

RITUAL AND RELIGION IN THE OHLONE CULTURAL
AREA OF CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

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December 2015

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RITUAL AND RELIGION IN THE OHLONE CULTURAL AREA OF CENTRAL
CALIFORNIA

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ABSTRACT

RITUAL AND RELIGION IN THE OHLONE CULTURAL AREA OF CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

by Douglas A. Jones

This thesis is an analysis of aspects of ritual and religion based upon reports from archaeological sites throughout the historical territory of the Native American peoples grouped by ethnographers under the term Ohlone, as well as other relevant sources of ethnographic, historical, and biographical information. Through research and review of recorded site documentation, as well as consultation with local archaeologists, three sites which clearly and extensively represent aspects of Ohlone religious life were identified and described in detail. This included type sites for mortuary practices, rock art, and cosmology/archaeoastronomy. The compilation and analysis of this material generated important information regarding an as-yet poorly understood aspect of prehistoric life in the Central California area, as well as potentially providing insight into the role of ritual and religion in California more generally.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people I would like to thank for their assistance in completing this thesis. First and foremost I need to thank my wife, Jamie, without whom I would never have finished this work, who provided constant encouragement, comment, suggestions, and boundless patience during countless evenings of research and writing.

My committee chair, Marco Meniketti, worked with me through the many changes to, and iterations of, this thesis. The other members of my committee, Charlotte Sunseri and Chuck Darrah, provided much needed advice, directed me to important sources, and provided space within their courses to allow me to develop this work.

Robert Cartier, whom I have studied under and worked for over many years, provided many of the archaeological reports, monographs, and other materials upon which this thesis was built, as well as suggestions and motivation throughout the process.

Finally, thanks to the many other faculty members and students at San Jose State University, family, and friends, who informed my ideas and fostered my interest in archaeology.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Specific Objectives	2
Objective #1: Literature Review	3
Objective #2: Case Studies	3
Objective #3: Synthesis and Conclusions	3
Mortuary Practices	4
Rock Art	5
Ohlone Cosmology, Mythic Geography, and Archaeoastronomy	8
Case Studies	9
Overview of Bay Area Prehistory	9
Chapter 2: Methods	15
Research Design	15
Research Methodology	16
Review of Historical, Ethnographic, and Archival Sources	18
Case Studies of Three Archaeological Sites	19
Statistical Methods	25
Chapter 3: Literature Review	26
Theoretical Orientation	26
Religion and Ritual	26

Conceptions of Hunter-Gatherer Religion: Totemism, Animism, and Shamanism	32
Theoretical History	35
Overview of Historical Sources on Ohlone Ritual and Religion	38
European Explorer's Accounts, 1542-1776.....	38
The Portola Expedition, 1769	39
The Fages Expeditions, 1770 and 1772	40
The Rivera-Palou Expedition, 1774.....	41
The Voyage of the San Carlos, 1775	41
The Anza-Font Expedition, 1776.....	43
Mission Documents, 1776-1830	44
The Interragatorio, 1812	44
European and American Traveler's Accounts, 1786-1847	45
The Account of La Perouse, 1786.....	45
The Rezanov and Langsdorff Accounts, 1806	46
The Golovnin Account, 1818.....	48
The Beechey and Peard Accounts, 1827	48
The Duhaut-Cilly Account, 1827	49
American Period Histories	49
Overview of Ethnographic Sources on Ohlone Ritual and Religion	51
Chapter 4: Results of Case Studies	57
The Lick Mill Boulevard Site: CA-SCL-6W	57

Burial data.....	59
Cluster.....	60
Disposal.....	60
Sex.....	62
Age.....	62
Condition.....	62
Position	63
Disposition	63
Orientation	63
Facing.....	64
Articulation	64
Associated burials	65
Grave associations	65
The Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park Site: CA-SCL-35/111	70
The Circle of Circles Site: CA-SCL-341	82
Chapter 5: Synthesis and Conclusions.....	89
Animism.....	90
Shamanism.....	90
Totemism.....	92
Sweat Houses	93
Taboos	94
Tobacco and Other Drugs	95

Dances.....	96
Mortuary Practices.....	97
Rock Art.....	99
Cosmology/Mythology/Mythic-Geography/Archaeoastronomy.....	100
Critique of Sources	101
Future Research	103
References.....	105
Appendix I: Collections and Journals Reviewed.....	118
Appendix II: Full Quotations from Primary Sources.....	125

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. List of Sources	17
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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of California Native American Tribal Territories (adapted from Heizer, 1978)	11
Figure 2. Ohlone Language Groups at the time of European Contact (adapted from Levy, 1978)	12
Figure 3. Overview map of the Lick Mill Boulevard, Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park, and Circle of Circles case study sites	20
Figure 4. Spanish Missions established within the Ohlone Cultural Area.....	45
Figure 5. Map showing location of Lick Mill Boulevard site.....	58
Figure 6. Burial Location Map at CA-SCL-6W (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1990)	60
Figure 7. Charmstone isolates recovered from CA-SCL-6W (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1990)	68
Figure 8. Map showing location of Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park site	72
Figure 9. Sketch of Petroglyph #2 (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1992)	73
Figure 10. View of Petroglyph #2, on display at Chitactac/Adams County Park (photo taken by author May 7, 2015)	74
Figure 11. Plan view of rock art features at Chitactac/Adams County Park (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).....	75
Figure 12. View of cupules on a bedrock outcropping at Chitactac/Adams County Park (photo taken by author May 7, 2015).....	76
Figure 13. Map showing location of Circle of Circles site	83
Figure 14. Aerial Photography with an overlay showing the arrangement of circular foundations at CA-SCL-341 (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1980)	85
Figure 15. View of a single circular foundation at CA-SCL-341 (photo taken by author October 17, 2008)	86

Chapter 1: Introduction

Prehistoric religious and ceremonial practice has often been of significant interest to archaeologists; however, due to its cognitive and abstract nature, interpretation of religious sites and materials has always been problematic. Owing largely to widespread cultural destruction during the Mission period and beyond, the religious and mythological beliefs and practices of the Ohlone Indians of Central California are poorly understood. Data pertinent to an understanding of Ohlone ritual and religion are present in the historical and ethnographic record, and have been gathered from many archaeological sites throughout Central California; however, to date, little synthetic information has been generated based upon these important sources of cultural information.

This thesis is an analysis of aspects of Ohlone ritual and religion based upon reports from archaeological sites throughout their historical territory, as well as other relevant sources of ethnographic, historical, and biographical information.

The analysis of aspects of Ohlone religion and ceremony from historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources within the Ohlone cultural area sheds light on a significant aspect of Ohlone life only slightly understood. The ethnographic record on Ohlone ritual and religion is sparse, and that which exists has rarely been integrated into a broader context. The *Costanoan* article in Volume 8 of the Handbook of North American Indians devotes just over one-half of a page to the topic (Levy, 1978).

The Ohlone were not a single homogeneous group, and some areas within the Ohlone territory are better documented than others. A recent document by a local

archaeologist re-iterates this lack of documentation, specifically in regard to the Santa Clara Valley:

Not a single ritual story or complete ritual practice was ever recorded for the native people of the Santa Clara Valley. Nor can we interpolate their specific ritual practices from the scraps of information available about other Costanoan people living to the north and south...we can describe Santa Clara Valley Mythology and ritual practice only in general terms which hold true for all Central California's natives. (Hylkema & Bethard, 2007, p. 58)

Thus, a broad and systematic analysis of ritual and religious culture from within the Ohlone cultural area has the potential to provide valuable information on a poorly understood yet highly significant topic in Central California prehistory.

Ohlone ritual and religion is perhaps less extensively described than that of other California tribes; however, many other coastal (and some interior) Native Californian groups were heavily impacted by missionization as well as disease and other factors which limited later ethnographic documentation of their ways of life. It is hoped that in addition to providing a particularistic description of Ohlone religious practices, this study will generate information pertinent to a more general comparative understanding of California Native American ritual and religion, as well as articulate with modern trends in the archaeological study of religion within a broader context.

Specific Objectives

This section briefly describes the research strategy for this thesis, discussing three specific objectives: a broad literature review of sources relevant to the topic, the identification and description of three case studies, and synthesis of these materials to draw conclusions regarding Ohlone ritual and religion.

Objective #1: Literature Review. I gathered historic and ethnographic sources on Ohlone ritual and religious activities in a format suitable for integration and analysis: as described above, this involved extensive research into archival documentation on Ohlone ritual and religious practices. Much data which previously existed in a fragmentary form were gathered for the purpose of placing ritual and religion within the broader context of Ohlone life ways.

Objective #2: Case Studies. Through research and review of recorded site documentation, as well as consultation with local archaeologists, three sites which clearly and extensively represent aspects of Ohlone religious life were identified and described in detail. This included type sites for mortuary practices, rock art, and cosmology/archaeoastronomy.

Objective #3: Synthesis and Conclusions. From these materials, I attempted to derive a synthetic analysis of Ohlone Ritual and Religion as evident in the historic, ethnographic, and archaeological record: the information gathered from documentary sources, as well as that which was drawn from the archaeological record was integrated to provide a broad window upon Ohlone religious life. I attempted to generate a more detailed description and analysis of Ohlone ritual and religious activities than that which had previously been available to archaeologists and other researchers.

Three major categories of material particularly pertinent to an analysis of Ohlone ritual and religion were selected as the focus of this study: mortuary practices, rock art, and cosmology/archaeoastronomy. Each of these aspects of Ohlone religious life is discussed individually below:

Mortuary Practices

Mortuary practices have often been a focus of archaeological research, and can be a very rich source of information on cosmology and religion (O'Shea, 1984). Like many other peoples, the Ohlone sometimes buried material possessions with their dead, and these materials often appear to have a religious significance.

Any given individual burial has myriad attributes, several of which are commonly considered in describing a burial and then comparing it to other burials, whether within a single site, or across broad regions or multiple chronologies. Often the first attribute considered is location, the spatial placement of a burial within the context of a site (Parker Pearson, 1999). Another burial attribute often considered significant is orientation; generally this is described as the cardinal direction in which the head of the burial is pointing (Parker Pearson, 1999). A third aspect is position; within Central California archaeology burials are most frequently described (e.g. Bennyhoff, Fredrickson, & Hughes, 1994; Lilliard, Heizer, & Fenenga, 1939) as being either in flexed position (with the limbs bent and tightly pulled in), extended position, or an intermediary between the two (semi-flexed, semi-extended, etc.). Disposition describes the side on which the deceased was placed within the grave: face-up (often described as dorsal or supine), face down (ventral, prone), or on either the left or right side. Other aspects of the treatment of the body itself, including body ornament, body painting, and mutilation all appear to have a direct, if often esoteric, relation to ideology and cosmological concepts.

Within the Central California Taxonomic System (C.C.T.S.) (Beardsley, 1948; Gerow & Force, 1968; Heizer & Fenenga, 1939; Lilliard, Heizer, & Fenenga, 1939), certain burial attributes, most notably position, orientation, and specific types of grave associations were closely associated with different chronologies. In Breschini's (1983) summation of these materials it is noted that during the Early Horizon "...burials are found in predictable fashion (extended, face down, and oriented westerly)" in the Middle Horizon "...typical were tightly flexed burials on the side or back with no particular orientation" and in the Late Horizon "...cremation was the usual method of disposal of the dead, but some flexed and extended burials were found" (Breschini, 1983, p. 20). However, more recent chronological models (e.g. Fredrickson, 1974; King & Hickman, 1973; Milliken et al., 2007) emphasize a much more finely grained regional and temporal complexity.

Rock Art

Rock art can be divided into two broad categories: petroglyphs, which are carvings made into the stone itself, and pictographs, which are paintings generated through the application of pigment to the surface of the stone. Both types of rock art are represented within the Ohlone cultural area; however, petroglyphs are far more prevalent. Although Ohlone rock art has been documented within the Bay Area since the 1970s, very little comprehensive analysis of these works has been performed, and the area is underrepresented in standard works on rock art in California (Fentress, 1994). Thus, although significant early studies of California rock art were carried out by Steward

(1929) and Fenenga (1949), information on the coastal portion of Central California was not included in either of these works.

For much of the 20th century, rock art research was viewed as a marginal aspect of archaeology, at least in the English speaking world. However, interest and emphasis on rock art has seen a major revival in recent decades, particularly as recent studies have demonstrated its potential for improving understanding of the religious and symbolic systems of ancient peoples (Chippendale & Nash, 2004; Chippendale & Tacon, 1999; Gilreath, 2007; Keyser & Whitley, 2006; Lewis-Williams, 2002; Whitley, 2011). Rock art in the Central California region has also received more serious attention in the past 20 years than it has since the early 20th century (Crespin, 1999; Gillette, 2009; Gillette, 2011; O'Brien, Gillette, & Kelly, 2005). The vast majority of rock art throughout the world was created within some form of ritual context, and thus rock art research can be viewed as an archaeology of religion.

Although the focus of rock art research is generally upon the products of rock art creation—the rock art panels themselves—it is important to realize that the materials and processes involved in the creation of rock art often had religious significance for those involved in their creation. Paint or pigments used in the manufacture of pictographs, for example, could have symbolic and religious importance. In parts of Native California, pigment was only traded by shamans (Whitley, 2011). Whitley argues that “...rock art production is best understood not so much as technological manufacture but as ritual action. The creation of rock art was commonly a ritual act, and its associated symbolism

involved much more than the graphic image, which is the remnant archaeological record of this behavior” (Whitley, 2011, p. 33).

As it does in the Chitactac/Adams site presented as a case study in Chapter 4 below, rock art generally occurs not as an isolated feature, but as one component of a broader archaeological context. This may include everything from a rich habitation deposit to sparse traces of the activities involved in the creation and use of the rock art site. Rather than being understood in isolation, it is important that rock art description and interpretation take into account this important source of contextual information.

The ethnography of rock art is another important aid to its interpretation. In instances where rock art has continued to be made and used into the ethnographic present, this data can provide a rich insider's perspective into the meaning of historic and proto-historic rock art features. However, even if little or no direct ethnographic data regarding rock art is present within the area of study (as is the case for the Ohlone cultural area), a broad review of rock art ethnography can provide insight into the methods and meaning behind rock art among other traditional cultures, and models for possible interpretation within the cultural milieu under consideration. An understanding of the general ethnographic data provides “...a series of competing hypotheses that can be evaluated for any empirical case” (Whitley, 2011, p. 109).

The interpretation of rock art has often been a contentious subject. Some authors have argued that as we have no access to the thoughts of their creators, little or no interpretation is possible (Bednarik, 2011). However, Whitley argues that rock art can be seen as a symbolic system, and as such has a social function. One part of that function

“...was to communicate ideas and concepts to other people in the absence of its creator” (Whitley, 2011, p. 102).

Ohlone Cosmology, Mythic Geography, and Archaeoastronomy

Those hints that we have regarding Ohlone concepts of cosmology derive primarily through mythology. An Ohlone creation myth, as well as several other stories documenting the activities of Coyote, Eagle, and Hummingbird have been documented by ethnographers such as Kroeber and Merriam.

The term mythic geography is used here to denote that aspect of a culture’s system of cosmology which interprets areas within the physical geography of their environment in terms of their mythology or other religious ideas.

As did many people throughout the world, the Ohlone viewed certain geographic areas within their territory as having mythical or ritual significance. One example is Mount Diablo in Contra Costa County, which was viewed by many of the native peoples of the east Bay as being the center point of the universe (Fentress, 1994; Ortiz, 1989). Other specific geographic locations were considered significant as the appointed location of certain ceremonies. Many groups also view certain areas as taboo, and these areas are persistently avoided.

Archaeoastronomy is the study of how earlier peoples understood the night sky, and the role this understanding played on their cultural ideas and practices. Research on archaeoastronomy is scarce within the Ohlone cultural area; however, one site in particular, CA-SCL-341, known as the Circle of Circles site, has been identified as potentially containing a significant astronomical element (R. Cartier, personal

communication, 2009). Further research on the placement and orientation of elements of this site may yield data which supports this supposition.

Case Studies

Three archaeological sites containing particularly significant or relevant examples of material pertaining to these topics are examined in detail, and presented as case studies: the Lick Mill Boulevard Site (CA-SCL-6W), the Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park Site (CA-SCL-35), and the Circle of Circles Site (CA-SCL-341). Each case study will focus on one of the three categories described above, while also discussing aspects of the site relevant to an understanding of the other two categories, and Ohlone ritual and religion more generally.

The study of ritual and religion is a longstanding and central aspect of archaeological research. Mortuary practices, rock art, and cosmology/archaeoastronomy are all topics which have been addressed in some cases in regards to individual archaeological sites, yet have not been integrated into a broader context. The analysis of historical, ethnographic, and archaeological evidence of Ohlone religious life provides the opportunity to generate important information regarding an as-yet poorly understood aspect of prehistoric life in the Central California area, as well as potentially garner insight into the role of ritual and religion in California more generally.

Overview of Bay Area Prehistory

The Native American inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay regions from the Golden Gate south to Point Sur in Monterey County, like many other groups in California, had no recognition of group identity or a general name. Anthropologists

grouped them together based upon shared aspects of language and culture, and designated them by names such as Costanoan (or Costano), and Ohlone. Derived from a Spanish word, Costanoan means "people of the coast," and was the name most frequently used in early 20th century ethnographic research. Most descendants of these people prefer to refer to themselves as "Ohlone," and it is now the generally accepted term (Figures 1 and 2).

The Ohlone were hunters and gatherers who made use of only native plants and animals, with the exception of one domesticated animal: the dog. Despite this, the great natural abundance of their natural area allowed them to settle in semi-sedentary villages. The Ohlone were organized in basic political units that consisted of 100 to 250 members. These communities, smaller than a traditional tribe but larger than a kinship based band, were described by Kroeber as "tribelets" (Kroeber, 1966). Each of these groups was an autonomous social unit consisting of one or more permanent villages with smaller villages in a relatively close proximity (Kroeber, 1962). Foraging and hunting parties traveled out from the villages throughout the tribal territory to obtain food and other resources.



Figure 1. Map of California Native American Tribal Territories (adapted from Heizer, 1978). The Ohlone territory has been highlighted.



Figure 2. Ohlone Language Groups at the time of European Contact (adapted from Levy, 1978).

The proximity of numerous ecological zones in the Ohlone cultural area, including the San Francisco and Monterey Bays, the fertile Santa Clara Valley, and the coastal foothills, made a diversity of resources available during different seasons to the native inhabitants. In the winter, the low-lying flats near the San Francisco Bay had abundant marine and waterfowl resources, while the surrounding mountainous areas were utilized more during the summer for their nuts, seeds, and mammalian resources (King & Hickman, 1973). One of their primary food sources was acorns, abundant in autumn and easily stored for consumption throughout the year.

Bean & Lawton (1976) argue that the abundance of plant and animal resources in California and the development of ingenious technological processes allowed Native Californians to develop complex social structures beyond the normal parameters of hunting and gathering. These include extensive political systems, controlled production and redistribution of goods, and alliances and trade with other groups.

Milliken (1995) highlights the central place of religion in social organization for the Ohlone. “Each tribe tailored the thematically similar religious concepts of the region to its own specific landscape, so that myth and ceremony became a unique constitution for local sovereignty. In fact, each tribe might be thought of as an independent, landholding religious congregation” (Milliken, 1995, p. 13).

Although operating as independent political units, multiple communities would gather throughout the year for events such as trade feasts and regional dances. These regional dances, known as “Big Times,” strengthened economic and social integration within a broader area: “Regional dances provided opportunities to visit old friends and

relatives from neighboring groups, to share news, and to make new acquaintances. People traded basket materials, obsidian, feathers, shell beads, and other valuable commodities through gift exchanges” (Milliken, 1995, p. 24).

The remainder of this thesis examines the topic in more detail. Chapter 2 describes the research design and methodology used, as well as outlining the specific objectives of this study. Chapter 3 will provide a brief background on theoretical approaches to ritual and religion in anthropology and archaeology, and discusses definitions of key terms. This is followed by brief reviews of historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources pertinent to Ohlone ritual and religion. Chapter 4 consists of three detailed case studies, each looking at a specific archaeological site within the Ohlone cultural area, and focused on a particular aspect of Ohlone religious life. The final chapter attempts to synthesize the data presented, and discuss conclusions which may be drawn from these materials, as well as suggesting avenues of potential further research.

Chapter 2: Methods

Research Design

Although a great many prehistoric Ohlone sites have been documented throughout Central California, little detailed information regarding Ohlone ritual and religion has been generated. In large part, this can be attributed to the paucity of early ethnographic accounts of Ohlone religious life, due to the drastic and tragic changes wrought in Ohlone society by the missionization process (Milliken, 1995). However, modern archaeological methods allow many inferences regarding ritual religious activities to be discerned based upon the archaeological record. Thus, this study includes an analysis of Ohlone archaeological sites identified as containing religious or ritualistic elements, and attempts to generate a synthetic report documenting and interpreting these materials.

Detailed research was carried out on archival sources of information on the Ohlone, including historical, ethnographic, and archaeological materials. These sources were searched for references to ritual and religious activities and beliefs, broadly defined, including topics such as mortuary practices, rock art, mythology and cosmology, dances and regalia, shamanic healing and medicine, sweat lodges, taboos, and superstitions.

Two previous works were of particular assistance in identifying historical and ethnographic sources on the Ohlone. The first was *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area 1769-1810* by Randall Milliken (1995). In addition, many of the documentary sources, both historical and ethnographic, on the Ohlone were previously gathered in the work *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research*

Guide by Lauren Teixeira (1997). However, many additional sources, some not yet available in English translation when these excellent resources were published, were included in the material reviewed as part of this thesis.

Research Methodology

Several avenues were pursued in gathering the historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources utilized in this report. Multiple collections of historic, anthropological, and archaeological works and other data were consulted as part of background research for this report.

The indexes of a wide array of journals were reviewed for articles relevant to the report topic. These journals and collections were selected based upon multiple criteria such as regional focus (historical, anthropological, and archaeological journals focusing on defined areas such as California, the western coast of North America, or the American west more generally), and relevant topical foci (e.g. historical explorer's accounts, rock art). Table 1 lists these materials. Brief descriptions of these sources are given in Appendix I. Individual articles which were cited are listed in the references section of this report.

Table 1. List of Sources

Collections		Journals	
Name	Years Published	Name	Years Published
SJSU ScholarWorks Anthropology Collection		<i>American Anthropologist</i>	1888-Present
Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology		<i>American Antiquity</i>	1935-Present
Special Reports and Occasional Papers of the Society for California Archaeology		<i>American Indian Quarterly</i>	1974-Present
Newsletters of the Society for California Archaeology	1992-Present	<i>The American Journal of Archaeology</i>	1885-Present
The American Journeys Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society		<i>The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History</i>	1944-Present
University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnography	1903-1964	<i>California Archaeology</i>	2009-Present
Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility	1965-2007	<i>California Historical Society Quarterly</i>	1922-1970
Collection of Manuscripts from the Archaeological Archives of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology		<i>Current Anthropology</i>	1959-Present
University of California Anthropological Records	1937-1973	<i>The Hispanic American Historical Review</i>	1918-Present
Postprints from Department of Anthropology, UC Berkeley	1929-2003	<i>Journal of Anthropological Archaeology</i>	1982-Present
Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History Vol I-IV	1909-1919	<i>Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory</i>	1994-Present
Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association	1987-Present	<i>Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology</i>	1974-Present
Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology	1877-1971	<i>Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly</i>	1965-Present
Online Archive of California: Finding Aid to the Hubert Howe Bancroft: Records of the Library and Publishing Companies	1864-1910	<i>Pacific Historical Review</i>	1932-Present
		<i>Rock Art Research</i>	1984-Present
		<i>Wičazo Ša Review</i>	1985-Present

Review of Historical, Ethnographic, and Archival Sources

The earliest historical sources which describe interactions between the Spaniards and the native population of the Ohlone are the letters of the Vizcaíno Expedition in 1602-1603. However, substantive descriptions of the Ohlone of relevance to the topic were not given until the Portola Expedition of 1769. By 1770, Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo was founded (the first within the Ohlone territory, and the second within all of Alta California).

Although often hostile to or uninterested in the native religion of the Ohlone, missionaries during the Spanish period nonetheless produced a small amount of literature describing their religious practices. Of particular note is the “Interrogatorio” of 1812, which included multiple questions of relevance to an understanding of Ohlone religious life, and was answered by several missions within the Ohlone territory. Another set of historical sources from the Mission Period researched for this report are the descriptions given by many European visitors to the missions.

Later historical sources such as the accounts of early American settlers, American Period state and local histories, newspaper articles, census materials, and other official documents were also reviewed where relevant to the research topic.

Due at least partially to a bias towards what were seen as more “authentic” Indian groups in California less drastically affected by European influence, early ethnographic documentation of the Ohlone is sparse in the anthropological literature. However, those sources which could be identified were reviewed and analyzed. This included material

by prominent anthropologists such as Alfred Kroeber, C. H. Merriam, and most notably J. P. Harrington.

An archival background search was conducted at the Northwest Information Center of the California Historical Resources Information System (CHRIS) in January of 2015 in order to obtain recorded site records, studies, reports, and monographs associated with CA-SCL-6W, CA-SCL-35 and CA-SCL-341.

Case Studies of Three Archaeological Sites

After archival review of the literature, a review of archaeological sites within the Ohlone traditional homeland containing materials significant from a religious or ritualistic standpoint was carried out. This process led to an identification of type sites for individual examples of religious materials from the broad categories of mortuary ritual, rock art, and cosmology/archaeoastronomy.

The type sites (Figure 3) were selected based upon their ability to convey each aspect of religious life investigated in this thesis. In so much as possible, I attempted to select sites that included a significant number of relevant artifacts or other archaeological material, as well as detailed previous documentation and analysis. This allowed a comparative approach to be taken within each site, contrasting different features and previous interpretations. Thus, the primary attribute desired in a type site for mortuary ritual was a large and varied burial population. Similarly, an optimum type site for rock art should include both large quantities and multiple varieties of rock art. In identifying a type site for cosmology and archaeoastronomy, I looked for a site where the distribution

and layout of significant archaeological elements may have had some connection to these topics.

