	<i>Mišopšno</i> (#126)	Brown 1967:3.1.20. JPH: <i>mishopshno</i> = La Carpentería
6. <i>Coloc, Alloc</i>	<i>Qoloq</i> (#125)	Brown 1967:3.1.19. JPH: <i>k'olok'</i> = estero of La Carpentería
7. <i>Xabagua, (Xagua ?)</i>	<i>Šalawa</i> (#124)	Brown 1967:3.1.18.
8. <i>Xocotoc, Ciacut, Ciucut, Ytum (Puerto de Sardinias)</i>	<i>Syuxtun</i> (#123)	Brown 1967:3.1.17. JPH: <i>sjuqtan</i> —ra. at old Burton place (is an Isleño name = <i>promontorio</i>). <i>Wot</i> of <i>sjuqtun</i> was <i>wot</i> of district from Dos Pueblos to <i>mishopshno</i> . See also Calif. Archives 22:281. Next to <i>presidio</i> is most powerful <i>temi</i> [chief] of the channel, <i>Yanonalit</i> , who commands thirteen rancherías in 1782.
9. <i>Potoltuc, Partotac, Paltocac (Paltatre ?)</i>	<i>Paltuqaq</i>	Taylor 1860: <i>Partocac</i> or <i>Paltocac</i> = the Indian cemetery on the mesa of the Goleta farm (near historic <i>?alka?aš</i> , #68?). JPH: <i>paltukak</i>
10. <i>Anacbus, Nacbus</i>	<i>Anacbus</i> (#65)	Taylor 1860: <i>Anacbus</i> or <i>Anacarck</i> —near the islet of La Patera near the sea shore. (Near historic <i>heliyik</i> , #64?)
11. <i>Gua</i>	<i>Qwa</i>	JPH: Mezcalan Island was called in the Dos Pueblos language <i>kwa'</i> . Taylor 1860: <i>Chuah</i> —Chumash village at La Goleta. (Near historic <i>helo?</i> , #67)
12. <i>Quanmu, Quiman</i>	<i>Kuyamu</i> (#63)	Brown 1967:3.1.12. JPH: <i>kujamu</i> —one of Dos Pueblos. Brown concludes it was probably the smaller of the two, on the east side of the creek
13. <i>Aguin</i>	<i>?Axwin</i> (#61)	Taylor 1860: At the beach of Los Llagos Cr. JPH: <i>'aqwin</i> = El Estiladero 200 yds. west of La Llagas Cyn—had provisional or temporary ra. thereabouts—under <i>mikiw</i> (#62)

Table 2 (Continued)

Cabrillo Name	Identification	Comments, Sources
14. <i>Casalic</i>	<i>Qasil</i> (#60)	Brown 1967:3.1.9. JPH: <i>kasil</i> —rancheria on west side of Cañada del Refugio. <i>kasil</i> = word of Cruzeño language
15. <i>Susuquei</i>	<i>Šiš uči?</i> (#58)	Brown 1967:3.1.7
16. <i>Tucumu</i>	<i>Tuxmu?</i> (#57)	Henshaw: <i>Tujmu</i> = Arroyo Hondo; Taylor 1860: <i>Tucumu</i> = playa of Arroyo Hondo; JPH: <i>tugmu</i> = Arroyo Hondo
17. <i>Xexo</i>	<i>Šišolop</i> (#51)	In Cabrillo narrative this is village under Cabo de Galera, Pt. Concepcion. Kroeber identifies it with historic <i>shishilop</i> (Cojo) near Pt. Concepcion. Brown 1967:3.1.3.
18. <i>Nocos, Anacot, Anacoat?</i>	<i>Noqto?</i> (#39)	Brown 1967:3.1.1. JPH: 'anokto = Pedernales
San Miguel Island		
19. <i>Tocane</i>	<i>Tuqan</i> (#71)	Henshaw: <i>Tukan</i> —San Miguel Island. See also La Purísima Mission records. JPH: <i>tukan</i> = San Miguel Island
20. <i>Nimollollo</i>		La Purísima Mission records: <i>Niuoimi cerca de Toan</i>
21. <i>Çico (Çiquimmuymu)</i>		Cabrillo = San Miguel?
Santa Rosa Island		
22. <i>Nicalque (= S. Rosa)</i>	<i>Nyakla</i> (#73)	Mission records: <i>Nia-cila</i> ; Henshaw: <i>Niakla</i>
23. <i>Nicochi, Nichochi</i>	<i>Xičwīn</i> (#77) ??	Henshaw: <i>Hichewen</i> ; Mission records: <i>Itxémén</i>
24. <i>Coycoc, Coycoy</i>		
25. <i>Estocoloco, Coloco</i>	<i>Qoloq</i> (#125) ??	
Santa Cruz Island		
26. <i>Mazul</i>	<i>Maščal</i> (#84)	Henshaw: <i>Mashchhal</i>
27. <i>Nimitapal</i>	<i>Nimitlala</i> (#86)	Henshaw: <i>Nimitlala</i> = El Rancho Grande; JPH: <i>nimitlala</i> —Fernando Librado thinks it means <i>muy centro</i>
28. <i>Xagua</i>	<i>Šawa</i> (#83)	Henshaw: <i>Shawa</i> — <i>En direccion al sur</i> ; Mission records: <i>Chuchahua</i> ; JPH: Fernando's grandfather said that the <i>shawa</i> were Refugio (<i>kasil</i>) Indians who founded a colony on S. Cruz at place called <i>shawa</i>

Table 2 (Continued)

Cabrillo Name	Comments, Sources
29. <i>Niquipos</i>	
30. <i>Nitel</i>	
31. <i>Macamo</i> (<i>Micoma</i> and <i>Maquinonoa</i> ?)	Kroeber suggests <i>m</i> for <i>l</i> ? = <i>Lacayamu</i> ; Henshaw: <i>Mas al oeste—Kl'a-ka-a-mu</i> (#81)

Residual Villages Not Well-Located or Identified

First Mainland List

- A. *Elquis* JPH: *helqe'lel* = Montecito Hot Springs—people from *šalawa* associated with this place—people of *helqe'lel*
- B. *Asimu*
- C. *Incupu* Kroeber suggests *Humkaka*, Point Conception (= *kumqaq*)

Second Mainland List

- D. *Maquinonoa*
- E. *Olesino*
- F. *Opia*, *Opistopia*
- G. *Macoma* See No. 31 above
- H. *Caacac* Kroeber suggests *Ciucut*, *syuxtun* (#123)

Some of the placenames ascribed to San Salvador or Limun are listed for Santa Catalina in the San Gabriel Mission records and all probably refer to villages on this island. *Miquescoquelua*, *Poele*, *Pisqueno*, *Pualnctup*, *Patiquiu*, *Potiquid*, *Ninmu*, *Muoc*, *Pilidquay*, *Lilibeque* are all said to be on San Salvador or Limun.

Important historic villages not mentioned by Cabrillo but lo-

cated in the otherwise thoroughly recorded Santa Barbara coast area include *šišolop* (#133), *saxpilil* (#66), *mikiw* (#62), and *ʔonomyo* (#55). The absence of these villages is significant in light of the preceding identifications and archaeological evidence discussed in my forthcoming paper on historic and protohistoric archaeology in the California volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. James Platt for exercising his fine cartographic skills in my behalf, converting an often corrected rough draft into a finished map.

NOTE

1. References to Brown (1967) follow the format set forth by Alan Brown in his publication. They have been used here in that manner because they aid in cross-referencing within Brown's paper.

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