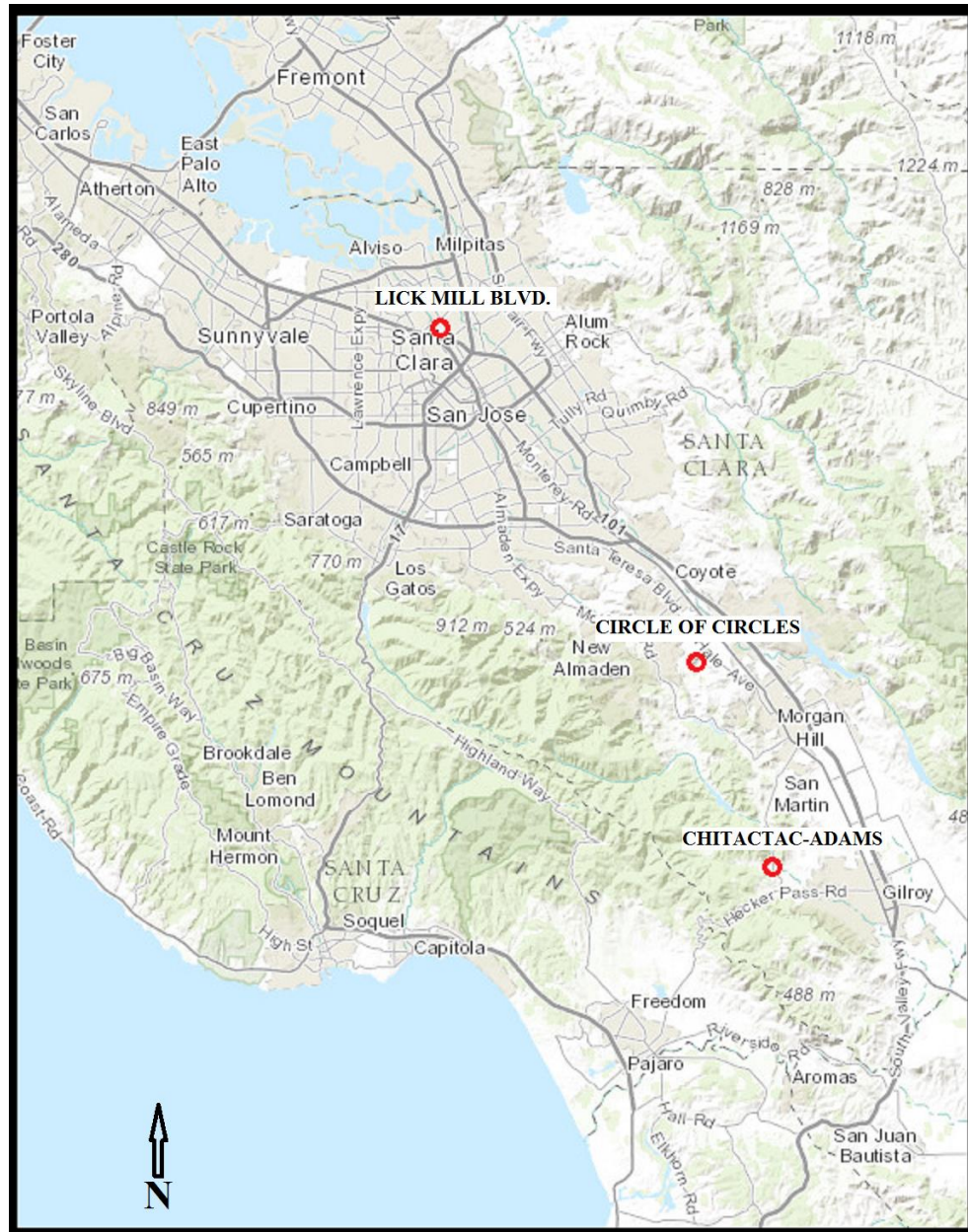


Figure 3. Overview map of the Lick Mill Boulevard, Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park, and Circle of Circles case study sites.

Three sites were selected and are presented here as case studies: the Lick Mill Boulevard Site (CA-SCL-6W), the Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park Site (CA-SCL-35), and the Circle of Circles Site (CA-SCL-341).

The Lick Mill Boulevard Site, CA-SCL-6W, is a large habitation site with an attached cemetery situated along the Guadalupe River within present day Santa Clara. In 1989 a major portion of the site was threatened by the construction of Lick Mill Boulevard, and a salvage archaeology program was developed by Archaeological Resource Management (ARM) to mitigate the impacts of this project. During the course of this program, 140 Native American burials, as well as associated artifactual materials, were recovered. The field work took place between March 20 and August 17, 1989, with the majority of the burials (136) being excavated in a five week period of intense fieldwork between March 21 and April 29, 1989. Dr. Robert Cartier of ARM acted as field director, and field crews included additional ARM staff as well as students from the Archaeological Field Class from Cabrillo College, under the direction of Dr. Rob Edwards.

The impacted area of the site was extensive (over 9,290 square meters). Controlled mechanical excavation under the direction of the archaeologists was carried out using graders to scrape the area in thin layers. When possible human bone or discolored soils were encountered, hand-excavation was undertaken to determine the presence or absence of a burial. When burials were encountered, they were defined and exposed through further hand-excavation. Isolated human bones or very small portions of burials were recorded as isolates. Whole burials, burials in which a majority of

skeletal elements were present, crania, and any burial with artifact associations were given burial numbers and recorded on burial record forms. The horizontal and vertical locations of each burial were recorded and mapped by professional surveyors employed by the City of Santa Clara.

Osteological measurements and other data were gathered using sliding and spreading calipers, as well as an osteometric board for long bones. Cranial and post cranial measurements, as well as odontological analyses were carried out. The osteological analysis included determinations of stature, life stress, sex, and age (Santa Clara Archaeological Society, 1993).

The Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park Site (CA-SCL-35/111) consists of multiple habitation sites with an extensive rock art component including both cup-and-ring and cupule petroglyphs. Multiple excavations have been carried out within this site complex, including an excavation of CA-SCL-57 by Cabrillo College in 1968, under the direction of G. O'Bannon, an augering program carried out by Dr. Robert Cartier within CA-SCL-35 (Archaeological Resource Management, 1994), and a larger testing program completed by Dr. Robert Cartier (Archaeological Resource Management, 1995) consisting of twenty 1 x 1 meter testing units. Several additional studies have been carried out either on the petroglyphs themselves, or in the interpretive park constructed to present them to the public. The first was carried out by Newman & Mark (1986) and entitled "Uvas Creek (CA-SCL-111): A Unique Petroglyph Site in the San Francisco Bay Area, California." This report includes no formal methodology; however, it is primarily descriptive in character, giving information on three cup-and-ring petroglyphs, their

placement, and number of rings, as well as providing both photographic and artistic renderings of the petroglyphs. The authors also attempt to place them within a broader context of petroglyph sites in the California and Great Basin region.

The next study of the petroglyph site was carried out by Archaeological Research Management (1992). This study, entitled “Cultural Resource Evaluation of the Adams School Site Project in the County of Santa Clara” is broader in scope, including descriptions of the subsurface prehistoric site, previous excavations, the historic components of the site, and a dedicated section on rock art. Several additional cup-and-ring petroglyphs, bringing the total to eight, are documented in this report. Each of these petroglyphs were mapped and located along bearings, degrees, and distance from a National Geodetic Survey Datum. The cupule petroglyphs are also briefly discussed.

A second brief paper was completed on the rock art of the site by Mark & Newman (1993). This paper, “Computer-Graphics Assisted Recording Uvas Creek Petroglyph site” documents the process of mapping the cup-and-ring petroglyphs, tracing them in the field onto thin plastic sheeting, then digitizing them on a graphics tablet. Some of the cupule petroglyphs were also mapped physically, then plotted electronically for graphical display.

A second report completed by Archaeological Resource Management (1995) on the site was entitled “Phase II Archaeological Testing Report and Determination of Eligibility: Chitactac-Adams Heritage County Park Improvement.” The portion of this report which deals with the rock art element of the site consisted of documentation of the

petroglyphs using California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) rock art record forms as well as limited photographic documentation.

Gillette & Johns (2002) report on the site is entitled “Chitactac-Adams Heritage County Park: A Model for Interpretation.” This report documents the development process and implementation of a multi-component interpretive program created for the park including both historic and prehistoric elements.

Only one study has been carried out on the Circle of Circles site (CA-SCL-341), which consists of a complex of circular stone formations situated on top of a midden deposit. This monograph (Archaeological Resource Management, 1980) is entitled “Early Cultures and Rock Features of the Santa Teresa Hills.” This report documents the discovery of the site, preliminary field analysis by multiple archaeologists, and completion of DPR site records. A more in-depth archaeological documentation program was developed, consisting of aerial photography and an intensive surface collection.

The aerial photography was carried out on September 9, 1978, by Air Photo of Palo Alto, CA, and consisted of nine-inch negative format photographs at a scale of approximately 1:2,300. Magnified prints were created at a scale of 1:175. A second set of aerial photographs was then carried out using both black-and-white and color infrared film. The black-and-white photographs were captured at an elevation of only 250 feet above the knoll top, producing prints at a scale of 1:116.

The surface documentation and collection was carried out by twelve volunteer archaeologists who crawled on hands and knees over ten-meter grids. The field archaeologists marked the location of artifacts and their relation to the rock features,

recorded written descriptions of the artifacts, and collected diagnostic artifacts including projectile points as well as whole and spire-lopped *Olivella* shells and beads for laboratory analysis.

Each case study included several elements. The first consists of the background of the site, including the dates and methods of discovery and original documentation. This is followed by detailed description of the site and its elements. Significant artifacts, features, and other elements of the site are then discussed in detail, and where possible, relevant artifact illustration and photography is provided. The ritual or religious interpretations of the site by the original and later authors are then described, followed by discussion and critique of these interpretations. Finally, my own conclusions, informed by the historical and ethnographic data reviewed, are given.

Statistical Methods

Statistical methods were utilized in this thesis to examine data from CA-SCL-6W (the Lick Mill Boulevard Site). Burial attributes were selected based upon the data reported in the burial record forms completed during the salvage excavation program completed in 1989 (Archaeological Resource Management, 1990). Each relevant burial attribute was standardized, coded, and entered into a database using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 23). Basic descriptive statistics for the burial population were generated from this database, consisting of a univariate analysis of distribution for each attribute (Drennan, 1996).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Theoretical Orientation

Religion and Ritual. The study of ritual and religion has been a part of archaeology throughout its history. During the mid-20th century, processual archaeology had a tendency to focus on more tangible aspects of prehistoric life. In the late 20th century, post-processualists began looking more closely at the place of ideology in society; however, studies of hierarchy and agency often garnered more attention than ritual and religion.

In contrast, recent years have seen a flowering of renewed interest in the topic, and several major edited volumes on the archaeology of ritual and religion have been published since the beginning of the 21st century (Fogelin, 2008; Insoll, 2004; Insoll, 2011; Kyriakidis, 2007; Wesler, 2012; Whitley & Hays-Gilpin, 2008). These volumes bring a wide range of theoretical and methodological expertise to the topic, representing a broad spectrum of viewpoints within current archaeological thinking.

One major difficulty in the archaeological investigation of religious activities is the concept of religion itself. The question of what constitutes religion, and what (material culture, activity, locale, graphical depiction, etc.) should be considered “religious” in nature is far from firmly established. *The Penguin Dictionary of Religion*, for instance, declines to give a specific definition for the term “religion” itself, stating that dictionary definitions such as “human recognition of superhuman power,” “belief in God,” or “any system of faith or worship” are “often circular, prejudiced, or so general as

to be useless” (Hinnells, 1984, p. 270). The following sections provide a brief overview of the history of the anthropological study of religion from the 19th century to the present.

Anthropological thought on religion during the 19th century was strongly colored by the unilineal evolutionary paradigm of Herbert Spencer, Lewis Henry Morgan and E. B. Tylor. The evolutionists drew a direct link between technological progress and social progress (including the development of religion). In general the evolutionists held that the “lower” or “savage” races were characterized by simplistic religious or magical ideas, characterized as “element worship” by Morgan (1877) and “animism” by Tylor (1920). As social and technological life progressed, more complex forms of religious expression, such as polytheism, and finally monotheism were developed. E. B. Tylor (1920) famously posited a minimum definition of religion as “belief in spiritual beings” (p. 424).

The Golden Bough by Sir James George Frazer was of considerable influence on anthropological thinking about magic and religion at the turn of the 20th century. Frazer portrays the intellectual history of mankind as moving through three stages: magic, religion, and science. He described magic as in many ways more similar to science than religion; in Frazer's words magic's “...fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the appropriate spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired result...” (Frazer, 1922, p. 49). Durkheim (1915/1964) distinguishes magic from religion socially;

religion is always the domain and concern of the community, whereas magic was performed on an individual basis, largely for individual gains.

The distinctions made by early 20th century anthropologists between “magic” and “religion” were thus etic in nature, based upon a western theoretical conception of the place and function of these activities or beliefs within society. Although the separation of magic and religion into different conceptual categories led to great theoretical fecundity, for the purposes of this study many activities which may have been classified by earlier anthropologists as “magic” (most notably witchcraft and shamanism) are considered within the broad umbrella of religious life, due to their use of ritual and their ties to Ohlone cosmological concepts.

The broadest influences on the academic study of religion from a social science (rather than theological) standpoint during the later portion of the 19th and early 20th centuries were the works of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber. Marx was highly critical of religion; his often quoted statement that “religion is the opiate of the masses” is drawn from his Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1994, p. 57). His main sociological contribution to the study of religion is the concept (echoed by Durkheim and Weber), that religion is an inverted reflection of reality; it is a mirror of society, rather than of God.

In Durkheim's primary work on religion, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915/1964), he defines religion as “...a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who

adhere to them” (Durkheim, 1915/1964, p. 47). He further elaborates on the idea of religion as a reflection or idealization of society itself: “Before all, it is a system of ideas with which the individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members, and the obscure but intimate relations which they have with it” (Durkheim, 1915/1964, p. 225).

As did Marx, Max Weber presented an analysis of religion from a largely materialist standpoint. Aiming for a scientific understanding of religion, in his *Sociology of Religion* (1963/1993), linking the origin and development of religion to a people's pursuit of material interests. He characterized early religious leadership and control as grounded in individual charismatic authority, gradually evolving into codified tenets and dogma.

Despite (and in many ways due to) never having developed an overarching theory of religion, the ideas of Franz Boas were fundamental in the development of anthropological thought on this topic. In direct contrast to the evolutionary schemes of his 19th century forebears, Boas directed the anthropological study of religion (along with all other elements of culture) away from grand theories and towards a historical particularism grounded in the study of individual cultures on their own terms. Boas rejected the idea that “primitive” forms of religion, and social life more generally, were predicated on less rational minds; he stated that “There is no fundamental difference in the ways of thinking of primitive and civilized man” (Boas, 1938, p. v). Among Boas' most prominent students was Alfred Kroeber, whose prominent role in the anthropology and archaeology of California is detailed elsewhere in this thesis.

Anthropological thought on religion during the early to middle 20th century was influenced by various schools of functionalism, as advocated by Bronislaw Malinowski and A. A. Radcliffe-Brown, which examined religion as one of many social institutions which served the function of maintaining the society as a whole. Through an organic analogy, society was viewed as an organism, with individuals as cells, and social institutions as organs. As did Weber, Malinowski viewed religion as an institution which developed to serve the needs of individuals. In contrast, Radcliffe-Brown de-emphasized individual needs, portraying society as a cybernetic system in which religion and other institutions operated to maintain a form of homeostasis. The conception, originally presented by Frazer, of magic as the science of “primitive” humanity was further elaborated by Malinowski in *Magic, Science, and Religion, and Other Essays* (1948).

Another prominent functionalist whose work has bearing on the anthropology of religion was E. E. Evans-Pritchard. His work *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1976) revolves around the idea that within this society, witchcraft, and its contingent elements, function as an internally coherent system with its own complex logic. This work is also notable for its situating of Azande beliefs within the then-ongoing changes wrought by British colonial rule in the region. Evans-Pritchard looks at religion more broadly in *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965). He critiques evolutionary and psychological conceptions of religious development, with their emphasis on unobservable “origins” as mere speculative storytelling. Like Boas, he advocated for extended fieldwork and detailed ethnographic study as the basis for reliable cultural data.

Claude Lévi-Strauss originated the school of anthropological thought known as structuralism; which utilized methods drawn from linguistics to categorize, situate, and generalize cultural concepts (such as kinship terms) into units whose relations were uniform and predictive. Although his early work focused on kinship, much of his later work attempted to apply a structuralist analysis to mythology. He noted that although the content of the myths of any given culture may seem fantastic and arbitrary, the myths of many cultures are remarkably similar. Thus he posits, the thinking which generates these myths must be subject to universal laws. Primary among these laws, as Lévi-Strauss saw them, was binary opposition and resolution: “mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 224).

Another structuralist work of this period relevant to the study of religion is *Purity and Danger* (1966) by Mary Douglas. She deals extensively with the topic of taboo, looking at different cultural conceptions of the sacred, the clean, and the unclean. Much of her argument hinges on the notion that that which in a given society is socially constructed as “dirt” or unclean, impinges upon mental conceptions of order; being either out of place or straddling categorical boundaries.

In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz provides his own definition of religion: “(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic” (Geertz, 1973, p. 90).

Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah argues that the common modern understanding of religion in terms of beliefs and explanation is ultimately derived from the enlightenment focus on its more rational and intellectual aspects: "...from a general anthropological standpoint the distinctive feature of religion as a generic concept lies not in the domain of belief and its 'rational accounting' of the workings of the universe, but in a special awareness of the transcendent, and the acts of symbolic communication that attempt to realize that awareness and live by its promptings" (Tambiah, 1990 p. 6).

The question of what constitutes ritual is a complex and highly debated topic within archaeology, and anthropology more generally. Contemporary anthropological literature often emphasizes the idea of ritual as performance (Bell, 2009).

Recently, Joyce Marcus (2007) described ritual as consisting of eight components: performers, an audience (whether human or spiritual), a location, a purpose, meaning/subject matter/content, a duration, actions, and goods or paraphernalia. Only two of these elements, location and goods or paraphernalia are likely to be directly recovered archaeologically. Other elements, such as actions, and aspects of the performers and audience must be approached through inference.

Conceptions of Hunter-Gatherer Religion: Totemism, Animism, and Shamanism. A "totem" is defined by Hinnels (1984) as "an animal or plant species, or other natural phenomenon, regarded as specifically related to the origin, welfare and or organization of a human (usually descent) group" (p. 336). The term "totemism" was coined by John Ferguson McLennan in his work *The Worship of Animals and Plants* (1869, 1870). The concept was further elaborated by E. B. Tylor (1899).

The early 20th century saw a wave of major studies of totemism by many of the most significant social thinkers of the period including Emile Durkheim (1901), James Frazer (1910), Alexander Goldenweiser (1910), Andrew Lang (1911), and Sigmund Freud (1918/1919).

During the mid-20th century the topic was treated extensively in the anthropological literature including contributions by Malinowski (1948), Radcliffe-Brown (1952), and Lévi-Strauss (1964). Although less discussed since that period, totemism is still a concept employed in archaeological discourse today (e.g., Coulam and Schroedl, 2004).

Totemism is most often discussed in terms of kinship systems and social organization; however, the identification of groups and individuals with particular animals (or less frequently plants and other natural phenomena) is often tied into mythic history, and thus relevant to an understanding of cosmology.

Animism is “the belief that a spirit (or spirits) is active in aspects of the environment” (Hinnells, 1984 p. 43). Tylor devoted an entire chapter of “Primitive Culture” to the concept of animism, which he viewed as the earliest, most basic form of religion, and present in the historical development of all cultures (Tylor, 1920, p. 426). He felt that animism consisted of two basic premises: (1) individual creatures possess souls capable of continued existence after death or bodily destruction; and (2) spiritual beings, ranging from simple spirits to powerful deities, effect or control the events of the material world. He stated that “...Animism in its full development, includes the belief in

souls and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship” (Tylor, 1920, p. 427).

The concept of animism largely fell out of favor among anthropologists from the early 20th century onwards, seen as closely associated with the evolutionist paradigm of the late 19th century; however, some recent papers have begun to reconsider the topic (Bird-David, 1999; Brown & Walker, 2008; Porr & Bell, 2012) with a focus on animism as a belief system imbuing non-human agents with potency and qualities of personhood. Although somewhat critical of this viewpoint, Porr and Bell (2012) note that “To a certain extent, ‘animism’, in its updated and recent form, seems to be currently regarded as a most valuable concept to approach non-Western material expressions and practices by an increasing number of authors” (p. 163).

Perhaps the most widely read popular book on the Ohlone is *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* by Malcolm Margolin (1978). Although he was not trained as an ethnographer, Margolin's book is commonly assigned in college courses, and his vivid descriptions of Ohlone life inform many people's understanding of the Ohlone as a people. In this work, Margolin describes Ohlone spirituality almost exclusively in terms of animism, and notes the central place it held in their daily lives: “...for the Ohlone and other Indians [animism] was central to their understanding of how the world worked. Everything had intelligence, willfulness, and power, everything demanded a personal relationship” (Margolin, 1978, p. 141).

As defined by Hinnels (1984), a shaman is “One whose supernormal powers as a practitioner of the sacred (e.g., as healer, seer, or conductor of souls) are attributed to

contact with spirits when in an ecstatic state” (p. 293). The term shaman (and the broader system in which their activities and beliefs are situated, i.e., shamanism) are ultimately derived from *saman*, the word for a particular type of ritual practitioner among the Tungus of Siberia (Eliade, 1964). Other Siberian peoples employed different terms for ritual specialists who performed similar roles. Western social scientists then applied the term more generally (Kehoe, 2000). Thus shamanism is a conceptual construct consisting of beliefs and ritual practices throughout many areas of the world viewed as comparable to those found in Siberia (Hutton, 2001). Just as some authors have described native Californian religion as “animism” others have characterized it as “shamanism” (Harrington, 1942; Bean, 1992).

Thus it is perhaps more correct to say that animistic and shamanistic elements made up a portion of the spectrum of Ohlone religious life, recognizing that both concepts are etic constructs, applied (in part) as a means to categorize particularistic religious activities. Hutton (2001) notes that even within Siberia, “the specialists designated by this range of names were rarely at the center of traditional social or religious life” (p. 47).

Theoretical History

Methods akin to what would become known as the direct historical approach have been used by archaeologists since the early 20th century. The term was coined by W. R. Wedel in a paper titled *The Direct-Historical Approach in Pawnee Archaeology* (1938). However, it was Julian Steward who published a paper in 1942 entitled “The Direct Historical Approach,” which first presented a fully elaborated explanation of the logic

and methods of this approach. Steward described the logical underpinnings of the approach as essentially very simple: “working from the known to the unknown” (Steward, 1942, p. 337). This method primarily consists of identifying a current or historically documented population and tracing known aspects of their “cultural complexes” from the historic into the proto-historic and ultimately into prehistory.

One brief paper by Dr. Christopher Hawkes of Oxford University in 1954 would have a lasting impact on archaeological method and theory on both sides of the Atlantic. In “Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World,” Hawkes laid out a theoretical diagram which would come to be known as his “Ladder of Inference” (although never given this name by Hawkes himself). He began with the seemingly simple notion that, at least when unaided by textual/historical sources, archaeological reasoning must proceed from direct examination of physical cultural remains, or material culture, towards an understanding of the people who manufactured them: “It is from the comparison of archeological phenomena that one’s reasoning must proceed, inductively, to the human activity that has produced them. This is what I conceive to be the process of pure archeological inference” (Hawkes, 1954, p. 157).

The more abstract and removed from the physical environment the human activity being studied was, Hawkes felt, the more complex and difficult the archaeological reasoning needed to move from material culture to cultural understanding. Thus he stated that inference from archaeological phenomena to the techniques of their production was the simplest form of archaeological reasoning. To move from material remains to an understanding of the “subsistence-economics” of a culture was more difficult, but still, in

Hawkes' words “fairly easy” (Hawkes, 1954, p. 161). Inferring the social/political institutions of a culture from material remains involves considerably more complex and difficult reasoning. Finally, at the topmost rung of Hawkes' ladder, comes inferring from material remains to *religious institutions and spiritual life*: “In general, I believe, unaided inference from material remains to spiritual life is the hardest inference of all” (Hawkes, 1954, p. 162).

In a seminal paper in *American Antiquity* in 1962 entitled “Archaeology as Anthropology,” Lewis Binford laid out his argument for a new understanding of archaeology as systems-based science of material culture, viewing artifacts not simply as objects to be categorized, placed, and dated within chronological models, but understood in terms of their cultural context. He drew distinctions between three broad classes of artifacts. *Technomic* artifacts have “...their primary functional context in coping directly with the physical environment” (Binford, 1962, p. 219). *Socio-technic* artifacts are “...the material elements having their primary functional context in the social sub-systems of the total cultural system” (Binford, 1962, p. 219). In other words, artifacts which serve to enact the social/political systems of a culture. The final category of artifacts described by Binford, and the ones most relevant to the current study were termed *ideo-technic*. These artifacts:

...have their primary functional context in the ideological component of the social system. These are the items which signify and symbolize the ideological rationalizations for the social system and further provide the symbolic milieu in which individuals are enculturated, a necessity if they are to take their place as functional participants in the social system. Such items as figures of deities, clan symbols, symbols of natural agencies, etc., fall into this general category. (Binford, 1962, p. 219-220)

As the above section noted, many, if not almost all, artifacts of religious or ceremonial significance can be viewed as symbols themselves, or as having symbolic meaning. Among the most influential anthropological analyses of the concept of symbols was that first presented by Clifford Geertz in his *Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).

Overview of Historical Sources on Ohlone Ritual and Religion

The following section summarizes the relevant materials gathered from historical sources including the early Spanish explorers, the missionaries, European and American visitors to the missions, and American period accounts and histories. Copies of full quotes on religious and ritual topics are included in Appendix II.

European Explorer's Accounts, 1542-1776. The earliest European explorers to travel the central California coast were the expeditions of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542 and Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595. Both of these expeditions sighted Monterey Bay and sailed past, but failed to sight, San Francisco Bay. However, neither made landings in the area, and no contact was made with Native Americans within the Ohlone cultural area, although Cermeño's expedition had interactions with the more northerly Pomo.

In 1579 Sir Francis Drake sailed along the coast of California in the *Golden Hind*, and his journal describes a landing on June 17th of that year and interactions with the native peoples. He claimed all of North America north of Mexico for England, calling it Nova Albion. The location of this landing is disputed; however, it is often identified as Point Reyes, north across the San Francisco Bay from Ohlone territory, among the neighboring Coast Miwok (Drake, 1906).

The first European explorer's known to have made direct contact with the Ohlone were with the expedition of Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602-1603. The expedition arrived in Monterey Bay on the 16th of December, 1602 and remained there until January 3rd, 1603. Diaries of the journey by both Vizcaíno himself and Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a Carmelite friar, describe their encounters with the Rumsen Ohlone. Both Vizcaíno and Fray Ascension's accounts makes only a very brief mention of the native inhabitants of Monterey Bay, commenting on their large population. Vizcaíno states that “The land is thickly populated with numberless Indians, of whom a great many came several times to our camp” (Vizcaíno, 1916, p. 92).

The Portola Expedition, 1769. Over one hundred and fifty years would pass before the next recorded European encounter with the Ohlone peoples. In 1769 Gaspar de Portola led a Spanish expedition which traveled by land up the Pacific coast, north from San Diego. Intending to establish a mission and settlement in Monterey, they missed the mark and continued north onto the San Francisco peninsula. Crossing eastward from the vicinity of what is now Pacifica to the site of Palo Alto, they recorded the discovery of the San Francisco Bay.

Three members of this expedition left written accounts of the Ohlone peoples they encountered: Fray Juan Crespi, Miguel Costanso, and Gaspar de Portola. The expedition began in July of 1769 and ended in January of 1770 upon their return to San Diego. The time period from approximately September 28th to December 14th, 1769 was spent within the Ohlone cultural area. Some of their observations are briefly described below. More complete excerpts from the writings of the diarists during this time period with possible

relevance to Ohlone ritual and religious activities are included in Appendix II of this report.

Crespi describes encountering a group of Ohlone who would not approach them, but instead “they began to blow on a pipe and throw earth into the air” (Bolton, 1927, p. 200). On October 8th, the Spaniards came upon an empty village, where both Crespi and Costanso describe an eagle which had been killed and stuffed with straw, measuring eleven spans from wingtip to wingtip. On October 23rd both Crespi and Costanso describe a village containing a very large round central house.

In a letter to Fray Juan Andres written June 11th, 1770, Juan Crespi describes the return trip to central California in search of Monterey Bay. On the 24th of May of that year the expedition returned to a wooden cross which had been set up by the Portola Expedition several months earlier. They found the cross surrounded by arrows and darts stuck into the ground, festooned with sardines and meat, and a pile of mussels placed at the foot of the cross (Bolton, 1927).

The Fages Expeditions, 1770 and 1772. Fages’ brief “Diary of the Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770” (Fages, 1911) is the only record of the first Fages Expedition, which traveled from the Monterey Bay north into the Santa Clara Valley, then up the east Bay as far as what is now Oakland. In this diary he gives only one detailed description of an encounter with the native inhabitants of the area: “We saw, close to the lagoon, many pleasant and affable heathen, to whom we presented some strings of glass beads. They reciprocated with plumes and geese stuffed with straw, which they employed to catch an infinite number of these birds” (Fages, 1911, p. 153).

The mention of geese stuffed with straw is reminiscent of the stuffed eagle encountered by the Portola Expedition the previous year. However, the usage which Fages ascribes to the geese (that of hunting decoys) seems unlikely in the case of the aforementioned eagle.

The second Fages Expedition (March of 1772) also traveled from Monterey up through the Santa Clara Valley and into the east Bay, then continued northward and eastward, out of Ohlone territory, crossing the western end of Mount Diablo and overlooking the Sacramento Valley. They then returned south, crossing the Livermore, Sunol, and Santa Clara valleys and reaching Monterey on April 5th, 1772 (Milliken, 1995). The journey is well documented in the diary of Fray Juan Crespi; however, no relevant passages were found regarding ritual or religious activities.

The Rivera-Palou Expedition, 1774. Starting out from Monterey in November of 1774, the Rivera-Palou Expedition traveled north up the peninsula in search of a suitable site for a new mission. Led by Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, accompanied by Father Francisco Palou, the party were the first Europeans to reach what is now San Francisco by land, traveling an inland route through the Santa Clara Valley, along the San Andreas Valley up the peninsula to San Francisco. Both Captain Rivera and Father Palou left journals describing the expedition. Father Palou's journal of the expedition has several entries relevant to Ohlone ceremonial activities including ritualized smoking, cemetery poles, and body painting (Bolton, 1930a).

The Voyage of the San Carlos, 1775. The San Carlos, under the command of Lieutenant Manuel de Ayala, set sail from Monterey in August of 1775 and traveled up

the coast; it was the first Spanish vessel to enter the San Francisco Bay, which was mapped in some detail by the ship's pilot, Jose Canizares. Father Vicente Santa Maria accompanied the expedition as Chaplain. Ayala, Canizares, and Santa Maria each left journals of the voyage.

The journals left by Ayala and Canizares present very little information regarding the native inhabitants. Father Santa Maria's journal, by contrast, contains a wealth of descriptions of the Indian peoples they encountered while exploring the bay. Much of it concerns the Coast Miwok, north of the Golden Gate; however, northern Ohlone groups were also described in some detail.

On August 14th 1775, on Angel Island, near the boundary of the Ohlone territory with the territory of the Coast Miwok, Father Santa Maria encountered what he interpreted as a heathen shrine: "...I came to a large rock with a cleft in the middle of it, in which rested three remarkable droll objects, and I was led to wonder if they were likenesses of some idol that the Indians revered" (Galvin, 1971, p. 49).

On the morning of August 24th, 1775 the San Carlos was visited by eight Indians (identified in Milliken [1995] as Huchiuns, an east Bay Ohlone group), who proceeded to enact what Milliken interpreted as a formal diplomatic ritual which included elaborate costume and body paint, ritualized greetings and speeches, and the presentation of food and other gifts.

After this party left the ship, they traveled in their boats to the adjacent island. Later that afternoon Father Santa Maria ventured out to the island, and stayed alone with

the Indians for some time. The Indians began to sing to him, shedding tears as they sang, then asked the Father to sing to them.

Although primarily focused upon the technical descriptions of the sounding of the San Francisco Bay, Canizares' journal describes a tidal pool area containing stakes decorated with feathers, reeds, and spiral shells, which he interprets as fish traps.

The Anza-Font Expedition, 1776. In the Spring of 1776 an exploring party led by Juan Bautista de Anza traveled by land through much of the San Francisco Bay area, with the intention of making a final selection of sites for the planned mission and presidio. Father Pedro Font accompanied the expedition as chaplain. Both Anza and Font left journals of the expedition.

A common theme noted within the journals of the early Spanish explorers in the Ohlone region is the native population's reaction to the crosses or other small structures set up by the Spaniards. Upon their return, the Spaniards found the Ohlone had modified and added a variety of objects to these structures. Both Father Font and de Anza provide descriptions of such an occurrence in their journals. Father Pedro Font also describes a cemetery, a ceremonial dance enclosure, and a dance (Bolton, 1930c).

At a village along Stevens Creek in the Santa Clara Valley, the expedition encounters a woman who “reacts to the invaders as if they were spirit beings” (Milliken, 1995, p. 53). Milliken notes that the woman may have been a shaman.

The Ohlone communities the Spaniards encountered frequently greeted them in what appears to be a formalized and ceremonial way involving chanting, signing, and choreographed movements.

Mission Documents, 1776-1830.

The Interragatorio, 1812. On October 6th, 1812, an Interragatorio, or questionnaire, was issued by the Spanish secretary of Foreign Relations, Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities throughout the Spanish holdings in the new world. The Interragatorio consisted of a series of thirty-six questions, primarily focused on the native culture of the peoples within the Spanish domains.

Several of the questions deal directly with native religious beliefs and practices, and others deal with topics potentially related such as marriage, medicine, calendars, and music. Copies of the responses of eighteen out of the nineteen California missions founded at that time, including all of the missions within the Ohlone territory (see Figure 4 below), were made and stored at the Mission archives in Santa Barbara. The questions which concern religious and related ceremonial matters, as translated by Geiger (1949), as well as the responses to these questions by the missions within the Ohlone cultural area are reported by Geiger (1950), as well as Engelhardt (1924), Geiger & Meighan (1976), and Kroeber (1908) are given in Appendix II of this report.

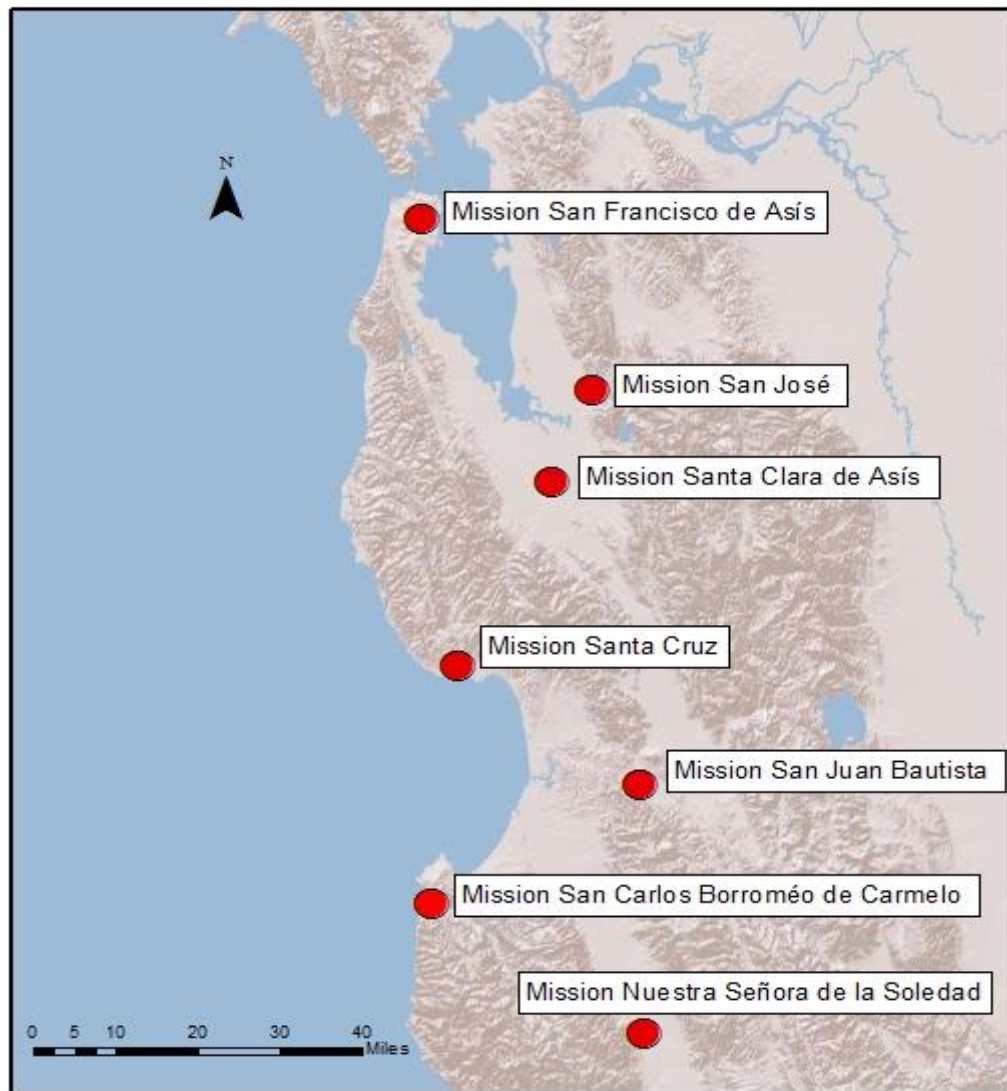


Figure 4. Spanish Missions established within the Ohlone Cultural Area.

European and American Traveler's Accounts, 1786-1847.

The Account of La Perouse, 1786. The earliest foreign vessels to visit the Alta California missions were the French ships *L'Astrolabe* and *L'Boussole*, of an expedition commanded by Comte Jean Francois de La Perouse. La Perouse arrived in Monterey on the 14th of September, 1786, and wrote about both the missionized Indians he saw there,

and the independent Indians of the Rancherias. His descriptions, although often uncomplimentary and seemingly filtered through the opinions of the Missionaries, are wide ranging and highly detailed. Like many later writers, La Perouse notes mourning and burial customs, as well as aversion to the naming of the dead. He also touches upon ritual aspects of warfare. Although La Perouse visited Mission San Carlos and the Presidio of Monterey, it should be noted that his descriptions of the Indians are often somewhat generalized to all of Spanish California, and appear to be partially drawn from either older documents or discussion with the missionaries.

The next European visitors to the Missions were the Malaspina Expedition of 1791 and Vancouver and Menzies in 1792. Although all three contain some description of the Native population, none of it appears relevant to the topics of this report.

The Rezanov and Langsdorff Accounts, 1806. In 1806 the Russian fur trading vessel *Juno*, commanded by Count Nikolai Petrovitch Rezanov, arrived at San Francisco. Rezanov's official report (Rezanov, 1806) has almost nothing to say about the native inhabitants. The ship's official log, written by Lieutenant N. A. Kvestov, is similarly lacking in such details (Pierce, 1972, p. 44-54). However, George H. von Langsdorff, a naturalist on board the expedition, wrote extensively on his observations at Mission San Francisco as well as Mission San Jose.

Among the most valuable of Langsdorff's observations are these detailed descriptions of a dance and related festivities he witnessed at Mission San Jose. He describes the application of chalk, clay, and charcoal as body paint, the use of feathers, shells, and beads as ornaments, as well as detailed description of the dance itself. After

the dance, he is shown an exhibition of mock fight against a straw opponent. He also observed the consumption of live embers. Langsdorff provided the following description for an image depicting this dance:

A Dance of the Indians at the Mission of St. Joseph in New California.

The figures are all naked except a covering round the waist. The national physiognomy is tolerably well preserved. The hair of these people is very coarse, thick, and stands erect: in some it is powdered with down feathers. Their bodies are fantastically painted with charcoal dust, red clay, and chalk. The foremost dancer is ornamented all over with down feathers, which gives him a monkey-like appearance: the hindermost has had the whimsical idea of painting his body to imitate the uniform of a Spanish soldier, with his boots, stockings, breeches, and upper garments. Near these Indians, at the foot of a tree, is a fire, from which the dancers every now and then snatch out a piece of glowing ember and swallow it. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. iv)

The next Russian encounter with Spanish Alta California came about in 1816, when the Russian naval vessel *Rurik* arrived in San Francisco. A detail account of the visit was published by the ship's captain Otto von Kotzebue (1821a, 1821b). This work also included the impressions of Adelbert von Chamisso, naturalist of the expedition. Ludovick (or Louis) Choris, was the official artist for the expedition, and published a separate volume; the California chapter of which is translated in Choris (1913). Choris also produced several sketches of Indians at the Mission, which were included in that work. Kotzebue's description of the voyage (consisting primarily of the ship's log) contains only one relevant passage describing the regalia and formation of a war dance.

Chamisso's account, included in a long section entitled "Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition," provides additional perspective (Kotzebue, 1821b). In a footnote to his description of the visit to San Francisco, he briefly describes both dances

and the use of the sweat bath. Interestingly, his account describes the practice of the sweat bath as taking place in a sea shore cave, rather than a constructed *temescal*.

Chamisso presents a largely negative view of the missionaries, and notes their lack of understanding of native languages, custom, and religion as impediments to their proselytizing.

Choris, the expedition's artist, described a dance at Mission San Francisco (Dolores) discussing regalia, body painting, instruments, and movements. He also notes the painting of the face in black as a sign of mourning.

The Golovnin Account, 1818. In 1818 another Russian vessel, the *Kamchatka*, arrived in the Monterey Bay. The explorer V. M. Golovnin gave an account of both the Mission and the Presidio. Although not within the Ohlone cultural area, Golovnin also gave a brief account of shamanic practices in area of Fort Ross, within the Coast Miwok area directly north of the Ohlone territory (see Appendix II).

The Beechey and Peard Accounts, 1827. In January of 1827 the British naval vessel *Blossom* arrived in San Francisco, commanded by Captain Frederick Beechey. While the ship was docked at San Francisco, Captain Beechey and some of his men also made an overland visit to Monterey. Beechey gives a relatively extensive description of Ohlone religion, although much of it appears to have been drawn from previous historical sources. In his description of native medicine, Beechey describes the use of herbs, bleeding, and sweat baths, but makes no mention of shamanistic practices. He also briefly notes the avoidance of owls.

The Duhaut-Cilly Account, 1827. On the 26th of January, 1827, a French merchant ship, *Le Héros* arrived in San Francisco. It was commanded by Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, who was to remain in Alta California for almost two years, finally departing in September of 1827. As such, he was the first foreign visitor to provide an account of an extended stay among the communities of Alta California, as his various activities took him up and down much of the coast of California. This broad experience; however, becomes somewhat of a limitation in gathering ethnohistorical data from his account; when he discusses Indians, for the most part he speaks generally of the Indians of coastal Alta California as a whole.

Other important accounts by outside observers during the last years of the Spanish period include the de Rosamel account of 1840, the Farnham account of 1840, the Robinson account of 1846, and the Lyman account of 1847.

American Period Histories. Among the earliest of American histories to discuss the area was Hall's "The History of San Jose and Surroundings" (1871). Hall reiterates portions of the accounts made by Vancouver and Beechey (cited above) and includes Beechey's 1831 description of the Ohlone sun worship and burial practices. As many later American historians and writers would, Hall denigrates the Ohlone culture and religious practices as being so minimal as to barely deserve notice; after giving Beechey's account he goes on to say: "But I am of opinion, from all that I have been able to gather, that their traditions of any kind were very meager" (Hall, 1871, p. 42). Hall does, however, describe in some detail the use of cinnabar as a body paint from what had by then become the New Almaden quicksilver mine south of San Jose.

Another early source is Gleeson's "History of the Catholic Church in California" (1872); however, like many writers he primarily speaks generally of Indians of all of California.

Undoubtedly the most prolific of early California historians was Hubert Howe Bancroft. In Volume I of his *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1874) he describes central Californian Indians in general, including discussions of regalia, tattoos, body paint (including cinnabar from New Almaden), feasts, dances, healing, sweat houses, and burial customs. In Volume III (1883), he describes a creation myth featuring a great flood, Coyote, and Eagle. Bancroft does not cite the tribal affiliation or source of this myth, although Kroeber (1907a) notes that it is "perhaps from the northern part of the Costanoan territory" (p. 189)

Other late 19th century and early 20th century American historical sources which describe aspects of Ohlone religion and ritual include "The Centennial Yearbook of Alameda County" (Halley 1876), "The History of Alameda County" (Wood, 1883), "The Bay of San Francisco: A History" (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), "In and Out of the Old Missions of California (Wharton, 1905), and "Past and Present of Alameda County, CA" (Baker, 1914, notable for an extremely sensationalistic description of a sweat house ceremony).

One significant early historian of California missions, Zephyrin Engelhardt (1851-1934) produced several books on California missions which include descriptions of Ohlone religious practices including "The Franciscans in California" (1897), "The Missions and Missionaries of California: Volume II Upper California" (1915), "San

Francisco or Mission Dolores” (1924), and “Mission San Juan Bautista: A School of Church Music” (1931).

Local histories such as the “History of Washington Township” can sometimes provide information which can be linked to a very specific location: “Piles of stone on the hills back of the Meyer's and Mosher's ranches are the remains of the devil-worship practiced by these Indians” (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 97).

Overview of Ethnographic Sources on Ohlone Ritual and Religion

Early ethnographic data on California Indians can be found in the work of 19th century authors including H. R. Schoolcraft (1851), A. S. Taylor (1863), and Stephen A. Powers (1877/1976). However, it was not until the early years of the 20th century that any detailed ethnographic work was carried out within Ohlone territory. Among the most significant of these early ethnographic studies were carried out by Alfred Kroeber, C. Hart Merriam, and J. P. Harrington. Brief descriptions of relevant work by these and other 20th century ethnographers are provided below.

Among the most prominent early anthropologists in California is Alfred L. Kroeber. Although only a small portion of his work was focused on the Ohlone, what there is provides some of the most significant information their practices. Several of his works contain relevant passages. The earliest is *Types of Indian Culture in California* (1904); however, in this book he only makes brief mention of Ohlone mythology. *Indian Myths of South Central California* (Kroeber, 1907a) provides several relatively detailed Ohlone myths, focusing on Coyote, Eagle, and Hummingbird. *The Religion of the Indians of California* notes that: “Very little is known of the ethnology of the coast tribes

west of the Miwok and Yokuts. Among the Southern Costanoan peoples creation myths resembling those of the Yokuts are found. Coyote is at once a trickster and a giver of civilization and arts to man. Similar ideas probably prevailed among the Salinan tribes” (Kroeber, 1907b, p. 351).

In the *Handbook of Indians of California* (1925, p. 378) the chart “TABLE 1.- PRINCIPAL DANCES OR CEREMONIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SECRET SOCIETY SYSTEM OF THE CENTRAL TRIBES” lists two dances associated with the Costanoan (Ohlone), although both contain notes marking them as provisional. The first, under major dances, is the “Kuksui” (Kuksu) dance, about which Kroeber notes “Reported from mission San Jose, whether among native Costanoans or introduced Miwok is not clear.” The second, under minor dances, is the Hiwei dance, which is given the notation: “The central Miwok state this to be a recent dance among themselves, introduced by a Costanoan or northern Yokuts individual.”

The book contains a chapter specifically focused on the Ohlone (Costanoan) Indians. This chapter discusses practices around death and burial. Kroeber also speculates about the presence of Wintun style ceremonial practices and the Kuksui dance among the Ohlone, but leaves the question open. He discusses the prevalence of references to prayers and offerings to the sun among historical accounts, from which “may be inferred the existence of a more definite form of sun worship than is usual in California” (Kroeber, 1925, p. 471). Other ritual aspects discussed include offerings of acorn meal, seed, arrows, and feathered rods. He also provides multiple examples of Ohlone songs and charms, a brief discussion of Shamanism (quoted above), and a

discussion and examples of Ohlone myths, highlighting their resemblance to the cosmogony of the neighboring Yokut.

Kroeber is often treated as an unassailable primary source by California archaeologists, although he has been criticized both for incorrectly identifying tribal boundaries and groupings and for disregarding data which did not fit within his concept of “culture areas” in California (Buckley, 2002; Keeling, 1982; Keter, 2009). Others have criticized his work for glossing over or depicting the genocidal destruction of California Indian communities as pre-ordained by historical and cultural processes: “Kroeber...operated from the premise that Native Americans were destined to disappear through an inevitable social evolutionary trajectory determined by the inevitable and progressive march of civilization” (Scheper-Hughes, 2002, p. 353-354).

In addition to his written work on the Costanoan/Ohlone, the Lowie Museum at U. C. Berkeley houses a collection of audio recordings made by Kroeber in the early years of the 20th century. The collection consists of wax cylinder recordings of songs and stories related by two Rumsen Ohlone informants, Maria Viviana Soto, and Jacinta Gonzales in April of 1902, and includes 29 recordings. These recordings document songs on a wide variety of themes; however, notes and references for many of the recordings have not been found, and a few of the recordings themselves have been lost. A list of these recordings can be found in “A Guide to Early Field Recordings (1900-1949) at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology” (Keeling, 1991).

Another important early ethnographer of the Ohlone was C. Hart Merriam. Merriam's *Ethnographic Field Notes on California Indian Tribes, Vol III* (1967) contains

information gathered by Merriam from two Rumsen Ohlone informants, Mrs. Beviana Torres and Mrs. Jacincta Gonzales in 1906. It includes descriptions of dance enclosures, witch doctors, and medicine.

J. P. Harrington's most significant work within the Ohlone territory is *Culture Element Distributions: XIX Central California Coast* (1942). Although lacking in depth of detail and context, the *Culture Element Distributions* format is wide ranging in scope, documenting the presence or absence of 1,706 different cultural practices among five different Native American groups.

The Ohlone, discussed by Harrington as “Costano” are further split into two groups, northern and southern. Individual informants are not identified in this work; however, the data for the northern group were taken from informants at Mission San Jose and vicinity (near the border of Chochenyo and Tamien linguistic territory) and the data for the southern group were taken from informants at Mission San Juan Bautista (within Mutsun linguistic territory), Mission San Carlos Borroméo de Carmelo (within Rumsen linguistic territory) and Mission Nuestra Senora de la Soledad (near the intersection of Rumsen Ohlone, Chalon Ohlone, and neighboring Esselen linguistic territory). Many of the cultural elements listed have a bearing on Ohlone religious practices and beliefs, including a dedicated section on shamanism.

Two stories identified as Costanoan in origin are included in the book *California Indian Nights* (1930/1990) by Edward W. Gifford and Gwendoline H. Block. Although presented in detail, the original sources or informants are not noted. The first is a variant version of the world origin story described by Kroeber in *Indian Myths of South Central*

California (1907a), and summarized in his chapter on the Costanoan in the *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). The second story, “Fruito, the Gambler” is identified by the authors as having “European motives,” and thus is assumed to date from historic times during the period of European influence. While the story clearly takes place during the missionary period, and includes Christian themes, some elements, such as the bone gambling charm, point to possible pre-Christian beliefs.

Another early 20th century ethnographer whose work has a bearing on the Ohlone is Samuel Barrett. Although the primary focus of Barrett's writings was on other ethnographic groups within California, he does make occasional mentions of the Costanoan/Ohlone people in relation to the Pomo, the Miwok, and other central Californian cultures. Many of these works deal directly with important ritual and religious concepts among California Indians including a major work on Pomo ceremonies (Barrett, 1917a), Bear Doctors (Barrett, 1917b), Myths (Barrett, 1919a), and the Hesi Ceremony (Barrett, 1919b).

J. Alden Mason's primary work “The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians” (1912) contains several brief passages discussing other neighboring peoples, including the Ohlone. He touches on birth and puberty ceremonies, naming customs, marriage rites, burial and cremation, the Kuksui dance, sun worship, the afterlife, and ritual tobacco use.

The view of anthropological fieldwork in California as salvage ethnography is a conceptual framework most often attributed to Kroeber, but equally applicable to many early 20th century ethnographers. Salvage ethnography attempted to gather information from the oldest surviving members of Native American communities on “pure” Indian

culture, untainted, so far as possible, by European influences. It produced a great deal of useful data, some of it still utilized today by Native American communities in attempting to reconstruct and revitalize cultural practices. However, it led these ethnographers to at best ignore, and often to denigrate, the evolving and syncretic cultures of the Native American communities from which they drew their informants. It also led them to focus comparatively little on Native American peoples who were most impacted by early historic missionization, including many Central Californian cultural groups such as the Ohlone.

Taken as a whole, the ethnographic record on the Ohlone provides a tantalizingly suggestive, if frustratingly incomplete, picture of Ohlone spiritual life. Mythology is treated in some detail (even if the number of myths is quite small), primarily by Kroeber and Merriam, while Harrington's "Cultural Element Distribution" provides presence/absence data on a wide variety of ritual and religious topics, but almost nothing in the way of context or detailed description. Many of the works by other authors are focused on neighboring groups, with only footnotes or minor asides dealing with the Ohlone. Much of the information on dances and other ceremonies is described by the authors as problematic or provisional, due to cultural intermingling during the mission period. However, along with the historical and archaeological sources presented elsewhere in this thesis, these ethnographic sources are of much use in building a clearer picture of Ohlone ritual and religion.

Chapter 4: Results of Case Studies

This chapter provides detailed descriptions of three prehistoric archaeological sites within Ohlone territory which are demonstrative of specific aspects of Ohlone ritual and religious life. The Lick Mill Boulevard site was selected as a type site for mortuary practices, due to its large and varied burial population. The Chitactac/Adams site is among the most extensive and significant rock art sites identified to date within the Ohlone cultural area. Finally, the Circle of Circles site, although less extensively documented than the other sites presented here, provides possible hints as to more esoteric aspects of Ohlone religion including cosmology, mythic geography, and archaeoastronomy.

The Lick Mill Boulevard Site: CA-SCL-6W

CA-SCL-6W consists of a large prehistoric habitation site, particularly notable for the size of the burial population recovered from it. The site (Figure 5) is located in Santa Clara County, within the present day City of Santa Clara. CA-SCL-6W is situated 3.5 miles from the current bay shore, approximately 1.5 miles from the pre-200 A.D. shoreline (Morratto, 2004).

The site was first described by N. Nelson in the early 20th century (Nelson, 1909), and was first formally recorded by L. L. Loud (Loud, 1912). It was recorded as part of a complex of three prehistoric village sites situated along the Guadalupe River. These sites were originally designated as Mounds 339, 340, and 341 by Nelson during his broad survey of San Francisco Bay Area mound sites. In 1912, Loud classified them as “occupation sites.” Their current trinomial designations are CA-SCL-5, CA-SCL-6W, and

CA-SCL-7. Six additional archaeological sites are located within the immediate vicinity of CA-SCL-6W along or nearby the Guadalupe River.



Figure 5. Map showing location of Lick Mill Boulevard site.

Since its original recordation in 1912 the prehistoric site has suffered some disturbance due to historic farming activities, and construction of a golf course. However, in 1989 the site was heavily impacted by the construction of Lick Mill Boulevard and associated utilities. A salvage archaeology program, intended to mitigate this impact, was carried out under the direction of Dr. Robert Cartier from March 20th to August 17th of that year.

During the course of this excavation program, a total of 140 Native American burials, as well as numerous isolated human bones, were identified and archaeologically removed. At the time of excavation, this represented the largest burial population excavated in the San Francisco Bay Area since the 1960s (Santa Clara Archaeological Society, 1993). The vast majority of the burials (136) were removed during a five week period, with large field crews working seven days a week.

The chronology of CA-SCL-6W was established through radiocarbon analysis, obsidian hydration, and artifact typology. Radiocarbon dates recovered from the site ranged from 1520 ± 60 BP to 880 ± 90 BP, placing the site within the late Middle Period to the early Late Period.

Burial data. The burial data contained in previous reports on the Lick Mill Boulevard site (Archaeological Resource Management, 1990; The Environmental Center, 1980; Santa Clara Archaeological Society, 1993) including original burial records, photographs, osteological and artifact catalogs, and analysis were reviewed for this study. One burial record (Burial #137) was lost in the field during the original excavation, and all values for this burial are listed as indeterminate. An attempt was made to standardize

the classification system used for each relevant burial attribute, and these data were coded and entered into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 23). For each burial, the following attributes were recorded:

Cluster. As described in the original excavation reports, the burials were recovered within three distinct clusters (Figure 6), labeled A (containing 37 burials), B (containing 81 burials), and C (containing 21 burials). A single isolated burial was also recovered.

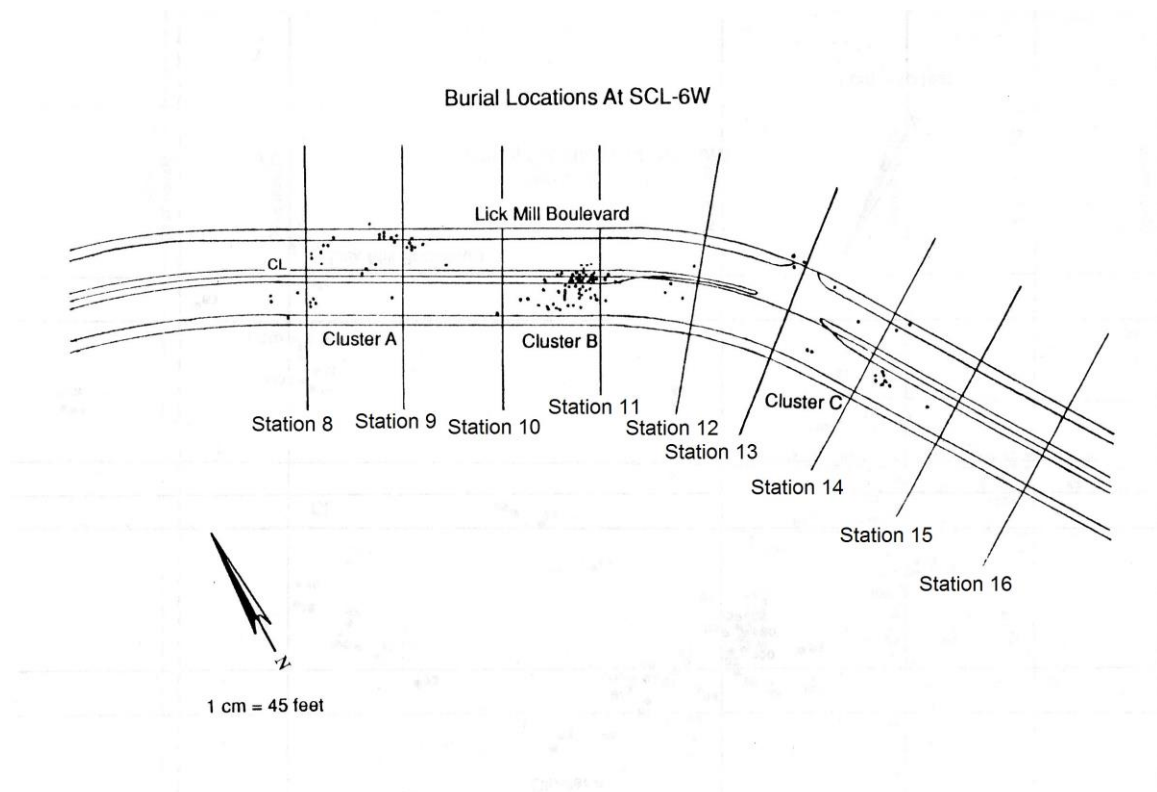


Figure 6. Burial Location Map at CA-SCL-6W (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1990).

Disposal. This recorded category included “primary inhumation,” “redeposited inhumation,” and “cremation.”

Primary inhumations are burials of individuals which are highly articulated (except when suffering from later disturbance), which indicates that their disposition when found likely represents their original placement in the grave. A total of 98 of the burials recovered from CA-SCL-6 were described as primary inhumations.

Redeposited inhumations are burials found in a highly disarticulated state, indicating likely additional manipulation of the body after its original disposal. When not caused by later historic disturbance (e.g., agricultural or construction activities), this disarticulation often represents disturbance which occurred when a later burial was being excavated by the community, or transfer of the remains from an original disposal location to the current grave. Only five burials were described as redeposited inhumations from the mortuary population at CA-SCL-6.

Cremations can take many forms, including primary cremations (carried out in-situ and characterized by large concentrations of charcoal, vitrified clay, and oxidized soils), redeposited cremations (cremation carried out at a different location, with the charred remains then transferred to the current grave), and partial cremations (characterized by partially burnt areas affecting the skeletal remains, and smaller concentrations of charcoal and vitrified or baked clay). The original burial records and reports lacked the standardization necessary to accurately differentiate between the various forms of cremation, and to enhance the reliability of the statistical analysis, all of these burials (a total of thirty) are described in this report as simply as cremations.

An additional eight burials were in such poor condition that their disposal method was not determined in the original burial records. The disposal method of these burials is described in this report as “unclear.”

Sex. Based upon the original burial records and reports, the sex of each burial was described as either female (55), male (39), or indeterminate (47). The absence or poor condition of diagnostic skeletal elements in many of the burials, as well as the presence of many sub-adults, contributed to the large number of sexually indeterminate burials. The high percentage of burials of indeterminate sex (33.3% of the total burial population) somewhat limits the validity of statistical analyses tied to sex.

The sex of a burial is relevant to mortuary practices as many of the other characteristics described here, such as disposal methods, grave goods, position, and orientation may be subject to sexual differentiation, and influenced by cosmological conceptions of gender roles.

Age. Standardization was a major issue in regards to age in the original burial records and reports. Some burial ages were given as estimated ranges and some as broad categories. For statistical purposes, burial ages in this report were grouped into the categories of “infant” (5), “child” (20), “juvenile (5), “adult” (109), and “indeterminate” (2). Differential treatment of burials by age (infants, children, adults, elders) is documented ethnographically and archaeologically in many societies, including the Ohlone.

Condition. The condition of the burials at the time of their recovery was standardized for the purposes of this report into the following categories: “good” (6),

“fair” (47), “poor” (86), and “indeterminate” (2). Although the condition of the burial at the time of its recovery is not generally indicative of prehistoric religious beliefs, it is important to note as it affects the reliability of the data which may be gathered from any given burial.

Position. Based upon the original burial records and reports, the position of the burials recovered from CA-SCL-6 were characterized as “extended” (4), meaning the waist and knees were unbent; “tightly flexed” (90), which indicated that the knees were drawn up tightly against the ventral side of the body (also known as the fetal position); “semi-flexed” (23), with the legs drawn up in an intermediate, more relaxed position; or “indeterminate” (24). Although the position of the body has often been tied to social status, the practice takes place within the ritual context of burial, and thus may be indicative of religious or cosmological beliefs *about* that status.

Disposition. This descriptor indicates which side the body was placed upon within the grave, and was standardized for the purposes of this report into the categories of the “ventral,” i.e., front side (11); “dorsal,” i.e., back side (5); “left” side (42), “right” side (44), and indeterminate (39). Disposition, like position above, may represent cosmological beliefs about the social role of the individual in question.

Orientation. Orientation indicates which direction the burial was pointing in situ, and was designated in the original burial records based upon a line derived from the pelvis to the cranium along the spine. Whereas the original site documentation described orientation along a 16 point continuum, the orientation directions were standardized and condensed for statistical purposes to the four cardinal directions: “north,” “south,” “east,”

“west,” and “indeterminate,” with “north” containing north-northwest, north, north-northeast, northeast, etc. Orientation may be indicative of religious beliefs about the individual, or about cosmology more generally; for instance, it may reflect beliefs about directions themselves, or astronomical phenomena such as the sun or specific constellations, with burials being oriented either towards or away from them.

Facing. The position of the face relative to each burial, was determined based upon the original site documentation and placed into the following categories: facing “up” (20), facing “down” (33), facing “left side” (26), or facing “right side” (22). Those cases in which the facing direction could not be reliably determined were labeled “indeterminate” (26), while those burials in which the cranium was not present were labeled “absent” (14). Facing may be relevant to religious beliefs and practices in ways similar to orientation as described above.

Articulation. The level of skeletal articulation observed for each burial at the time of excavation was characterized with the following categories: “articulated” for those burials in which the skeletal elements were completely or primarily articulated in situ (85), “partially articulated” for those burials where portions of the skeleton remained articulated in situ (23), “disarticulated” for those burials in which few if any skeletal elements were articulated in situ (17), and “indeterminate” for those burials in which the level of preservation was so poor that articulation status could not be reliably determined (16). Like condition, described above, the level of articulation may be helpful in determining the reliability of the data in any given burial. It may, however, also reflect

specific burial disposition practices such as secondary inhumation, or the intentional burial of incomplete individuals, potentially missed during recordation in the field.

Associated burials. Many of the individual burials were characterized by the authors of the original site documentation as associated with other burials. Sixty two of the burials were described as having one or more associated burials, seventy three were described as not having associated burials, and six were listed as unclear. The determinants of burial “association” used by the authors were not explicitly stated, and whether groups of burials were categorized as associated individual burials, double burials, or multiple burials was not uniformly standardized in the site documentation.

The placement of burials in groups may reflect social relationships between the individuals in question. The placement is relevant to this study in that the cultural practice of burial in groups may reflect religious beliefs about these associations, whether familial or societal, and their relationship in life, or the afterlife.

Grave associations. Grave associations identified with each burial were well documented in the artifact catalogs presented in the original site documentation. For statistical purposes, the artifact types recovered were divided into several more or less broad categories of material identified by the number of examples recovered: bone artifacts, chipped lithics, ground stone, charmstones, pendants, and *Olivella* shells and beads (further subdivided as “whole” or “cut” *Olivella*). Associated ecofacts including dietary shell, faunal bone, fire cracked rock, and fire baked clay were identified for each burial by weight. Finally, due to inconsistencies in the original site documentation, charcoal and ochre associated with the burials was listed as simply “present” or “absent.”

As a part of this study, an attempt was made to classify some of the artifactual material associated with the burials as particularly significant from a religious or ritual perspective. The definition of a ritual artifact is problematic; it is often applied from an etic perspective by archaeologists and other researchers onto materials whose contexts are poorly understood. Given the dearth of ethnographic description, this is especially true for Ohlone material culture. In addition, a clear distinction between utilitarian and ritual artifacts is very difficult (and often unproductive) to draw.

One class of Ohlone artifacts, however, has very frequently been interpreted as having ritual significance, those described as charmstones. These artifacts are carved stone, varying greatly in their level of detail and sophistication, most commonly are smooth and elongated, and interpreted as symbolically phallic. Two charmstones were recovered as burial associations at SCL-6. The first was associated with Burial #27, which consisted of only the disarticulated cranium of an adult of indeterminate sex. This burial was also accompanied by 1071.5g of dietary shell fragments, more than any other burial aside from Burial #1. The second was found with Burial #101, an adult female. This burial was in very poor condition and noted as being highly fragmentary and disturbed. Aside from the large amount of dietary shell noted in association with Burial #27, neither burial included notable amounts of any other artifact or material. Five additional charmstones were recovered from the site as isolate artifacts. The charmstones recovered from the burials were not represented graphically in the report; however, a sketch of the charmstones found as isolates was included in Archaeological Resource Management (1990) (Figure 7).

The series of reports produced on SCL-6W are primarily descriptive in character, and very little explicit interpretation of the data is presented. However, in the Santa Clara County Archaeological Society Monograph on the Lick Mill Boulevard site the authors give a brief conclusion including some general cultural inferences about the presence of organized warfare:

The presence of stone points embedded in the bones of some of the burials, such as Burial 98, give evidence of violently induced death in the populations...In all burials with well documented sex and age, the obsidian points were found in adult, male graves. These males were given relatively large amounts of grave wealth upon burial and were often found in multiple burials with women and children (sometimes clearly buried all in the same funeral event). This data demonstrates that the individuals with the obsidian points were afforded high status upon death. High status of warfare casualties indicate a warrior status in the living culture. (Santa Clara Archaeological Society, 1993, p. 70)

This, the authors state, signals that the popular conception of the Ohlone as “a peaceful hunting and gathering group with band level political organization” should be reconsidered, and that the evidence of organized warfare from this and other sites in the Bay Area (SCL-694, ALA-328, ALA-329) is indicative that “the formal category of political systems for the prehistoric people of the area may be more along the lines of tribes or chiefdoms rather than bands” (Santa Clara Archaeological Society, 1993, p. 70).

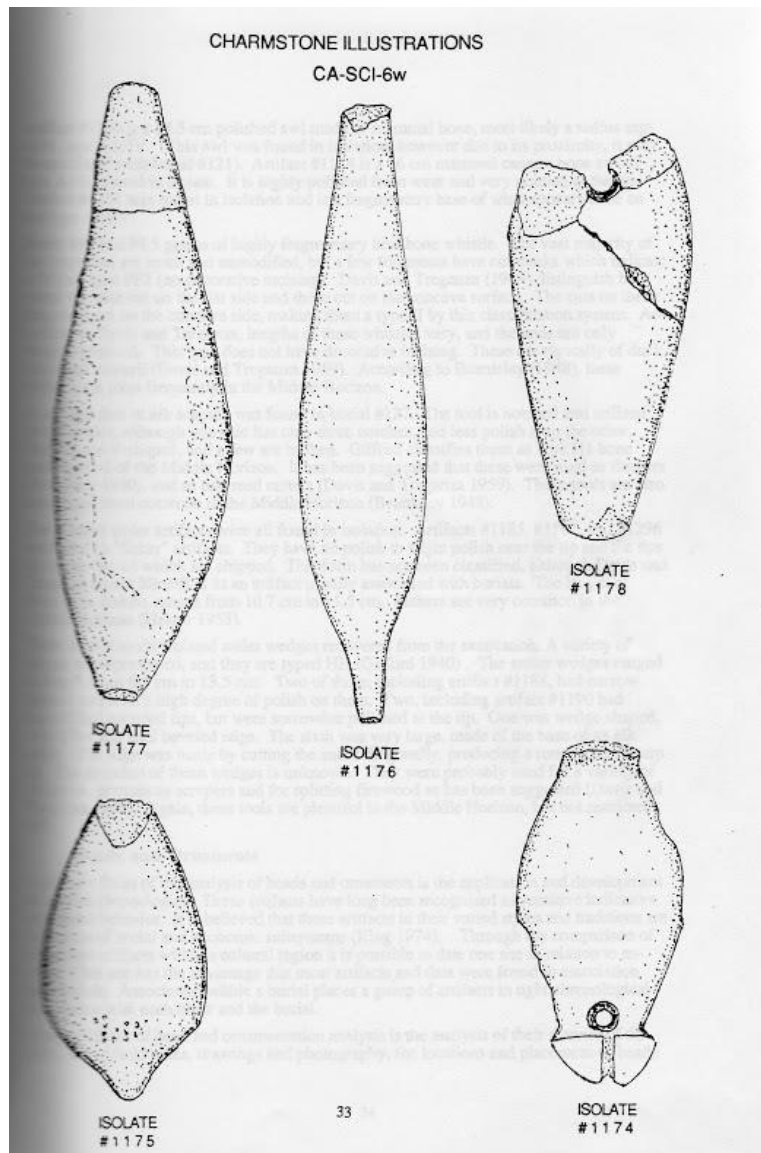


Figure 7. Charmstone isolates recovered from CA-SCL-6W (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1990).

Thus, the presence and quantity of grave goods is examined from the standpoint of social status and political structure; however, questions of religion, ceremony, or beliefs are not approached. As the entire practice of burial takes place within a ceremonial context, it seems obvious that the religious beliefs of a people would play a

significant role in determining the nature of that practice. However, Carr (1995) notes that:

Between the late 1960s and 1980s, it came to be accepted in the thought and practice of much of American mortuary archaeology that the primary determinant of variation in mortuary practices and burial form is social organization...In contrast, socially institutionalized, philosophical-religious beliefs and world views lost academic relevance in the study of mortuary practices during this period. (p. 106)

In his 1995 paper, Carr attempts to "...inventory and inductively generalize the kinds of relationships that do commonly occur between mortuary practices or forms and their more proximate social, philosophical-religious, and other causes" (Carr, 1995, p. 107). He does this through a cross-cultural ethnographic survey using the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF).

Carr found that certain aspects of mortuary practice more often reflected aspects of social organization, while others more often reflected aspects of philosophical and religious ideas:

Some variables that more often reflected aspects of social organization than beliefs, and that appear to be useful for reconstructing social organization, include cemetery internal organization, the overall energy expended on mortuary activities and disposition of the body, the number of socially recognized burial types, the number of persons per grave, and the quantity of grave furniture...Some variables that were observed to reflect philosophical-religious ideas more than social organization, and that seem useful for reconstructing beliefs, include body position, body orientation, and the spatial arrangement of furniture in the grave. (Carr, 1995, p. 157)

Another aspect of mortuary practices Carr found most often reflected philosophical and religious beliefs was the placement and location of the cemetery itself: "the regional, ecozonal location of cemeteries...associated most often with beliefs about

universal orders...including the structure of the cosmos, and with beliefs about the afterlife...including the location of the afterlife” (Carr, 1995, p. 183). Carr's paper only points to correlations between certain types of mortuary practices (i.e., grave furniture) and classes of belief (i.e., beliefs about the nature of the soul); he does not discuss the relationship of any particular practice with any specific beliefs.

It is important to note, however, that even if many aspects of burial are reflective of social organization (i.e., cemetery internal organization, energy expenditure on mortuary activities, the number of socially recognized burial types, the number of persons per grave, and the quantity of grave furniture), and have non-religious determinants (economic, environmental, hierarchical), they are still relevant to the study of religion, as they are all practices which take place within a highly ritualized context: ceremonial disposal of the dead.

The Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park Site: CA-SCL-35/111

The presence of a prehistoric site including rock art at what is now known as Chitactac/Adams Park has been known since the early 1950s. The site was first formally recorded in 1951 (Figure 8). Since that time numerous names and other designations have been given to the site. The primary trinomial designation for the site within the grounds of the park itself is CA-SCL-35.

It is important to note that the rock art site does not occur in isolation, but is located within a large complex of interrelated habitation sites (possibly one large single site), containing burials, midden soils, shell beads, lithic materials, groundstone, and dietary remains (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992). The varied official

designations for these sites include CA-SCL-35, CA-SCL-56, CA-SCL-57, CA-SCL-108, CA-SCL-109, CA-SCL-110, and CA-SCL-111. CA-SCL-157 has been placed within a Santa Clara County archaeological easement, and is one of the largest intact occupation sites within the county.

Two types of petroglyphs are present within the site. The first type, and that given the most interpretive attention, consists of sets of concentric circles around a central circular depression, often described as a cup and ring design (Figures 9 & 10). Nine cup and ring petroglyphs, each consisting of between two to seven concentric circles, have been recorded within the site (Figure 11) (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).

Cup and ring petroglyphs such as those found at the Chitactac/Adams site are a common motif found in many areas of the world; more locally they are found in other areas of California including Sacramento and Mendocino counties, and in the Sierra Nevada in the northeastern portion of the state. Generally these sites contain petroglyphs of the cup and ring style along with other motifs such as curvilinear or angular lines. The cup and ring petroglyphs of this site are unusual in that they appear without other associated linear elements. Numerous interpretations for cup-and-ring petroglyphs have been put forward (discussed later in this chapter); however, they are largely based on ethnographic analogy from other cultures in California, and around the world.

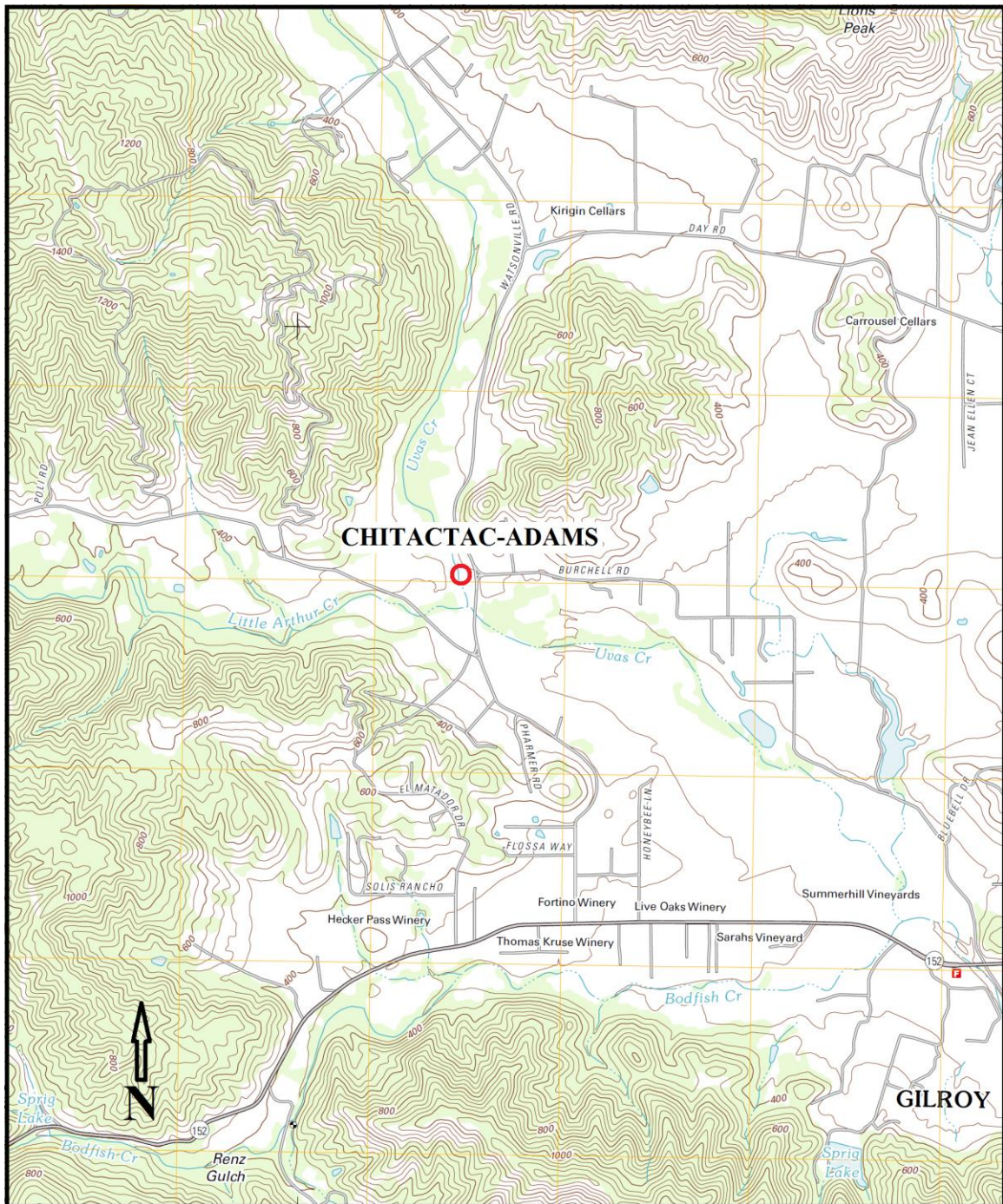


Figure 8. Map showing location of Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park site.

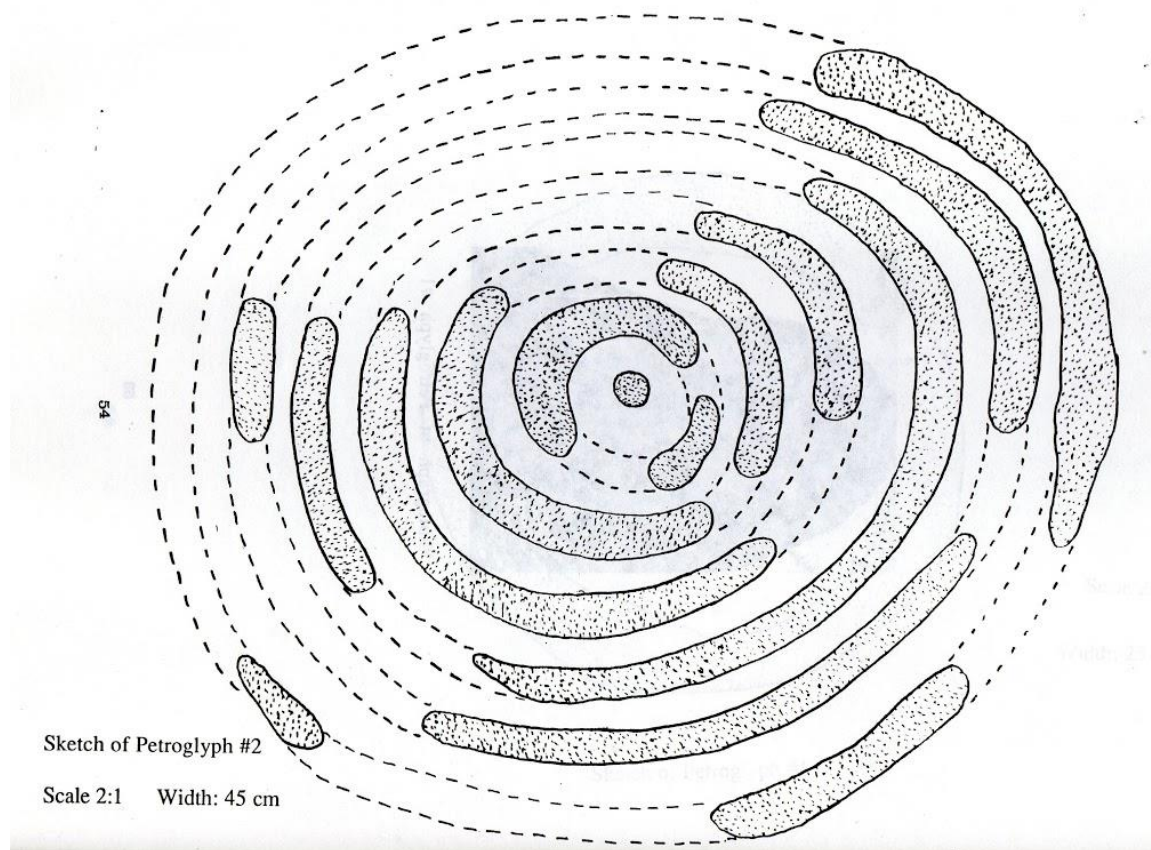


Figure 9. Sketch of Petroglyph #2 (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).



Figure 10. View of Petroglyph #2, on display at Chitactac/Adams County Park (photo taken by author May 7, 2015).

The Chitactac site was identified by Newman & Mark (1986) as the southernmost known occurrence of the concentric circle style within California; however, a more recent work by the same authors (Mark & Newman, 1995) notes the presence of cup-and-ring petroglyph sites within Chumash territory in Santa Barbara County as well as in Owens Valley.

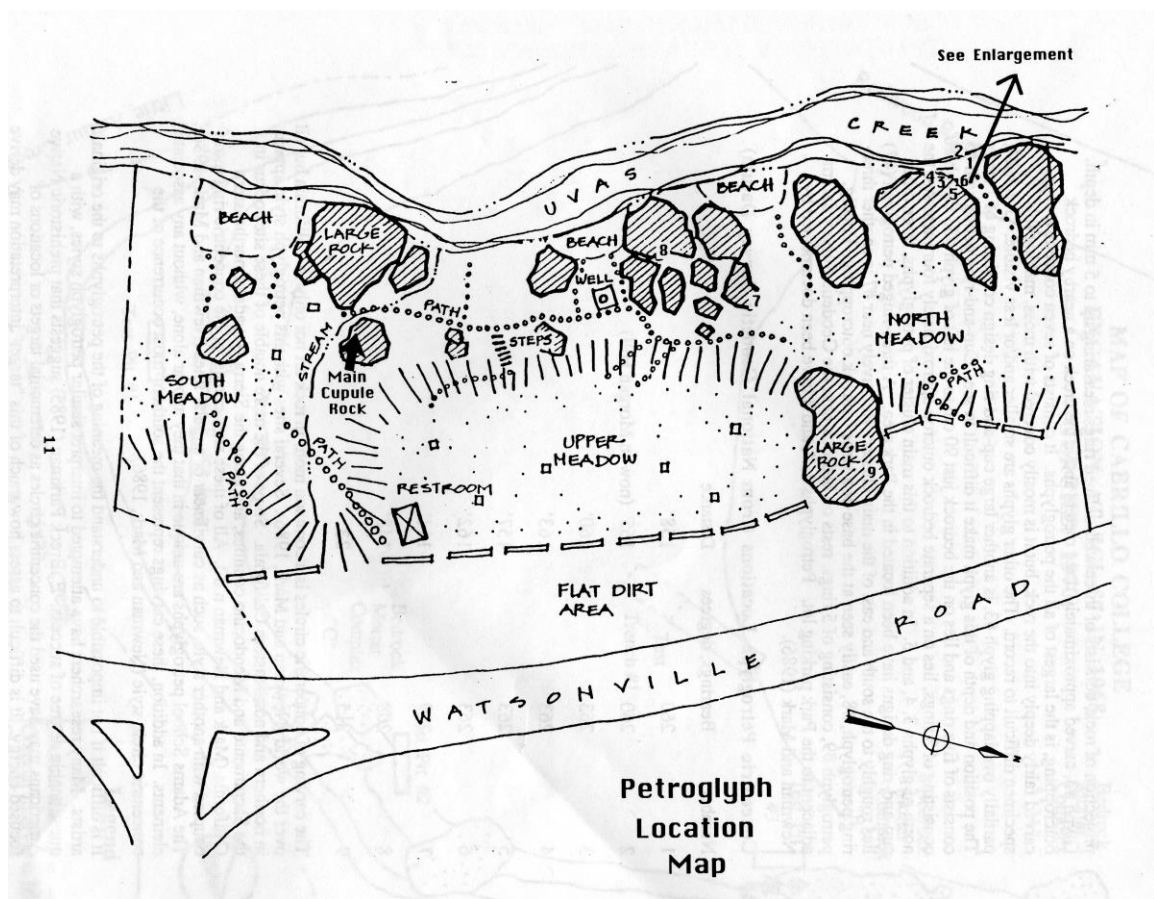


Figure 11. Plan view of rock art features at Chitactac/Adams County Park (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).

Although gathering less attention than the concentric circle petroglyphs, a second style of petroglyph present on the site consists of small shallow cupules carved into the bedrock. These cupules are actually significantly more numerous than the cup and ring petroglyphs within the site, with the site as a whole containing hundreds of such cupules. The majority are found on the upper surfaces of the exposed bedrock, although many are also found on the sides (Figure 12).



Figure 12. View of cupules on a bedrock outcropping at Chitactac/Adams County Park (photo taken by author May 7, 2015).

Although widely spread throughout the site, the majority of the cupules are located within three major concentrations. The first is located on the same bedrock formation which includes three tightly grouped cup-and-ring petroglyphs, the second concentration is located on a large bedrock outcrop on the north side of the parking lot, and the final concentration is on a bedrock formation at the edge of the creek. They average approximately seven centimeters in diameter, and about four centimeters in depth. The cupules appear to have been manufactured primarily through pecking, and

perhaps also by grinding, with hand held stones (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).

Cupules such as those found within this site are also far more common within this area of central California, often found in association with other bedrock features such as mortars. Their use by the Native American inhabitants of the region is not well established; however, several common elements of cupules including their placement on vertical surfaces, their concentration and numbers within relatively small areas, and their association with other rock art features in many sites make a utilitarian purpose (such as the grinding of seeds) unlikely. Thus most researchers assign them a symbolic or religious meaning, as opposed to subsistence economic or technological function (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992).

Only one of the reviewed reports on the Chitactac site made any attempt at interpretation of the rock art elements of the site (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992). The authors note the difficulty in approaching an understanding of the meaning of the petroglyphs to the original artists. They provide a brief description of possible interpretations of the cup-and-ring petroglyphs which appear to have been drawn from a then-unpublished version of a paper on cup-and-ring petroglyphs by Mark & Newman (1995). The interpretations are drawn from several different ethnographic regions of California.

The first is given in a discussion of a cup-and-ring petroglyph site within the Pit River territory in northern California. They note that Floyd Buckskin, of the Ajumawi Band of Pit River Indians and an archaeological aide to the California Department of

Parks and Recreation, believes they represent a “power place.” Buckskin described a conversation with a Pit River elder, who recounted the carving of a cup-and-ring glyph, with accompanying zig-zag lines, during a period in which the village was infested with rattlesnakes: “the village medical practitioner went into seclusion, fasted, bathed in cold river water, and entered a trance state in which he was told to carve a concentric circle with zigzag lines that would have the power to keep the snakes out of the village” (Mark & Newman, 1995, p. 4). They note, however, that Buckskin does not suggest this story should be applied to other sites.

The second interpretation presented by Mark & Newman (1995) is drawn from a communication by E. Breck Parkman to Daniel Foster in 1985. Parkman speculates that the concentric circles may have been utilized as ceremonial targets or places of energy focus by Native American shamans. This interpretation is criticized by Archaeological Resource Management (1992) who suggest that this “target” interpretation may derive from a modern cultural bias. Parkman also suggests relations of the cup-and-ring motif to astronomical concepts, such as the sun and moon, and a navel, in the sense of a ceremonial center of the world. Archaeological Resource Management (1992) note that similar petroglyphs in the American southwest have been tied to similar astronomical concepts; however, “...there are no solid data to connect the Adams School (Chitactac) carvings with such astronomical phenomena” (p. 13).

Mark & Newman (1995) also note the astronomical interpretation of a cup-and-ring petroglyph site in Sacramento County by Hudson, Lee, and Hedges (1979). They note that Hudson speculated that some of the glyphs there might symbolize the equinox,

and others the solstice. Hudson et al., however, offer no data to attempt to substantiate this theory.

Additional research discussed in Mark & Newman (1995) was conducted in 1983 by Freeman & Payne and indicated that both summer and winter solstice interactions were noted for the Sacramento County site. The summer solstice interaction (which involved light passing between the cleft of two large boulders and striking a glyph) was confirmed by Newman & Mark in 1986; however, they note that it is impossible to determine if this interaction was the intent of the carver, as the boulder in question had at one time been removed and then replaced.

Another interpretation provided for cup-and-ring petroglyphs in Mark & Newman (1995) concerns a site in Mendocino County in Cahto tribal territory, which according to Daniel Foster is used by the Cahto as a territorial marker.

Beyond assigning them a ritual or symbolic, rather than utilitarian, function, no attempt to provide interpretation of the far more common cupule petroglyphs at Chitactac/Adams is provided in any of the reports or papers on this site. Cupules, such as the ones found at the Chitactac/Adams site “...probably constitute the most common motif type in world rock art. They occur not only in every continent other than Antarctica, it appears they have been produced by many of the rock art traditions, transcending all major divisions of human history... Yet despite this ubiquity, cupules are among the least investigated forms of rock art, as well as among the least understood” (Bednarik, 2008, p. 62).

Parkman (1986) discusses cupule petroglyphs in the Diablo Range, including areas within Bay Miwok, Northern Valley Yokuts, and Ohlone territory. He provides a few relevant observations and potential interpretations for this petroglyph form in central California. The first is in regards to placement; the overwhelming majority of the cupule concentrations he identifies in the Diablo range were located within or directly adjacent to water sources (a condition which holds true for the Chitactac/Adams site). Parkman (1986) suggests that “The association of cupule petroglyphs and water sources, especially springs, may have been more than coincidental” (p. 249). Parkman (1986) continues: “Perhaps cupule boulders adjacent to springs and streams represent some former ceremonial activity aimed at maintaining or restoring the purity of the particular water source” (p. 255).

The next potential interpretation Parkman gives is taken from Pomo ethnographic sources and associates the cupules with a fertility ritual; specific rocks were carved by couples wishing to have children, these were known as “baby rocks.” The ethnographic data on this practice was drawn from Barrett (1908, 1952), and described by Bednarik (2008):

Specific boulders bearing collections of cupules were visited by Pomo women to conduct fertility ceremonies. These rituals, intended to lead to conception, involved the collection of the “fertilising” dust created in pounding the cupules. The rock is either steatite or chlorite schist, the powder was made into a paste which was usually applied to the woman’s skin, or, in one case recorded, was inserted into her vagina to achieve pregnancy through the rock’s magical essence. (p. 73)

It is of particular note that both Parkman and Bednarik discuss the fact that these “baby rocks” were generally elaborately carved, and included both cupules and incised lines or grooves (elements not known to be present at Chitactac).

The third potential interpretation discussed by Parkman is shamanic weather control. This is drawn from the region of the Shasta National Forest, and taken from Heizer (1953):

The rock, which is of tan-colored low grade soapstone or talc, was scratched, presumably with a hard, pointed stone. A white dust or powder was thus produced. If the series of long straight parallel grooves were scratched snow would fall, and to stop a snowstorm a scratch was made across (i.e., at right angles to) the parallel grooves. *The shallow conical pits were made to produce wind and rain* [emphasis added], and the rock, as intimated above, was covered to stop the rain. (p. 35)

Here again, analogy to the Chitactac site is limited as the cupules there occur unassociated with the other sorts of linear features described above.

Parkman provides three additional general interpretations of cupules taken from Meighan (1981): boundary or territorial markers (similar to the interpretation of the cup-and-ring petroglyphs above), clan or personal symbols, and supplication “exemplified by the so-called ‘rain rocks’ or ‘baby rocks’ consisting of boulders with many drilled pits-marks made by individuals to accompany a prayer or request for some benefit” (Parkman, 1986, p. 253).

Prehistoric cultures were diverse throughout the world, and this diversity was particularly notable in California. This diversity makes interpretation, especially in the absence of detailed ethnographic data, difficult to draw from ethnographic analogy. Parkman (1986) notes that “The cupule style of petroglyph

is a very basic and easily produced design. For this reason, it seems unlikely that any one explanation can ever be given for its use. Indeed, this style of petroglyph may have been produced by a variety of activities, and for a variety of purposes” (p. 252).

The rarity of the cup-and-ring petroglyphs, along with the extensive range and number of cupule petroglyphs, mark the Chitactac/Adams site as among the most significant rock art sites within Santa Clara County (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992; Gillette & Johns, 2002; Newman & Mark, 1986). The significance of this site was recognized by County Officials, who in 1998 designated the property as the Chitactac/Adams Heritage County Park (Gillette & Johns, 2002). Archaeological services during the creation of the interpretive park were provided by Pacific Legacy, Inc. (2006).

The Circle of Circles Site: CA-SCL-341

The Circle of Circles site, CA-SCL-341, was originally recorded in 1978, and discovered only by happenstance by excavators working on a nearby site, CA-SCL-106, during their lunch break. The site is located in the Santa Teresa Hills, at the top of a steep knoll approximately 110 meters above the surrounding landscape (Figure 13). The principal feature of the site is a broadly spaced series of small circular rock formations, approximately two meters in diameter, which are themselves situated in several larger circular groups (Figures 14 & 15).

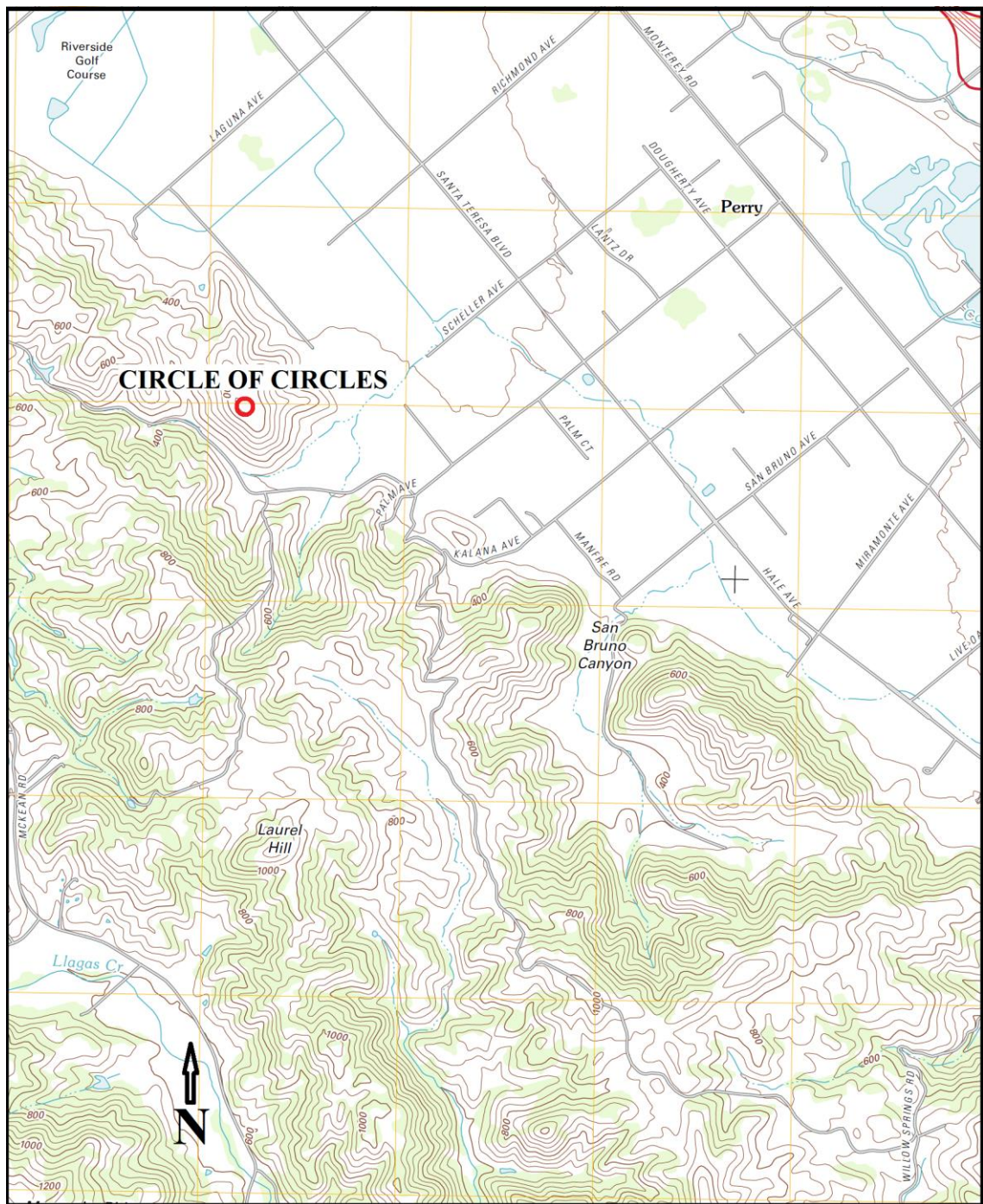


Figure 13. Map showing location of Circle of Circles site.

To date, only a single recorded study has been carried out on the Circle of Circles site. This document, titled “Early Cultures and Rock Features of the Santa Teresa Hills” (Archaeological Resource Management, 1980), discusses the site, as well as CA-SCL-106 noted above, and one additional associated site, CA-SCL-64.

It has been fairly well accepted by all archaeologists who examined the site that the smaller individual stone circles represent the remains of Native American huts. Native American domestic architecture in central California generally consisted of circular huts constructed of wooden poles lined with brush, reeds, or occasionally animal hides. The huts featured a shallow floor pit of up to a foot and a half deep, and the walls were often anchored by a line of heavy stones. The individual circles are interpreted as representing house pits, originally arranged into circular complexes of homes.

All of this is set atop a midden deposit, with a relatively dense surface scatter of artifactual materials throughout including Desert Side-notched projectile points, *Olivella* shell and shell beads, utilized lithic flakes, bedrock mortars, and significant quantities of fire cracked rock. The Circle of Circles site is a significant and unique resource in the context of Central California as the stone dwelling outlines, preserving a record of the size, shape, orientation, and the interrelationship between the homes, represent one of the only extant indications of prehistoric Native American dwelling and village organization in the area.

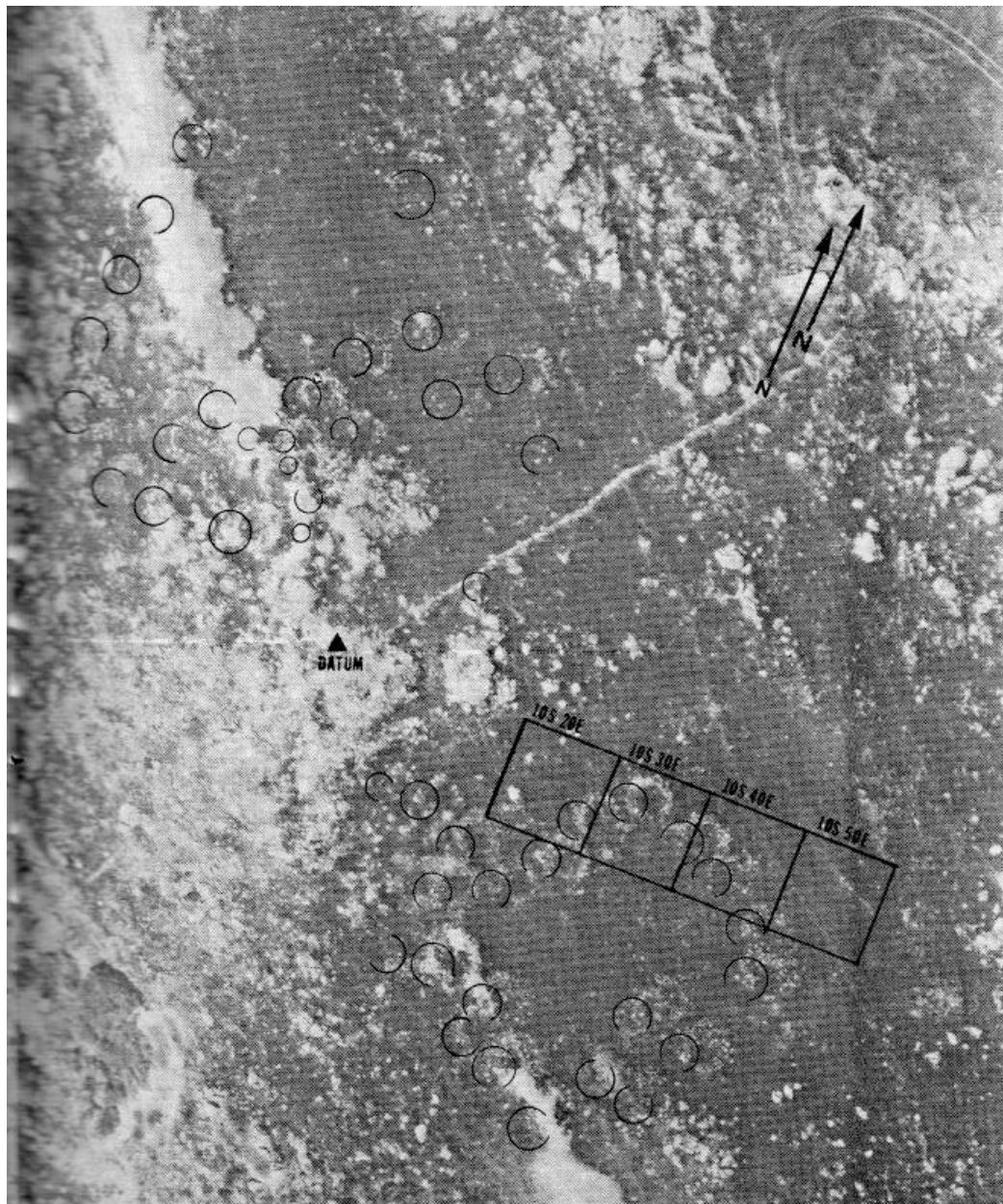


Figure 14. Aerial Photography with an overlay showing the arrangement of circular foundations at CA-SCL-341 (reprinted with permission from Archaeological Resource Management, 1980).



Figure 15. View of a single circular foundation at CA-SCL-341 (photo taken by author October 17, 2008).

The presence of the Circle of Circles site, and its association with CA-SCL-106 and two nearby quarry sites, is problematic from the standpoint of a material analysis of settlement patterns. The need for fresh water for drinking was a central concern in the placement of villages. Many food resources including fish, water plants, and land animals that also drank from the water were provided by waterways (King & Hickman, 1973). However, the Circle of Circles site is located atop a steep knoll, with no nearby access to water, and very little apparent access to food resources. In addition the site is highly exposed to the elements.

Six potential explanations for the placement of the Circle of Circles site are presented in the original documentation of the site. These included military defense, menstruation seclusion, a trading outpost of a non-local group, a high status burial ground, an alternate encampment in times of insect infestation, and a location for group religious activities. The authors of the 1980 report discuss each of these alternative explanations, and posit that the last appears most likely based upon existing data.

This final potential explanation for the placement of the Circle of Circles site posits that the settlement functioned as a site for group religious activities, particularly solar-oriented nature worship. Thus the site may have played an important role within Ohlone mythic geography.

It is likely that settlement patterns in these areas were influenced by the religious ideas that the Ohlone attached to them. Settlements would be located close to areas where ceremonies by tradition had to be performed, and away from areas to be ritually avoided. Thus settlement patterns could be influenced by spiritual, rather than merely material concerns.

An additional, yet related question concerns the type of occupation which characterized CA-SCL-341 and its relation to CA-SCL-106. The authors of the original report argue that the high distribution of projectile points, and well as *Olivella* shells and beads, both known to be closely associated with ceremonial activities among the Ohlone, argue for the religious interpretation of the site. However, due to the presence of many indicators of domestic activity, it is posited that small groups of people were living on the knoll top, and carrying out the daily activities associated with a habitation site.

Thus it is posited that either these inhabitants were living within the Circle of Circles site as a secondary community during periods of religious activity when not at the larger habitation site at CA-SCL-106 or that the population of the Circle of Circles site represented a group of religious specialists, supported by the inhabitants of the larger community below.

Chapter 5: Synthesis and Conclusions

When examined in detail, it is evident that a significant amount of information about the religious beliefs, practices, and rituals of the Ohlone is present in the historic, ethnographic, and archaeological record. Taken together, a picture of Ohlone religious life begins to emerge. In this concluding chapter, I will present a detailed description of a wide range of elements of Ohlone ritual and religion based upon these sources, as well as my conclusions regarding them.

Some of the topics discussed below touch upon a variety of other aspects of Ohlone life-ways, including subsistence patterns, social organization, kinship, and economics. Insoll (2004) notes that while many archaeologists treat religion as a discrete category separate from other social activities, in fact it is often fruitful to examine the role of religion, ritual and belief within these categories of cultural life.

Wherever possible, multiple sources are cited to provide triangulating evidence. However, it should be noted that the archival sources should not be considered independent sources of information since many of the historical accounts are heavily influenced by their predecessors. The ethnographic record displays similar characteristics; most notably, Kroeber made extensive use of historic sources in generating the salvage ethnography he carried out. Materials derived from these historic sources are often presented in Kroeber's ethnological writings with insufficient, or even absent, citations. Throughout much of the 20th century, archaeological interpretation, in turn, was strongly colored by Kroeber's influence.

Animism

The concept of animism is very broad, which limits its usefulness as a descriptor of religious belief. However, the recent papers on animism cited above (Bird-David, 1999; Brown & Walker, 2008; Porr & Bell, 2012) point to the potential to use this concept as a description of the attribution of agency to non-human agents.

Certainly, in their mythology, the Ohlone treat various non-human actors as possessing agency, including animals (Coyote, Eagle, Hummingbird), as well as natural phenomena. These actors make friends, fight, fall in love, and procreate. The environment and material conditions in which the Ohlone lived their lives were seen as coming about as a direct result of the acts of volition of these agents.

Shamanism

Kroeber (1925) discussed Ohlone shamanism, focusing on the paucity of knowledge on the subject, stating that:

Costanoan shamanism has passed away with scarcely a trace. We know that the doctors sang, danced, and sucked material objects out of the body of the sick, and that sometimes he was believed to exercise control of the weather and of the natural crops. His relation to his spirits, the precise manner in which disease was caused, the actions attending his entrance into the profession, the probably belief in bear shamans, are all matters on which the evidence is lost. (p. 472)

However, based upon the historic and ethnographic sources, in particular Harrington's *Cultural Element Distributions: XIX* (1942), a relatively rich understanding of Ohlone shamanism can be gained. Shamans among the Ohlone were primarily male; however, female shamans were also known. Shamans were divided into certain specialized classes, including weather shamans (who influenced rainfall), and grizzly

bear shamans (who transformed themselves into bears). Unlike similar shamans in other native California groups who had the power of rapid travel while in bear form, Ohlone grizzly bear shamans had “only such power as (a) real bear has” (Harrington, 1942, p. 39); however, if killed, a grizzly bear shaman was thought to return back to life.

According to both the northern and southern Ohlone informants, novice shamans were trained in their vocation by older shamans. Among the southern Ohlone, shamans may have drawn their power from visions obtained through the use of toloache (*datura sp.*). However, this entry is marked with a symbol indicating “Probably present...or said to be; doubt on the part of the ethnographer” (Harrington, 1942, p. 6). Harrington does not provide any grounds for his doubt; however it may have been due to concerns of possible mission era influence from more southerly groups where toloache use is more extensively documented.

The functions of the Ohlone shaman included curing, predicting future events, finding lost objects, and removal of contamination. The southern Ohlone informant also described shamans as bringing game for hunters. A shaman would diagnose disease through a process of singing or dancing. Curing was carried out by sucking a disease object out of the body; this object was then always exhibited by the shaman. Similarly, malevolent shamans had the ability to shoot poisonous disease objects into their victims. Shamans received payment or gifts for their services. This could take place either before or after curing, even if they were unsuccessful or refused a case. However, at other times, an unsuccessful shaman might be killed.

Shamans were powerful spiritual figures, with the ability to both heal and harm. Based upon the archival data, as well as ethnographic and historical data on neighboring groups, it appears likely that shamanism played an important, but not central, role in Ohlone religious life. They functioned as individual religious practitioners, but not necessarily spiritual leaders within the community.

Totemism

Although not often discussed in a California context, at least one prominent early ethnographer, C. Hart Merriam (1908), discussed the significance of totemism among several California tribes. The Ohlone were not mentioned in this paper, although neighboring groups such as the Miwok and Yokuts were discussed in some detail. Merriam notes that at least three distinct kinds of totemism were present in California: individual totems, hereditary patriarchal totems, and hereditary matriarchal clan totems.

Harrington (1942) notes the possible presence of Bear-Deer moieties among the southern Ohlone. A note on this entry indicates that this is based upon a fragment of myth, although the specific source is not cited.

As noted above, the concept of totemism was originally seen as religious in character, although later anthropological theorizing tended to emphasize its significance to social organization and systems of kinship, glossing over or denying its significance as a religious form of belief. However, the likely identification of groups within Ohlone communities with particular animals, whether as a literal, or merely symbolic, ancestors, defining or constraining some aspects of their social status (such as potential marriage

partners) indicates the strong ties between totemistic beliefs and cosmological worldview.

Sweat Houses

One practice widely reported in both the historic and ethnographic literature on the Ohlone is the use of the sweat house (or temescal), which had practical (hygienic), medicinal, and ritual functions, including dancing. Harrington (1942) notes that sweat houses among the southern Ohlone were small and semi-circular, with a conical roof. They were built either in a pit or directly on the level surface of the ground, against a bank, supported by many peripheral posts. Earth was piled against the lower half of the structure to retain heat. The rectangular door, possibly made of weeds, was placed at the level of the ground, facing the water. The fire was located near the center of the structure. Sweating among both the northern and the southern Ohlone was carried out via the direct heat of the fire (as opposed to water vapor as in a modern sauna).

Use of sweat houses or temescals by the Ohlone is noted in the response to the Interrogatorio of 1812 from Mission Carmel (Geiger, 1950), Kotzebue (1821b), Beechey (1831), Duhaut-Cilly (1929), Hall (1871), Bancroft (1874), Lewis Publishing Company (1892), Woman's Club of Washington Township (1904), and Baker (1914).

Although sweat houses undoubtedly had utilitarian uses for cleansing and health, they also almost certainly were associated with ritual functions. Ethnographic and historical data on the Ohlone supports the idea that the sweat house played a role in both shamanic healing ceremonies and communal dances. The presence of formal religious societies (such as Kuksu) within Ohlone communities is not well established; however, if

they were present, it is likely that sweat lodges were utilized within their ritual practice, based upon ethnographic data on neighboring groups.

Taboos

The most frequently noted taboo within Ohlone and other central Californian cultures was the naming of the dead. This was noted in the response to the Interrogatorio of 1812 by Mission Carmel, Mission San Juan Bautista, and discussed by La Perouse (1798) and Forbes (1839). Harrington (1942) notes that among both the northern and southern Ohlone, the taboo on the use of the name of the deceased applies until the name has been formally regiven. He also specifies that kin terms are altered after death.

One aspect of taboo among many cultures includes the proscription of the consumption certain animals and plants. Harrington (1942) notes three types of animals not eaten (based upon results from his southern Ohlone informants). These included owls (noted elsewhere as bad luck and omens of ill-fortune), as well as buzzards and frogs (however, the tabulation marks indicate uncertainty on the part of the ethnologist regarding them).

Other taboos noted by Harrington include the idea that “sex (is) hostile to deer hunting” (among both the northern and southern Ohlone) as well as possibly to fishing (among the southern Ohlone). Other beliefs surrounding hunting (both documented only among the southern Ohlone) include the idea that it was bad luck to follow a wounded deer, and the practice of singing at home while a man was hunting deer.

Certain taboos were only observed by specific classes of people, for instance, multiple taboos surrounded menstruating women, including a taboo against the

consumption of fresh meat, fish, fat, cold water, and possibly salt. Although Harrington did not note the presence of specialized menstrual huts, menstruating women were secluded in a corner of the dwelling house.

Taboos can be viewed as a form of religious proscription; however, they can also be indicative of cosmology; they represent a belief in a relationship or link between activities and various agents in the world (i.e., between names and the powers of spirits, or sexual intercourse and deer). This ties many of these taboos to the animistic elements of Ohlone religious life described above.

Tobacco and Other Drugs

The use of tobacco by the Ohlone is well established, and tobacco was used in a number of ritual contexts including in shamanic healing and in somewhat poorly defined “offerings” both in the form of leaves and as smoke. Harrington (1942) notes tobacco was gathered in the wild, and that tubular pipes of cane and stone were used in both the northern and southern Ohlone areas. He also specifically notes its use by shamans. Tobacco use is documented by Bolton (1930a). Mason (1912) also discusses the ritualized use of tobacco among the Ohlone. The possible use of other drugs within the Ohlone territory is not well understood or documented. Harrington notes the possible use of toloache (*Datura sp.*) but describes it as of questionable accuracy.

Thus it appears that the Ohlone, like many other Native American groups, viewed tobacco as a sacred medicine, and utilized it in a variety of ritual contexts. However, the particulars of the ritual use of tobacco, as well as other drugs, by the Ohlone is likely a fruitful topic for further research.

Dances

Dancing played a major role in Ohlone ceremonial life, and descriptions of dances are prominent in the ethnographic and historical literature. Dancing was performed in large communal groups, as well as individually. Group dances among the southern Ohlone often took place within a large circular enclosure, consisting of a brush fence (Harrington, 1942). Descriptions of dance enclosures can also be found in Bolton (1930c), and Merriam (1967).

Dancing was described in the literature as being carried out for a broad range of purposes including shamanic dancing for healing, large scale multi-community dances known as big times (Milliken, 1995), dancing and singing to proclaim accomplishment and admonish enemies (Geiger, 1950), annual mourning dances (Bancroft, 1874), and dancing to ensure success in hunting and fishing (Baker, 1914).

Specific dances which were part of larger regional dance traditions may have been performed within Ohlone territory, including the Kuksui and Hiwei Dances. Early 20th century ethnographers note that their presence in prehistoric times is uncertain, and more recent practice may be attributable to cultural intermingling in the missions (Kroeber, 1925; Mason, 1912). One historic source (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904) specifically notes the practice of the “Cooksuy” dance among local Indians within recent memory. They also note that it is known as the Coyote dance, and that the Kuksu character is a clown.

Other aspects closely tied to dancing described in the literature include regalia and body painting associated with dances (Bancroft, 1874; Harrington, 1942; Kotzebue, 1821a; Kroeber, 1925; Langsdorff, 1814).

Given the central place that communal dance appears to have had within Ohlone religious life, it is somewhat ironic that the missionaries often allowed their charges to continue the practice (with some modifications to suit European notions of propriety), at times actively promoting them by having dances performed for visitors to the missions.

The Spanish fathers seem to have viewed the dances as primarily a form of cultural expression, rather than religious celebration or devotion. This oversight may be attributable to an ethnocentric blindness as to what constitutes “worship;” however, it has allowed a relative abundance of information on dances to survive. This includes first-hand accounts of dances themselves, as well as associated regalia and activities.

Mortuary Practices

The ritual and beliefs which surround death are an important part of the religious life of many societies, and the physical artifacts and remains that mortuary practices produce are often better preserved in the archaeological record than many other ceremonial activities.

The Ohlone had well defined, organized cemeteries located close to but outside of their villages at the time of Spanish contact (Bolton, 1930a). These complexes were characterized by the placement of tall slender poles topped with capes of grass and feathers. According to Harrington (1942) both the northern and southern Ohlone believed that the deceased should be buried the same day they died.

Harrington noted that destruction of the deceased's property, including the burning of their house, was practiced among the southern Ohlone. He also states that when a woman's husband died, the widow burned her hair. The Mission Carmel response to the Interrogatorio of 1812 provides more detail on mourning: "As a sign of mourning, the father, mother, child, husband and wife, brothers or sisters cut off their hair; if scissors are lacking, they burn it bit by bit. Moreover, they strew ashes over their entire bodies, weep bitterly, abstain from food, and the old women smear their faces with pitch" (Geiger, 1950, p. 483).

Flexed burial was noted by Harrington for the southern Ohlone, but not the northern Ohlone. The archaeological record here is mixed; burials within Ohlone territory are found in a variety of positions, including tightly flexed, loosely flexed, and extended, as noted in CA-SCL-6W described in this paper. Both cremation and inhumation were practiced, problematizing the idea that each practice represents different symbolic and belief systems. Harrington (1942) indicates that the choice was an economic one noting that those who "...had not the wherewith to burn, (were) buried" (p. 37).

Some of this variation (at least within the archaeological record) is certainly attributable to diachronic change, and indeed variations in burial positions and disposal methods are considered chronological indicators within what is known as the Central California Taxonomic System (C.C.T.S.) (Beardsley, 1948; Fredrickson, 1974; Gerow & Force, 1968; Heizer & Fenenga, 1939; Lilliard, Heizer, & Fenenga, 1939). Some may also be attributable to cultural differences across geographic areas. However,

considerable variation is sometimes seen at individual sites with a relatively constrained chronology (such as CA-SCL-6W described above). This appears likely to indicate both social complexity and the differential *ritual treatment* of individuals of varying social status (age and sex, as well as economic and political standing).

Rock Art

Rock art is an aspect of Ohlone culture which is severely under-researched within the Ohlone territory, and central California more generally. Very little mention of rock art is made in the historic and ethnographic literature. Interestingly, Harrington (1942) notes the presence of pictographs among both the northern and southern Ohlone but does not mention petroglyphs.

The archaeological record would seem to indicate the opposite; there are several known sites featuring petroglyphs within Ohlone territory, including the cup-and-ring and cupule styles present at Chitactac/Adams, as well as pecked curvilinear nucleated features; however, pictograph sites are exceptionally rare. This may also reflect the less durable nature of painted pictographs in the Central California environment.

Although various possible interpretations have been suggested regarding the meaning or function of both cup-and-ring and cupule petroglyphs (such as those found at the Chitactac/Adams site), all are based upon ethnographic analogy, varying from representatives of neighboring peoples to cultures from other continents. Further comparative testing may provide additional weight to some of these interpretations, since at present none provide a truly convincing account.

However, a few assumptions regarding the religious significance of this rock art can be made. The process of grinding and pecking used to manufacture petroglyphs such as these is very labor intensive. The commitment of this much labor suggests that the rock art features (or the process of producing them) was viewed as fulfilling an important function. Their location along a relatively open stretch of stream within the context of a broader habitation site suggests that that function was primarily public, rather than private. Finally, the presence of two distinctly different styles of petroglyphs suggests that this function may have changed over time, or that multiple, different functions were ascribed to rock art within Ohlone society.

Cosmology/Mythology/Mythic-Geography/Archaeoastronomy

Understanding of Ohlone mythology is limited, and relatively few myths remain. However, those that are documented exhibit certain central characters within their mythos, such as Coyote, Eagle, and Hummingbird (Kroeber, 1907a; Kroeber, 1925; Ortiz, 1994).

Ohlone ideas of astronomy, cosmology, and the calendar are noted briefly by Harrington (1942). Many of Harrington's notes on Ohlone astronomy are discussed by Hudson (1982). They recognized four cardinal directions. The sun was viewed as masculine, and the moon may also have been seen as male. They viewed the position of the horns of the moon as significant; when they were horizontal it was good sign of rain.

The Ohlone had concepts surrounding both solar and lunar eclipses. It was bad for pregnant women to view a solar eclipse, and led to deformity in the child. Similar beliefs regarding solar eclipses and deformity are common in Mexico (Castro, 1995).

During a lunar eclipse it was thought that Grizzly ate the moon. The winter solstice was observed ceremonially, although no mention is made of the summer solstice.

These hints provide only a limited understanding of Ohlone beliefs in these realms. However, as discussed above, their animal mythology suggests ties to recent conceptions of animism. Their beliefs regarding astronomical phenomena such as the sun and the moon also articulate with these conceptions: both are seen as possessing agency, and acting upon the world in which the Ohlone lived.

Critique of Sources

Three broad sources of information on the Ohlone are described above: historical documents, ethnographic research, and archaeological reports. Although each type of source provides unique insights into Ohlone religious life, each also has significant weaknesses.

The accounts of the early Spanish explorers within Ohlone territory provide eye-witness accounts of the Ohlone prior to the incredible cultural disruption caused by the missionization process. However, their lack of knowledge in local languages limited their ability to communicate in any depth with the native population. After the establishment of the missions, the Franciscan fathers actively sought to suppress indigenous religious activity (to the extent that they recognized that it existed at all), and their descriptions of native rituals or religious beliefs were often hostile, and at best heavily colored by their notions of proper Christianity.

The various European visitors to the missions from France, England, Russia, and the United States during the late 18th and early 19th century provide some alternative

views. However, their exposure to the native population was generally brief and often tightly controlled by the missionaries themselves. In addition, many of these visitors' accounts are heavily influenced by the opinions of the missionaries, as well as accounts already published by earlier explorers.

The American period histories and primary sources are, if anything, often more hostile and dismissive in their treatment of California Indians than the Spanish. They are frequently only described as degenerate gamblers and thieves, and when native religious rituals are discussed, they are generally either dismissed as non-existent, or sensationalized as satanic orgies. However, as noted above, on the rare occasions when these rituals are mentioned, they give credence to a continuation of many aspects of Ohlone religious life into the 20th century.

The work of early ethnographers within the Ohlone territory provides much information on their religious and ritual activities which might otherwise have been lost. However, critiques have been leveled at their work as well. Among the most significant of these early ethnographers were Alfred Kroeber and J. P. Harrington. As described above, Kroeber has been criticized for disregarding ethnographic data which did not fit his established theories of "culture areas." His focus on salvage ethnography has also been critiqued, both for its tendency to draw the focus of ethnographic research away from heavily missionized groups such as the Ohlone, and for its view of the rapid destruction of the remnants of native culture as inevitable. J. P. Harrington's primary work, which covers the Ohlone cultural area, is the *Cultural Element Distribution Volume*

XIX: the Central Coast (1942). As described above, this work provides a wealth of information but very little in the way of detailed description or context.

The existing archaeological reports on the three type sites selected can also be critiqued. The Lick Mill Boulevard site is the most extensively documented; however, the sheer amount of burial data and the involvement of such an extensive archaeological crew led to some inconsistencies in burial recordation. As noted above (Carr, 1995), the reports were completed during a time in which the theoretical concerns of most American archaeologists in connection to mortuary practices were focused on questions of social organization and hierarchy, rather than religious and ritual activities, and their analysis reflects this outlook.

Previously completed reports on the Chitactac/Adams site primarily focused on description rather than interpretation, with one exception (Archaeological Resource Management, 1992). However, this interpretation focused almost entirely on the cup-and-ring petroglyphs, to the exclusion of the far more numerous cupules.

The Circle of Circles site is the least documented of the three type sites, with only a single monograph previously published focusing on the site. The analysis of the site was, for its time, extensive and innovative in its use of aerial photography. However, the lack of additional studies and sources on this site is a limiting factor in interpreting its significance in terms of Ohlone cosmology.

Future Research

Although archaeological interest in and emphasis on ritual and religious aspects of the prehistoric past has increased in the past few decades, few of these new theories

and methods have been applied within the Ohlone cultural area, or in Central California more generally. Each of the three sites examined in this paper demonstrate aspects of the rich religious lives of the prehistoric peoples of this region. The relatively limited research and analysis of these sites, along with many others, points to the potential for more extensive research on these topics.

In particular, no new studies have been carried out on CA-SCL-341 (Circle of Circles) since it was originally documented in the 1970s. Analysis of this site would benefit greatly from new computer-assisted mapping techniques to test the hypothesis proposed by the original authors that it represents an area of potential archaeoastronomical significance.

Although many questions still remain, and much research is still needed on this topic, the image which emerges of the Ohlone from the historic, ethnographic, and archaeological records is one of a people with a rich and varied spiritual belief system, informing all aspects of their lives.

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Appendix I: Collections and Journals Reviewed

Collections

Several collections of historic, anthropological, and archaeological works and other data were consulted as part of background research for this report. This included the following collections:

SJSU ScholarWorks Anthropology Collection. This collection houses masters theses, graduate research, and faculty publications from the Anthropology Department of San Jose State University. It is available online at <http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/anth/>.

Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology. Established in 1988, the Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology (SCA) make available papers presented at the annual meetings of the SCA which have not previously appeared in other publications. The proceedings are available online at <http://scahome.org/sca-publications/articles-of-the-sca-proceedings/>.

Special Reports and Occasional Papers of the Society for California Archaeology. This collection houses several reports and papers of significance to California archaeology not included in the SCA's Journal, proceedings, or other publications. The collection is available online at <http://scahome.org/sca-publications/special-reports-and-occasional-papers/>

Newsletters of the Society for California Archaeology, 1992-Present. The SCA newsletter provides preliminary information on significant archaeological sites, and brief articles on various aspects of California Archaeology not included in the SCA

Journal. The SCA newsletters from 1992 to the present are compiled and stored online at <http://scahome.org/sca-publications/newsletter/past-newsletters/>.

The American Journeys Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This collection provides a broad array of primary sources documenting the exploration of North America. It is housed online at <http://www.americanjourneys.org/>.

University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnography, 1903-1964. Although the collection includes archaeological and ethnographic publications spanning the Americas, a significant percentage of the material has a California focus. An author and title index to these publications is available online at <http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/anthpubs/ucb/text/arf032-001.pdf>.

Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1965-2007. An important source of documents on California archaeology, this collection is available online at <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?journal=4>.

Collection of Manuscripts from the Archaeological Archives of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. This collection includes a number of significant manuscripts on California archaeology, including many reports compiled by the University of California Archaeological Survey directed by Robert Heizer. An index to these materials is available online at http://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/documents/collection_of_manuscripts.pdf.

University of California Anthropological Records, 1937-1973. This collection provides many ethnographic sources on California Native American groups. It can be accessed online at <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?journal=3>.

Postprints from Department of Anthropology, UC Berkeley, 1929-2003. This collection houses anthropological papers on diverse topics worldwide, including several publication on California ethnography and archaeology. A chronological index to these publications is available online at https://escholarship.org/uc/anthropology_ucb_postprints.

Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History Vol I-IV, 1909-1919. These publications includes many primary documents on Spanish and other European exploration along the California coast. These works are now in the public domain and are available online at <https://archive.org/>.

Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 1987-Present. These publications consist of monograph-length manuscripts on a wide range of topics relevant to anthropological archaeology. An index to these materials is available online at <http://www.aaanet.org/sections/ad/publications/>.

Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1877-1971. These publications cover almost a century of ethnographic work throughout the Americas, including many works of California ethnography. An index to these publications is available online at <http://www.sil.si.edu/digitalcollections/bae/bulletin200/200title.htm>.

Online Archive of California: Finding Aid to the Hubert Howe Bancroft: Records of the Library and Publishing Companies, 1864-1910. This finding aid is useful in identifying and referencing the myriad historical writings published by Bancroft during his lifetime. It is available online at <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8779n9js/>. Many of these works are available in electronic format at The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft page, <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/metabook?id=worksbancroft>.

Journals

The indexes of the following journals were reviewed for articles relevant to the report topic. Individual articles which were cited are listed in the references section of this report.

American Anthropologist, 1888-Present. American Anthropologist, the original journal of the American Anthropological Association, contains more than a century's worth of articles on a wide range of anthropological topics. The index was reviewed for articles relevant to the Ohlone and California Native American groups more broadly, as well as for topics of relevance to the anthropological study of religion.

American Antiquity, 1935-Present. This is the primary journal of the Society for American Archaeology. The index was surveyed for articles relevant to central California archaeology, and the archaeology of religion.

American Indian Quarterly, 1974-Present. The American Indian Quarterly is among the most prominent journals of Native American studies. The index was searched

for articles relevant to central California Native American groups and Native religion.

The American Journal of Archaeology, 1885-Present. The American Journal of Archaeology is the primary journal of the Archaeological Institute of America. Although it has a worldwide scope, some articles relevant to California archaeology can be found in its index. Articles related to the archaeology of religion were also reviewed.

The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History, 1944-Present. The Americas is among the most significant journals of Latin American history published in the English language. It includes articles and primary documents on the exploration and occupation of Spanish colonial California.

California Archaeology, 2009-Present. The index to California Archaeology, the journal of the Society for California Archaeology, was searched for articles relevant to the Ohlone, neighboring groups, and the archaeology of religion in California.

California Historical Society Quarterly, 1922-1970. Relevant articles from this journal included several translations of primary source documents in Spanish and other languages describing the exploration and colonization of California.

Current Anthropology, 1959-Present. This journal presents articles from a worldwide perspective and various sub-disciplines of anthropology. The index to Current Anthropology was searched for articles relevant to the anthropology of California, and the anthropological study of religion.

The Hispanic American Historical Review, 1918-Present. The Hispanic American Historical Review publishes articles on a wide range of topics relevant to Latin American history and culture. The index was searched for materials relevant to

California during the Spanish and Mexican periods.

Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, 1982-Present. This journal publishes articles on a wide range of archaeological topics worldwide. The index was searched for articles relevant to central California archaeology, and the archaeology of religion.

Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, 1994-Present. The index of the Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory was reviewed for articles relevant to theoretical and methodological approaches to the archaeology of religion.

Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology, 1974-Present. Known as the Journal of California Anthropology from 1974-1978 and the Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology from 1979 to the present, this journal publishes articles on the ethnography, archaeology, and Native American history of the region. The index was reviewed for articles relevant to the Ohlone cultural area, as well as more broadly for articles relevant to the anthropology and archaeology of religion.

Pacific Coast Archaeological Society quarterly, 1965-Present. This journal publishes articles on the prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Pacific coast of North America. The index was searched for articles relevant to the Ohlone, and to the archaeology of religion.

Pacific Historical Review, 1932-Present. The Pacific Historical Review is the official journal of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. The index was reviewed for primary documents and original articles relevant to central California Native American history.

Rock Art Research, 1984-Present. Rock Art Research is the primary publication of the Australian Rock Art Research Association (AURA) and the International Federation of Rock Art Organizations (IFRAO), and publishes articles on rock art from around the world. The index was reviewed for articles relevant to California rock art, and for comparative data on rock art in other regions.

Wíčazo Ša Review, 1985-Present. The Wíčazo Ša Review is a bi-annual journal of Native American Studies. Its index was reviewed for articles and essays relevant to Native American religion and ritual.

Appendix II: Full Quotations from Primary Sources

European Explorer's Accounts, 1542-1776

The Portola Expedition, 1769.

Crespi, Sep. 29: We signaled them with a white cloth to approach, but there was no way to attract them; on the contrary, they began to blow on a pipe and throw earth in the air, on seeing which we returned to camp and allowed them to continue their exercise. (Bolton, 1927, p. 200)

Crespi, Oct. 8: We saw in this place a bird which the heathen had killed and stuffed with straw; to some of our party it looked like a royal eagle. It was measured from tip to tip of the wings and found to measure eleven spans. For this reason the soldiers called the stream Rio del Pajaro, and I added the name of La Senora Santa Ana. (Bolton, 1927, p. 210)

Costanso, Oct. 8: Here we saw a bird that the natives had killed and stuffed with grass; it appeared to be a royal eagle; it was eleven palms from tip to tip of its wings. On account of this find we called the river the Rio del Pájaro. (Costanso, 1911, p. 87)

Costanso, Oct. 23: In the middle of the village there was a large house, spherical in form and very roomy; the other small houses, built in the form of a pyramid, had very little room, and were built of split pine wood. As the large house so much surpassed the others, the village was named after it. (Costanso, 1911, p. 97)

Crespi, Oct. 23: In the middle of the village there was an immense house of a spherical form, large enough to hold all the people of the town, and around it there were some little houses of a pyramidal form, very small, constructed of stakes of pine. Because the large house rose above the others the soldiers called it Village of the Casa Grande, but I dedicated it to San Juan Nepomuceno. (Bolton, 1927, p. 219-220)

In a letter to Fray Juan Andres written June 11, 1770, Juan Crespi describes the return trip to central California in search of Monterey Bay. On the 24th of May of that year the expedition returned to a wooden cross which had been set up by the Portola Expedition several months earlier. Crespi notes:

We found the cross all surrounded by arrows and darts with plumes stuck in the ground; a dart with a string of sardines, still nearly fresh; another dart with a piece of meat hanging to it; and at the foot of the cross a little pile of mussels, all put there by the heathen in token of peace. (Bolton, 1927, p. 51)

The Rivera-Palou Expedition, 1774.

Palou, Dec. 4: I again gave them beads and a little tobacco, and as soon as they saw it they called it by the same name which they use at Monte Rey, Sahuans. Then they began to smoke, and I noticed in them the same custom and ceremony as in all the others, the chief beginning to smoke and then the rest. Passing the pipe around, each one blew out mouthfuls of smoke toward the sky, proffering some words of which I understood only one, Esmen, which means "sun." (Bolton, 1930a, p. 425)

On December 8, 1774 in the vicinity of Pescadero Creek, Palou observed:

Near the first of the two large arroyos we saw vestiges of a village with its cemetery, in which there were planted two very high, slim and straight poles, at the top of each of which there was hanging a cape made of grass of the kind the heathen use, this being a custom which they have in the burial of their chiefs. (Bolton, 1930a, p. 440)

Similarly, on the following day he notes:

...we found vestiges of an abandoned village with its cemetery and the stone which they use, with a pole set in it. Some of the soldiers said that this was the place where the first expedition [The Portola Expedition of 1769] found a large village with many houses, among them being a very large one, for which reason it was given the name of Rancheria de la Casa Grande. (Bolton, 1930a, p. 441)

One December 11, near Aptos:

In crossing by the ford it was necessary to pass right close to the houses, by the very trail used by these people, but we saw nobody except a young fellow about thirty years old, and an old woman over eighty who welcomed us with much gabbling and a lighted firebrand. We stopped for a while, until the pack train had crossed the arroyo, to see if more heathen might come out, in order to relieve their fear. But, seeing that they did not come out and that the old woman continued yelling, I shut her up with a string of beads, which she accepted and began to look at with admiration.

She repaid the gift with the firebrand, which I accepted in order that she might not be offended. (Bolton, 1930a, p. 448)

Later that same day:

On a hill not very far from the road which we were traveling we saw five heathen standing still, armed with bows and arrows. They were painted in such a way that from a distance they looked to me as though dressed in striped clothes. (Bolton, 1930a, p. 449)

The Voyage of the San Carlos, 1775. On August 14th 1775, on Angel Island, near the boundary of the Ohlone territory with the territory of the Coast Miwok, Father Santa Maria encountered what he interpreted as heathen shrine:

...I came to a large rock with a cleft in the middle of it, in which rested three remarkable droll objects, and I was led to wonder if they were likenesses of some idol that the Indians revered. These were slim round shafts about a yard and a half high, ornamented at the top with a bunch of white feathers, and ending, to finish them off, in an arrangement of black and red-dyed feathers imitating the appearance of a sun. They even had, as their drollest adornment, pieces of the little nets with which we had seen the Indians cover their hair. At the foot of this niche were many arrows with their tips stuck in the ground as if symbolizing abasement. (Galvin, 1971, p. 49)

On the morning of August 24, 1775 the San Carlos was visited by eight Indians (identified in Milliken [1995] as Huchiuns, an east Bay Ohlone group), who proceeded to enact what Milliken interpreted as a formal diplomatic ritual. As Father Santa Maria described it:

This visit was not a casual one, for all of them appeared to have got themselves up, each as best he could, for a festive occasion. Some had adorned their heads with a tuft of re-dyed feathers, and others with a garland of them mixed with black ones. Their chests were covered with a sort of woven jacket made with ash-colored feathers; and the rest of their bodies, though bare, was all worked over with various designs in charcoal and red ocher, presenting a droll sight...The chieftain of the rancheria had all his men, one after another, in the order of their importance, salute our

captain; and when this ceremony was completed he begged us all to sit down, as the Indians also did, for distribution among us of their offering, which they brought to us in all tidiness. All being in their places in due order, the second chieftain, who was among the company, asked of another Indian a container made of reeds that he carried with him, in which were many pats or small cakes of pinole. It was given him, and having placed it beside him he indicated that he was to be listened to. With no lack of self-composure he spoke for quite a while, and then, opening the container, handed the pinole cakes to the first chieftain, who as soon as he received them handed them to our captain, making signs to him to distribute them among all the men of the ship, insisting, moreover, that he be the first to taste the pinole. The second chieftain was now very watchful to see if by chance anyone of the ship's company had missed partaking the bread of hospitality...after this our captain directed the steward to bring some pieces of pilot bread and gave them to the Indian head man, who distributed them with all formality among his party. (Galvin, 1971, p. 63)

After this party left the ship, they traveled in their boats to the adjacent island.

Later that afternoon Father Santa Maria ventured out to the island, and stayed alone with the Indians for some time:

...they all crowded around me and, sitting by me, began to sing, with an accompaniment of two rattles that they had brought with them. As they finished the song all of them were shedding tears, which I wondered at for not knowing the reason. When they were through singing they handed me the rattles and by signs asked me also to sing. I took the rattles and, to please them, began to sing to them the "Alabado." (Galvin, 1971, p. 65)

Although primarily focused upon the technical descriptions of the sounding of the

San Francisco Bay, Canizares' journal also contains one entry of possible relevance:

The furthest part of this bight, which faces east, makes with a curving point a pocket that at low tide is for the most part drained bare. Here are some stakes to which are fastened bunches of black feathers, handfuls of reeds, and small and spiral seashells. They gave me the idea, since they are in the midst of the waters, that they are fish traps. (Galvin, 1971, p. 97)

The Anza-Font Expedition, 1776. A common theme noted within the journals of the early Spanish explorers in the Ohlone region is the native population's reaction to the crosses and other small structures set up by the Spaniards. Upon their return, the Spaniards found the Ohlone had modified and added a variety of objects to these structures. Both Father Font and de Anza provide descriptions of such an occurrence in their journals:

Font, March 24: At this place we found still standing the poles of the little bower erected in the journey which in September of last year was made by ship captain Don Bruno de Hezeta and Father Palou, ...We found that the Indians had made a fence of little poles around them, and in the middle had set up a thick post about three spans long, decorated with many feathers tied in something like a net, as if dressed, and with an arrow stuck through them. On one pole many arrows were tied and from another were hung three or four balls of grass like tamales, filled with pinole made of their seeds and of acorns, or of others of their foods which we did not recognize. In the middle of a long stake there was hung a tuft of several goose feathers, but we were not able to understand what mystery this decoration concealed. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 321)

Anza, March 24: We have noted here that in the place where the last Mass was said when our people traveled through here, the trees where they nailed and set up the altar are now full of arrows, decorated with colored feathers and hung with some little bags of food, now decayed, which indicates the acknowledgment which these heathen render. We do not know to whom it is offered, but with others of whom I have some knowledge it is usually to the immortality of their own people, although confused and very different from real immortality. (Bolton, 1930b, p. 124)

Later that same day, father Pedro Font describes a cemetery:

On passing near the village which I mentioned on the road we saw on the edge of it something like a cemetery. It was made of several small poles, although it was not like the cemeteries which we saw on the Channel (the Missionaries had previously seen a different type of native cemetery far to the south, in the Santa Barbara Channel). On the poles were hung some things like snails and some tule skirts which the women wear. Some arrows were stuck in the ground, and there were some feathers which perhaps were treasures of the persons buried there. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 322)

Two days later the expedition encountered another abandoned Ohlone village, in which they saw a ceremonial dance enclosure:

Font, March 26: "Near here we saw something that looked to us like a building. Going to see what it was, we found a very round enclosure made of laurel branches well woven together and about six spans high, with a door somewhat higher by which to enter, and opposite it near the ground another small one like a little window. On the top of the enclosure there were four tufts of dry grass like beaten hemp, and within, on one side, a bundle of poles about two varas long without points, stuck in the ground and with feathers at the end like arrows, and other sticks that were shorter, all tied together. But there was no Indian about, and from the sign of the fire in the middle we concluded that this enclosure was some sort of a plaza for dancing. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 326)

At a village along Steven's Creek in the Santa Clara Valley, the expedition encounters a woman who "reacts to the invaders as if they were spirit beings" (Milliken, 1995). Milliken notes that the woman may have been a shaman:

Font, March 30: One of the women, from the time when she first saw us until we departed, stood at the door of her hut making gestures like crosses and drawing lines on the ground, at the same time talking to herself as though praying, and during her prayer she was immobile, paying no attention to the glass beads which the commander offered her. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 354)

The Ohlone communities the Spaniards encountered frequently greeted them in what appears to be a formalized and ceremonial way:

Font, March 31: Their method of greeting us was as follows: They came running, and before reaching us they raised an arm, extending the hand as a sign that we should stop. Yelling with great rapidity, they said: "Au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au, au," and then they halted, vigorously slapping their thighs. As they went yelling, one behind another and then continued talking with great velocity and shouting, it seemed like something infernal. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 357-358)

Font, April 2: Their method of welcoming us was like this: At sunrise the ten Indians came, one behind another, singing and dancing. One carried

the air, making music with a little stick, rather long and split in the middle, which he struck against his hand and which sounded something like a Castanet. They reached the camp and continued their singing and dancing for a little while. Then they stopped dancing, all making a step in unison, shaking the body and saying dryly and in one voice, "Ha, ha, ha!" Next they sat down on the ground and signaled to us that we must sit down also. So we sat down in front of them, the commander, I, and the commissary. Now an Indian arose and presented the commander with a string of cacomites, and again sat down. Shortly afterward he rose again and made me a present of another string of cacomites and again sat down. In this way they went making us their little presents, another Indian giving me a very large root of chuchupate which he began to eat, telling me by signs that it was good. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 366-367)

After this greeting ceremony, the explorers were ushered into the village proper, and a dance was begun:

Three of them came to the edge of the village with some long poles with feathers on the end, and some long and narrow strips of skin with the hair on, which looked to me like rabbit skin, hanging like a pennant, this being their sign of peace. They led us to the middle of the village where there was a level spot like a plaza, and then began to dance with other Indians of the place with much clatter and yelling. A little afterward a rather old Indian woman came out, and in front of us, for we were on horseback, nobody having dismounted, she began to dance alone, making motions very indicative of pleasure, and at times stopping to talk to us, making signs with her hands as if bidding us welcome. (Bolton, 1930c, p. 367-368)

The Spanish were apparently scandalized by the suggestiveness of the woman's dance, and promptly left.

Anza, April 2: ...we came to a village of about five hundred souls, from which a little before we set out ten heathen came adorned with plumes and garlands of flowers to invite us to pass through their settlement. They came to our camp singing, and in the same way they continued to their village, from which all the people came out to welcome us, following with some order three singers, who placed in the tops of the trees three bunches of feathers and some strings of feathers of various colors, which were moved and raised up by the wind. Both sexes danced and gave presents of their edibles. (Bolton, 1930b, p. 140)

Mission Documents, 1776-1830

The Interragatorio, 1812. The questions which concern religious and related ceremonial matters are reproduced below, as translated by Geiger (1949). The responses to these questions by the missions within the Ohlone cultural area are given.

Occasionally, other questions elicited responses with relevant information, and these responses are also included below.

10) Do they retain any superstitions? Which ones? What means can be used to destroy these superstitions?

12) Do you still notice among them any tendency toward idolatry? Explain the nature of the idolatry, and unfold the means that can be employed to uproot it.

14) Into what agreements or conditions do they enter for matrimonial alliances? What sort of services do the aspirants give to the parents of the engaged female, and for how long a time?

15) Not having physicians in their villages, what curative methods do they use in time of sickness? If they employ plants, roots, barks, or leaves of trees, give their names and the manner of their application. Do they employ blood letting, purgatives or emetics? State whether these are simple or compound remedies. Do they bathe in hot springs which abound in the Americas, and for the cure of which diseases? Which are the dominant diseases, and are they seasonal or chronic? Does the number of deaths equal that of births? If unequal in number, state the difference.

16) How do they know and distinguish the seasons of the year? Do they have their own calendars, or are they the same they had in their pagan state? Explain this matter, and accompany it with a drawing. How do they regulate the hours of the day for the distribution of sleep, meals, and labor?

19) In their pagan state, in many places, they adored the sun and the moon. You are to state if they still have any memory of this, or any tendency toward it.

20) Do they still retain any customs of their early ancestors? Also, do they have any knowledge or tradition concerning the area or territory their

ancestors left, to settle in their present abode?

21) Do they use any strange ceremonial at the time of burial or mourning? Describe this very plainly and correctly.

28) Do you notice if they retain any inclination to immolate human victims to their gods, in cases of idolatry into which they fall, and of which there are examples?

29) If among the untamed Indians these sacrifices to their gods are still observed, and if they offer human victims, what ceremonies do they observe in regard to the corpses they bury? Do they in some parts place food with the interred, or do they burn the corpses entirely?

33) Have they any inclination towards music? With what musical instruments are they acquainted? With string or wind instruments? Are these the same they have always used? Are they acquainted with our instruments, and do they use them? Do they have any songs in their own languages? Are they sweet, lively, sad in tenor? Are they more inclined to music of a sad and melodious kind, or to that which is warlike? In case they have their own songs, which tones do they use? If possible, describe these, and give the notes.

35) What are their ideas of eternity, reward, and punishment, final judgement, glory, purgatory, and hell?

Mission San Carlos Borroméo de Carmelo. The Carmel Mission was the first to be founded within Ohlone territory, and included members of both Ohlone and Esselen groups. According to Geiger (1950), the response to the Interragatorio from this mission was composed by Father Juan Amorós. Several statements made by the respondent have a bearing on ritual and religious activities, and are quoted below:

Question 10, Superstitions: Very few superstitions are found among them, and these result rather from the vagaries of old men and women. Someone among them gets the reputation of being a healer; a sick person calls him and permits him to suck the ailing part. Soon the healer brings forth a stone which he had hidden in his mouth, and says: "Look, this stone has been the cause of your illness; this stone was within you." They receive pay for this deception, but the patient does not recover. Others sing and dance before the sick person, and are paid for this. Some old women

claim that they are the ones who cause the fruits and seeds to grow, and for this they receive gifts. Should the year happen to be a barren one in produce, the old woman pretends that she is angry, and causes others to believe she had been unwilling to produce the harvest. Thus they find themselves compelled to reward her further, to appease her anger and to obtain seeds in the following year. If the harvest chances to be abundant, the old woman is showered with mirthful applause, and all honor her. (Geiger, 1950, p. 479)

Questions 12, Idolatry: These natives practiced the following type of idolatry: at times they blew smoke to the sun, moon and to some beings who they fancied lived in the dwelling of the sky. At the same time they would say: "Ah, this wisp of smoke is blown that you may give me a favorable day tomorrow." In like manner, they took pinole or flour of the seeds they gathered, and throwing a handful to the sun, moon or sky, they said: "I send you this that you may give me greater abundance next year." Thus the sun and moon were looked upon as affecting their needs. Likewise, they believed there were other beings in the sky who sent them what they desired. For this reason, they sent heaven-wards flour, seeds and tobacco smoke. Now, however, they have discontinued these practices because the old people who practiced them have died. (Geiger, 1950, p. 479)

At the close of their seed-harvest, the chiefs of each tribe customarily give a feast, at which they eat, sing and dance. We have asked them repeatedly if their folklore contains any information as to their origin, and their answer is uniformly, no. Nor is this ignorance surprising, for these natives consider it very disrespectful to talk about their deceased parents and relatives. Thus a boy whose parents died when he was quite young has no one to tell him the names of his father, grandfather or kinsfolk. In the course of a quarrel, for greater vituperation they exclaim: "Your father is dead," and the flame of their fury grows greater. So they have no means of remembering their ancestors. When someone dies, his clothing and belongings are burned. If an animal, such as hens, dogs, horses, etc., are among their possessions, these are killed; if they had plants, they are uprooted. When asked the reason for this procedure, they answer: "It is to obliterate the memory of the deceased." (Geiger, 1950, p. 480)

Question 14, Marriage: Matrimonial alliances are brought about in this fashion: the father and mother, or nearest of kin, declare that they have a marriageable son or daughter for so and so. Should the parents or nearest of kin of both sides reach an agreement, the son or daughter is asked if he or she wishes to marry so and so. Given an affirmative answer, they go at

once to see the kinsmen of the intended. If the latter consents, the contract is concluded then and there, and the groom has the privilege of eating in the house of the bride and he makes her a gift of a blanket, some beads, or other item. But should the son or daughter be disinclined to marry the one their parents designate, and should the parents force or persuade them to marry or consent, it turns out that soon after marriage they develop an aversion toward one another and separate, and it is rarely that they can be reunited. What is worse, they live promiscuously with others. Ordinarily this is an incurable evil in the Indian. (Geiger, 1950, p. 480)

Question 15, Medicine and cures: One of the tribe knows a root, a remedy against bloody dysentery. The root is beaten to powder, and this, with a little water, is administered as a drink. Some have been cured and highly praise the remedy. It has not been possible for us to learn the name of the root. The Indian who knows does not care to tell where the root is found, because in this way he gains a livelihood, and so guards his secret. Recently we ordered one to bring it from the country, and we saw that it is the root of a plant, large and tender, like a parsnip. For blood-letting, a frequent practice, they gather very jagged flints; with these they puncture the aching part, be it head, body, abdomen, chest, etc., and they continue to scrape the wound, so that much blood comes forth. This operation works wonders with them. (Geiger, 1950, p. 481)

For emetics they use sea water, as also sap from the head of a plant like saffron, which they call amole. (There is much of it in this region, and it serves as soap for cleansing.) It is also a purgative, and they drink it freely. The men have the daily custom of entering an underground oven, known as a temescal. A fire is built within, and when the oven has become sufficiently heated, the men enter undressed. They perspire so freely that upon coming out they give the appearance of having bathed. It is our experience that this is very beneficial for them. (Geiger, 1950, p. 481)

The women but recently delivered employ another method of perspiring. They dig a hole in their huts, put wood therein and set fire to it. Many heavy stones, are put into the fire. When hot, these are covered with green herbs which form a sort of mattress. The woman who was recently delivered lies upon this, together with the baby. The mother sweats freely, and the baby is kept warm. This is done for a period of six or seven days, and thereafter the women are as vigorous as if they had not given birth; and this despite the fact that their broths and foods are poor, indeed. (Geiger, 1950, p. 482)

Question 16, Calendars: Calendars were not used by these people. They speak only of the year as from "acorn to acorn," from "seed to seed"; so that when it was yet four months until the harvest, they would say: "There are still four moons until the acorns," etc. They neither know their ages nor how many years elapsed since the death of their grandfather, father or mother. These and similar questions were extremely displeasing to them, and are so even at present. They remembered some epochs, as when wars were waged, when the sea was very angry (this, according to their explanation and from signs which have been discovered, must have been a terrible earthquake), when a ship arrived, etc. (Geiger, 1950, p. 482)

Question 17, Diet (A portion of this response is included due to the information regarding dietary taboos): They eat rats, squirrels, moles, shell-fish, and all living things except frogs, toads, owls, which are the only animals they are afraid of. (Geiger, 1950, p. 482)

Questions 21, Burial: As pagans, their method of burial was to dig a large hole in which they placed the corpse; and if it happened to be a mother with a very young child, as yet unweaned, it was buried with its dead mother, in case the father or relatives were not able to look after the child. All the relatives threw beads and seeds upon the dead in token of their love for the deceased. As Christians, they are buried according to the ritual of the Church. Nevertheless, in secret they cling to their pagan practice. As a sign of mourning, the father, mother, child, husband and wife, brothers or sisters cut off their hair; if scissors are lacking, they burn it bit by bit. Moreover, they strew ashes over their entire bodies, weep bitterly, abstain from food, and the old women smear their faces with pitch. Since the effects of this remain for months, they look like Ethiopians. It is also their habit to go to the woods to give vent to their sorrows. (Geiger, 1950, p. 482-483)

Question 33, Music: Musical instruments of native design are very crude. They consist of a hollow tube from an alder tree; this tube is a copy of the dulcet flute, but the imitation is not a very successful one. They also use a split stick, like a distaff. It is used to beat time for their chants, which have the same time, whether joyous or sad. For example, being in a merry or sad mood, they use the same tune, they chant and dance, while the names of seeds or achievements are proclaimed: e. g., thus: "Acorn a.a. . . a.a.... Acorn," "much seed aa..a.. a.a.. . . much seed." Should the chant happen to be one of vengeance or of ill feeling, which is very rife and from which many feuds arise, they sing and dance to the same time, shouting something disparaging against each tribe with whom they are at war. For example: "Thief e.e.... e.e.... Thief," "Maimed one o.0... o.0....

Maimed one," or other names and defects which they know of the other tribe or personal enemy and whom they compare disparagingly with themselves. (Geiger, 1950, p. 484-485)

Questions 35, Notions of Eternity: They possessed a confused idea of eternity. It was their belief that after death they went to the place where the sun sets; where there was a man who received the dead; at times these returned to their relatives and visited them in their dreams; they were much affrighted at these visits. This is the lore of their elders. Now, however, they no longer converse on these matters. We could find no trace of reward or punishment, final judgment, glory, purgatory or hell, in their pagan beliefs. (Geiger, 1950, p. 485)

Mission San Francisco de Asís. Taken from Engelhardt (1924): Response by Fathers Abella and Lucio.

Some Indians employ superstitious practices when they go hunting or fishing. They will not hunt or fish unless they have done something of the kind, such as planting a stick surmounted with feathers and wild seeds; abstaining from meat, etc. The neophytes here have already been undeceived; but there are those who hail from the mountain districts. When they come together with their pagan relatives, they will join them in such practices. By little and little, however, the new generation drops them. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 151)

There is no formal idolatry practiced, so far as we know. There are some stories among the old people which even the most of those who relate them do not believe. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 149)

Spring is distinguished for the appearance of flowers; winter, the time when flowers wither, and it is the time to gather wild seeds; autumn is the time for the appearance of wild geese and ducks, and the acorns ripen; summer the season of resting. They have no calendars, and do not understand them. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 150)

Worship of sun or moon etc.: We are not aware that in paganism the Indians here worshiped anything. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 151)

Burial Ceremonies: They cut their long hair, disfigure the face, bedaub themselves, and there are some old women who many times beat the breast with a stone, and they do much wailing. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 151)

As soon as a person has stopped breathing, if he has few relatives or lazy ones, they bury him. Those who have friends or relatives who will bring wood, are burned. The little property that they have, and some few seeds, they burn with them, which is the more usual practice. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 27)

Idolatry has not been observed among these Indians. The most we could ascertain is that in their dances they sometimes plant a stick mounted with feathers in the ground. Similarly on other occasions, but they do so because their old people have done so without knowing why. No human victims were offered. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 151-152)

They have no musical instruments whatever. The most we have seen among them is that, like boys, they use a stem of wheat straw to produce a little noise. In fourteen years I (Fr. Abella) have seen but one who made a cornet. Only at their dances do they sing. Some of the tunes are cheerful, others are melancholy. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 152)

Their Notions of Eternal Reward and Punishment: In paganism they have no idea of the Last Things. They do not think. The most they will say is that they go to the sea. They do not reflect on what they do. If they are questioned, they will answer: "Who Knows?" (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 152-153)

Mission San Juan Bautista. Very little information was found regarding this Mission's responses to the Interragatorio. However, one response relevant to ideas of mythic origin is included here: "They say that the first Indians to settle this country came from the north after a great flood" (Kroeber, 1908, p. 24).

Mission Santa Cruz. The responses from this mission were taken from Kroeber (1908) and Geiger & Meighan (1976). Kroeber notes that: "The following was probably written by Father Andreas Quintana. Santa Cruz is in Costanoan territory, and so far as known was settled only with Indians of this family" (Kroeber, 1908, p. 24).

Their dances are most insipid. They gather in a circle and without moving from the spot bend their bodies. They move their feet and make many

contortions to the sound of their disagreeable voices, with which they do not form articulate words. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 24)

There are some among them, evil-minded old men, who instill them with a panic fear towards the demon whom they regard as the author of all evil. That he may not trouble them, they make them believe that they must place a little of the flour which they eat, or of any other of their foods, on this stone or in that log in such and such a place. For the same purpose they sometimes hold secret dances at night, always without the knowledge of the fathers. It is known that at night the adult men alone gather in a field or wood. In the middle they place a tall stick crowned with a bundle of tobacco leaves, or branches of trees or other plants. At the foot of the stick they put their foods and glass beads. They prepare for the dance, tornandose their bodies and faces. When they are all gathered, the old man whom they look up to as their master or soothsayer goes out to give ear to the commands of the devil. Returning after a short time, he imparts to the poor innocents, not what he op [sic] of the father of lies, but what his own perversity and malice suggest to him. Thereupon they proceed to their dance, which they continue until day. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 25)

The California Indians are and have been pure pagans, that is, they do not have, nor have they adored false gods. Thus it has not been necessary to devise means to make them desist from a sin they have not committed. (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p. 60)

The California Indians have no idea of heaven or the final judgment but they do have plenteous ideas of the punishments the devils administer in hell. For this reason the Indians try to placate them. (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p. 145)

Mission Santa Clara. This response regarding treatment of the dead was found in Kroeber (1908).

Sometimes they bury the dead, sometimes burn them. As to whether they place food with them, we believe that they do not. They do not know any distinction of superiority. Only in war do they obey the chief, and the wizards and magicians in matters of superstition. In everything else everyone does what he pleases. In their dissensions and disputes the strongest party wins. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 26)

Mission San Jose. Two relevant responses were noted in Kroeber (1908):

Only in war do they obey the most valiant or successful one, and in matters of superstition their wizards and magicians. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 26)

It is said that only one village or nation, of the many that composed the population of this mission, adored the sun when it retired to the southern pole. They considered it angered, made a dance for it, and offered it seeds, until they knew that it had turned and was again approaching. (Kroeber, 1908, p. 26)

Mission San Juan Bautista. These brief responses from Mission San Juan Bautista were found in Geiger & Meighan (1976):

There are among the Indians many healers and wizards who obtain many beads for curing others, but at other times, they get nothing. These have deceived the greater number of their people. They cure by chanting and by gestures and shouts they attempt to effect their superstitious cures. (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p. 78)

They have hardly any idea of the soul or of immortality. Nevertheless they have stated that when an Indian dies his soul would remain in their sacred places which the sorceress had (and still has) for the purpose of asking pardon from the devil. This accounts for the fear that possessed them when they passed near the place of worship. It was nothing more than a stick painted red, white and black with some arrows attached or hanging jars and other things. Other arrows they place at the foot of another stick which they call chochon and there they also placed pinole, beads and a pouch of tobacco. Others have stated that the souls of the deceased go west but that they did not know what they did there. For these reasons they never again mentioned the dead man by name. It was a source of great sorrow and pain even to mention their names. (Geiger & Meighan, 1976, p. 145)

European and American Traveler's Accounts, 1786-1847

The Account of La Perouse, 1786. The earliest foreign vessels to visit the Alta California missions were the French ships *L'Astrolabe* and *L'Boussole*, of an expedition commanded by Comte Jean Francois de La Perouse. La Perouse arrived in Monterey on the 14th of September, 1786, and wrote about both the missionized Indians he saw there, and the independent Indians of the Rancherias. His descriptions, although often uncomplimentary and seemingly filtered through the opinions of the Missionaries, are wide ranging and highly detailed.

The hair of both men and women is cut four or five inches from the roots. The Indians of the Rancherias, having no iron utensils, perform this operation with fire-brands, and paint their bodies red, changing it to black when in mourning. The missionaries have proscribed the former, but have been obliged to tolerate the black, these people being, so strongly attached to their friends, as to shed tears when reminded even of those who have long been dead, and feeling offended, if their names are inadvertently mentioned in their presence. (La Perouse, 1798, p. 214)

They are accustomed to burn their dead, and deposit their ashes in a morai. (La Perouse, 1798, p. 215)

He also touches upon ritual aspects of warfare:

We were assured, these Indians neither eat their prisoners, nor their enemies killed in war, although, when they have conquered and put to death some chiefs and very brave men in the field of battle, they cut some morsels off their bodies; not so much to demonstrate their hatred and vengeance, as to do homage to their valour, and from a belief that such food would increase their courage. (La Perouse, 1798, p. 215)

Although La Perouse visited Mission San Carlos and the Presidio of Monterey, it should be noted that his descriptions of the Indians are sometimes somewhat generalized to all of Spanish California, and appear to be partially drawn from either older documents

or discussion with the missionaries. Thus his description of the native concept of a future state appears to describe beliefs attributed not to the Ohlone, but to groups from southern, or Baja, California:

These last have no knowledge of a God or a future state, except some of the southern nations, who had a confused idea on the subject before the arrival of the missionaries. They placed their paradise in the middle of the sea, where the good enjoyed a coolness never to be felt amongst their burning sands; while they imagined a hell situated in the hollows of the mountains. (La Perouse, 1798, p. 216)

The Rezanov and Langsdorff Accounts, 1806. In 1806 the Russian fur trading vessel *Juno*, commanded by Count Nikolai Petrovitch Rezanov, arrived at San Francisco. Rezanov's official report (Rezanov, 1806) has almost nothing to say about the native inhabitants. The ship's official log, written by Lieutenant N. A. Kvestov, is similarly lacking in such details (Pierce, 1972). However, George H. von Langsdorff, a naturalist on board the expedition, wrote extensively on his observations at Mission San Francisco as well as Mission San Jose, including detailed descriptions of Ohlone dances and dance regalia. He notes that at the time of death, the home of the deceased would be burnt:

Their habitations are small round huts of straw in the form of a cone, which are erected when they come to any place, and when they remove are burnt; they are also burnt when any person dies in one. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 163)

Langsdorff attributes the mission Indian's dark complexion to several factors including "...their custom of smearing their bodies over with earth and coal-dust..." (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 164).

Costume and body ornament are given extensive treatment by Langsdorff, including dance regalia:

The finest ornament for the head consists of the two middle tail-feathers of the golden-winged wood-pecker, *Picus auratus*, the shafts of which are by nature of a very bright vermilion color. They are stripped to within about an inch of the end, and then laid regularly one over the other, and bound fast together, so as to form a sort of bandeau for the head, which produces a very good effect. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 166)

Another headdress, which is usually worn by these Indians at their dances, is made of the feathers of a vulture very common in these parts, the *vultus aurca*. The tail and wing-feathers are woven together in a manner that very much resembles a Turkish turban. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 166)

Tattooing is also used, but principally among the women. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 167)

Among the most valuable of Langsdorff's observations are these detailed descriptions of a dance and related festivities he witnessed at Mission San Jose:

Father Pedro, who shewed me about every where, proposed, when we had visited all that he thought worthy of observation, to go and see the Indians preparing for their dance. I accepted his proposal with delight, and he led me to a small stream, by the side of which the dancers were assembled, extremely busy in smearing their bodies over with charcoal-dust, red clay, and chalk. One was ornamenting his breast, another his belly, another his thighs, and another his back, with regular figures of various kinds. Some were ornamenting their otherwise naked bodies all over with down feathers, which gave them rather the appearance of belonging to the monkey species than of being men. Their heads, ears, and necks, were set off with a great variety of ornaments, but the bodies, except a covering about the waist, were naked. The women were at the same time performing the offices of the toilet in their houses ; they were all, consistently with the laws of decorum, dressed; their faces and necks only were painted, and they wore also a profusion of ornaments of shells, feathers, and beads. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 194)

The dancers assembled towards noon in the large court of the mission; they were divided into companies; some were distinguished above the rest by particular ornaments and by a particular kind of song which they sung. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 195)

In their dances they remain almost always in the same place, endeavoring partly with their bows and arrows, partly with the feathers they hold in their hands and wear upon their heads, partly by measured springs, by

different movements of their bodies, and by the variations of their countenances, to represent battles, or scenes of domestic life. Their music consists of singing, and clapping with a stick, which is split at one end. The women have their own particular song, and their particular manner of dancing. They hop about near the men, but never in concert with them: their principal movement or action is striking with the thumb and forefinger upon the belly, first on one side, then on the other, in a regular measure. As soon as the men begin to dance, the women begin also, and cease the moment that the men cease. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 195-196)

About two o'clock we sat down to a very good dinner, and afterwards went again to see the Indians who were still occupied with their dancing, and were now going to exhibit a mock fight. A large straw figure represented the enemy, and a number of the men, armed with bows and arrows, sprung and danced about with frightful gestures and contortions to defy their adversary, who, if he had been able, would have done the like. One of them at length gave a signal, and at the same moment the straw figure was pierced with a vast number of arrows, and the man who personated the chief was carried off in triumph. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 196)

Another party the Indians were dancing round a large fire, from which several of them from time to time, apparently for their pleasure, took a piece of glowing ember as big as a walnut, which, without farther ceremony, they put into their mouths and swallowed. This was no deception; I observed them very closely, and saw it performed repeatedly, though it is utterly incomprehensible to me how it could be done without burning their mouths and stomachs: instead of being a matter of pleasure, I should have conceived that they must be putting themselves to exquisite torture. (Langsdorff, 1814, p. 197)

The Kotzebue, Chamisso, and Choris Accounts, 1816. The next Russian encounter with Spanish Alta California came about in 1816, when the Russian naval vessel *Rurik* arrived in San Francisco. A detail account of the visit was published by the ship's captain Otto von Kotzebue (1821a, 1821b). This work also included the impressions of Adelbert von Chamisso, naturalist of the expedition. Ludovick (or Louis) Choris, was the official artist for the expedition, and published a separate volume; the California chapter of which is translated in Choris (1913). Choris also produced several

sketches of Indians at the Mission, which were included in that work. Kotzebue's description of the voyage (consisting primarily of the ship's log) contains only one relevant passage:

As we were leaving the Mission, we were surprised by two groups of Indians, which were also composed of different nations. They came in military array; that is, quite naked, and painted with gay colours: the heads of the most were adorned with feathers, and other finery; some of them however had their long disordered hair covered with down, and their faces daubed in the most frightful manner. There is nothing remarkable in their war-dance, and I only regretted that I did not understand the words of their song. (Kotzebue, 1821a, p. 282)

Chamisso's account, included in a long section entitled "Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition" provides additional perspective. In a footnote to his description of the visit to San Francisco, he briefly describes both dances and the use of the sweat bath. Interestingly, his account describes the practice of the sweat bath as taking place in a sea shore cave, rather than a constructed *temescal*:

The Indian, in the mission, dances his national dances, on Sunday, in presence of the fathers, and plays, always for gain, his usual game of chance ; he is only forbidden to stake his coat, a piece of coarse woolen cloth, manufactured in the mission: he can also enjoy the hot-bath, to which he has been accustomed. The dances are boisterous, different in each tribe, and the tune generally without words... The usual bath of the Indians, like that of most of the northern nations, is the following: at the entrance of a cave on the sea-shore, in which the bathers are, a great fire is made; they suffer it to go out, when they have perspired sufficiently, and then leap over it, and plunge into the sea. (Kotzebue, 1821b, p. 44)

Chamisso presents a largely negative view of the missionaries, and notes their lack of understanding of native languages, custom, and religion as impediments to their proselytizing:

The contempt which the missionaries have for the people, to whom they are sent, seems to us, considering their pious occupation, a very unfortunate circumstance. None of them appear to have troubled themselves about their history, customs, religions, or languages. (Kotzebue, 1821b, p. 47)

Choris, the expedition's artist, described a dance at Mission San Francisco

(Dolores):

On Sunday, when the service is ended, the Indians gather in the cemetery, which is in front of the mission house, and dance. Half of the men adorn themselves with feathers and with girdles ornamented with feathers and with bits of shell that pass for money among them, or they paint their bodies with regular lines of black, red, and white. Some have half their bodies (from the head downward) daubed with black, the other half red, and the whole crossed with white lines. Others sift the down from birds on their hair. The men commonly dance six or eight together, all making the same movements and all armed with spears. Their music consists of clapping the hands, singing, and the sound made by striking split sticks together which has a charm for their ears; this is finally followed by a horrible yell that greatly resembles the sound of a cough accompanied by a whistling noise. The women dance among themselves, but without making violent movements. (Choris, 1913, p. 10)

He also notes the painting of the face in black as a sign of mourning:

Upon the demise of his father or mother, or of some kinsman, the Indian daubs his face with black in token of mourning. (Choris, 1913, p. 11)

The neighbourhood of our landing-place seemed to have been recently the abode of some Indians. We found a stake driven into the earth, to which a bunch of feathers was attached for a weather-cock. (Kotzebue, 1830, p. 146)

The Golovnin Account, 1818. In 1818 another Russian vessel, the *Kamchatka* arrived in the Monterey Bay. The explorer V. M. Golovnin gave an account of both the Mission and the Presidio. Although not within the Ohlone cultural area, Golovnin also

gave this brief account of shamanic practices in area of Fort Ross, within the Coast Miwok area directly north of the Ohlone territory:

(Coast Miwok area) I can't comment on their religion, but I do know that they believe in the supernatural power of their witch doctors, or shamans, as the Siberian natives call them. In the above mentioned port (Port Rumiantsev), I witnessed one of these shamans curing a sick man. Sitting over the sick man in the tent, he kept repeating incantations and singing, while waving around a stick with feathers attached to it. The patient's family, who were in the same tent, responded and joined in the singing at certain prescribed times. This went on for over an hour in our presence, and when we left the shaman was still continuing with his cure. (Golovnin, 1979, p. 169)

The Beechey and Peard Accounts, 1827. In January of 1827 the British naval vessel *Blossom* arrived in San Francisco, commanded by Captain Frederick Beechey. While the ship was docked at San Francisco, Captain Beechey and some of his men also made an overland visit to Monterey. Accounts of the voyage are given by both Beechey, and another officer on board the *Blossom*, George Peard. Beechey gives a detailed description of the practice of sweat bathing:

At some of the missions they pursue a custom said to be of great antiquity among the aborigines, and which appears to afford them much enjoyment. A mud house, or rather a large oven, called temeschal by the Spaniards, is built in a circular form, with a small entrance, and an aperture in the top for the smoke to escape through. Several persons enter this place quite naked and make a fire near the door, which they continue to feed with wood as long as they can bear the heat. In a short time they are thrown into a most profuse perspiration, they wring their hair, and scrape their skin with a sharp piece of wood or an iron hoop, in the same manner as coach horses are sometimes treated when they come in heated; and then plunge into a river or pond of cold water, which they always take care shall be near the temeschal. (Beechey, 1831, p. 35)

Beechey also gives a relatively extensive description of Ohlone religion, much of it apparently drawn from previous historical sources:

The religion of all the tribes is idolatrous. The Olchone, who inhabit the seacoast between San Francisco and Monterey, worship the sun, and believe in the existence of a beneficent and an evil spirit, whom they occasionally attempt to propitiate. Their ideas of a future state are very confined: when a person dies, they adorn the corpse with feathers, flowers, and beads, and place with it a bow and arrows; they then extend it upon a pile of wood, and burn it amidst the shouts of the spectators, who wish the soul a pleasant journey to its new abode, which they suppose to be a country in the direction of the setting sun. Like most other nations, these people have a tradition of the deluge; they believe also that their tribes originally came from the north. (Beechey, 1831, p. 78)

In his description of native medicine, Beechey describes the use of herbs, bleeding, and sweat baths, but makes no mention of shamanistic practices:

The Indians in their wild state are said to be more healthy than those which have entered the missions. They have simple remedies, derived from certain medicinal herbs, with the property of which they have previously made themselves acquainted. Some of these roots are useful as emetics, and are administered in cases of sickness of the stomach: they also apply cataplasms to diseased parts of the body, and practice phlebotomy very generally, using the right arm for this purpose when the body is affected, and the left where the limbs. But the temiscal is the grand remedy for most of their diseases. (Beechey, 1831, p. 78-79)

He also briefly notes the avoidance of owls:

The horned owl (a variety of the *Strijo virginiana*?) flies about after dark to the terror of the superstitious Indians, who imagine its screech forbodes evil. (Beechey, 1831, p. 81)

The Duhaut-Cilly Account, 1827. On the 26th of January, 1827, a French merchant ship, *Le Héros* arrived in San Francisco. It was commanded by Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, who was to remain in Alta California for almost two years, finally departing in September 1827. As such, he was the first foreign visitor to provide an account of an extended stay among the communities of Alta California, as his various activities took him up and down much of the coast of California.

This broad experience, however, becomes somewhat of a limitation in gathering ethnohistorical data from his account; when he discusses Indians, for the most part he speaks generally of the Indians of coastal Alta California as a whole:

The Indians impute to some old women the art of sorcery, and then they become objects of veneration and fear. They cast spells over women with child, making them take decoctions of magic plants: those who have incurred their anger delay not in becoming victims of their witchcraft, without being able to fix the true cause of it; undoubtedly they mix imperceptible poisons in their food, while they seem to do nothing but pass a mysterious wand through the hair of the object of their hatred, which throws them into a kind of frenzy, and causes them to lose their mind. At other times they make them meet, they say, a snake which charms their eyes and causes their death. These old enchantresses stubbornly refuse to converse with strangers about their occult science; without doubt for the very simple reason that the greatest merit of their secrets is to have none other than that of working upon the credulity of their savage compatriots. (Duhaut-Cilly, 1929, p. 315)

As soon as an Indian feels himself indisposed, he makes use of a rather strange remedy: each village possesses a house or rather a cave of health; it is an oven hollowed in the ground, and covered with a thatched roof; a fire is lighted inside near the entrance, and all the sick cower, naked, in the bottom of this cavern, which has hardly any air and is full of smoke. One can understand how these poor patients soon enter into an abundant perspiration; the sweat rolls from all parts of their bodies; but at the moment they are bathed in it, and all the pores are open and expanded, they go to throw themselves into cold water, where they remain for some time. (Duhaut-Cilly, 1929, p. 315)

Nothing positive can be said about the religion of these indigenes. They reply in a vague way to questions addressed them on this subject, and their accounts almost never agree. They believe the sun is the master of the world, and they regard it as a man whose wife is the moon. They explain, coarsely, what makes them believe the moon is a woman. They say also that the sun, having had a son, he drove him from heaven in a fit of anger: the latter, in the shape of a marten, went to hide in the mountains; storms are the anger of the father; thunder, the son's voice; and earthquakes are produced by the struggles he makes to get free from the prison in which he is confined. The old mission Indians are the only ones from whom any

particulars on this subject may be gained; every day tradition vanishes and is lost. (Duhaut-Cilly, 1929, p. 315-316)

The Indians who, gathered together at the missions, have embraced Christianity, understand this religion the less, as it is expounded to them by other Indians converted before them: the purity of the dogma can be only much altered, continued in this way by means of ignorant men, and in a language having no expressions for rendering our metaphysical ideas; in this way they preserve a large part of their native superstitions. (Duhaut-Cilly, 1929, p. 316)

Forbes – A History of Upper and Lower California, 1839.

Quoting Fr. Palou (unsourced): All of the natives of Upper California (he says) both men and women, cut their hair very short, particularly when any of their relations or friends die. In these cases they also put ashes on their heads, faces, and other parts of their bodies...They are also in the habit of painting themselves in party coloured stripes of red and black; and this is also an emblem of mourning for their friends for whom they seem to entertain strong affections. (Forbes, 1839, p. 182)

It is difficult to come at the real religion of the natives, on account of the general ignorance of their language. La Perouse says that they have no knowledge of a god or future state: more recent travelers assert that they are idolaters, worshiping the sun and believing in both a good and an evil spirit who they seek occasionally to propitiate. Palou gives a somewhat different account of their religion. "In none of the missions (he says), has there been observed any idolatry whatever; only a mere negative infidelity; neither have they shewn the least difficulty in believing any of our mysteries. We have only observed amongst them some superstitions and vain observances; and occasionally, among the old, some pretensions to supernatural power; as that they had the power to send the rains, thunder, &c.; that they had dominion over the whales, &c. But these pretensions were seldom credited even by their own tribes, and they were believed to put forth these pretensions for the purpose of obtaining presents. One superstition however seemed firmly believed by all, viz. that any sickness with which they were afflicted arose from the incantations of their enemies. (Forbes, 1839, p. 194)

The Indians seem to have some notion of a future state. About San Francisco they burn their dead, after adorning the corpse with flowers, feather, &c. and laying beside it a bow and arrow. The ceremony is

attended with loud shouting and other savage demonstrations of regret. (Forbes, 1839, p. 195)

Long after the loss of friends they shed tears on their being brought to their remembrance, and they consider it to be a great offense for anyone to name them in their presence. (Forbes, 1839, p. 195-196)

Forbes goes on to quote La Perouse's description of their practice of eating some pieces of a courageous enemy defeated in battle (Forbes, 1839, p. 195-196).

The de Rosamel Account, 1840.

The Indians no longer receive religious instruction. Part of those whom the Fathers won for the Catholic church remain faithful. Some have fled to areas inhabited by uncivilized Indians, and in taking up their former life, they have forgotten everything about the Catholic faith. In spite of the fact that the mission Indians referred to above live with whites, about half of them worship idols. (Shepard & Rosamel, 1958, p. 74)

The Farnham Account, 1840.

Of their religion, it is known that they believe in the control of good and evil spirits to whom they occasionally offer prayers. They have persons among them professing power over thunder, lightning, rain, the movements of whales, &c.; but they do not seem to be credited by the Indians, as seers, but rather as impostors having in view the obtainment of presents. They firmly believe, however, that all diseases are sent upon them by the incantations of their enemies. They appear to have a faint idea of a future state; for in burning their dead as they do about the Bay of San Francisco—and in burying them as they do, farther south—their habit is to deposit with them bows and arrows and other things, as those tribes do who have a definite faith in another existence. (Farnham, 1850, p. 369)

The parental feeling—particularly maternity, that holiest impulse of our nature, is possessed by them in all its extreme tenderness. The aged and decrepit, too, receive from them the warmest sympathy, and when the old or the young die, they lament a number of nights about their tombs, or their last abode and consider it unkind, for many months after, to mention the names of the dead in the presence of the surviving, and thus renew their grief. (Farnham, 1850, p. 369-370)

Their respect for the truly valiant amounts almost to adoration. A chief or great brave who falls in battle is always honored; not indeed with a

triumphal entry into Rome or Paris, but by having a slice of his flesh eaten by his victorious and reverent enemy. This is esteemed the highest honor that can be paid to the dead. It is also believed by them that the flesh eaten will convey to the bosom that receives it, the brave breath that has fled from the deceased. (Farnham, 1850, p. 370)

The hot sand, and hot air baths, are the sovereign remedies for all diseases among the Indians of Upper California; and accordingly the means of administering them are found everywhere. The former are prepared by scooping out a trench in the sand six or eight feet in length by one or two in breadth; less or more according to the size of the patient. Over this a fire is kept burning until the sand is thoroughly heated. The fire is removed and the sand stirred until a proper temperature is obtained. The patient is then laid into the hollow, and covered with the heated sand up to the neck. By this means a protracted and profuse perspiration is produced, in the midst of which the patient plunges into a stream or the sea. The hot air bath is prepared as follows. A hole is dug in the ground, on the bank of a stream, or other beds of water, from five to ten feet in diameter, and from one to three feet in depth, which is covered with a well braced roof of poles, brush and grass, all secured by cords and plastered over with mud. A hole is left in the centre of the roof for the escape of smoke and admission of the light; one also at the side for entrance and egress. Several persons enter this oven and build a fire of dry wood near the door, which they continue till the temperature is raised as high as they can bear it, when they fall to scraping themselves violently with shells and pieces of sharp wood; and at length when the heat is no longer supportable, leave the oven and plunge into the water. These processes are repeated till the patient is restored or dead. (Farnham, 1850, p. 370-371)

The Robinson Account, 1846. Robinson describes medicinal plants used in the vicinity of Monterey during a visit there in February of 1829:

Amongst the many useful herbs whose medicinal virtues have been discovered by the natives, one in particular is held in high esteem, since it is by them considered a specific for the poisonous bite of the rattlesnake. Its peculiar virtues were discovered not long since by an Indian, who seems to have placed the most implicit faith in its power, for he submitted himself to be bitten by a snake upon the arm. His limbs immediately swelled to an extraordinary size, and the poor native seemed just ready to expire, when taking a small quantity of the herb in his mouth and chewing it, he spat upon the wound, and rubbing this into it with his hand, in a short time entirely recovered. It is said by the Indians, that should any

venomous reptile eat of the plant, its death would be instantaneous. (Robinson, 1846, p. 13)

Another of their plants of very useful properties, heals the most dangerous wound without the accumulation of pus, which is not an unfrequent attendant upon the application of balsam. Another, called the "Canchelagua," is found to be excellent in curing the fever and ague, and may be depended upon in any case, no matter of how long standing. It abounds all over the coast, and in the spring, during the season of flowers, its pretty blossoms add much to the beauty of the country. (Robinson, 1846, p. 13)

Robinson describes a dance held on a festival day at Mission San Jose in 1831:

At a signal from their "Capitan," or chief, several Indians presented themselves at the corner of one of the streets of the "Rancheria" and gradually approached towards us. They were dressed with feathers, and painted with red and black paint: looking like so many demons. There were several women amongst them. Soon they formed a circle, and commenced what they called dancing, which was one of the most ludicrous specimens of grotesque performance I had ever seen. It did not appear to me that they had any change of figure whatever; but fixed to one spot, they beat time with their feet to the singing of half a dozen persons who were seated upon the ground. When these had performed their part, they retired to an encampment beyond the building and another party appeared, painted and adorned rather differently from the former, whose mode of dancing, also, was quite dissimilar. They retired after a while, and arrangements were made for a bear fight. (Robinson, 1846, p. 114-115)

The Lyman Account, 1847.

The Indians...have handed down a tradition that the present outlet of the bay was formed by the action of an earthquake & that formerly this body of water was a fresh water lake having its outlet at Monterey 120 miles down the coast. (Lyman, 1925, p. 203)

American Period Histories

Hall – The History of San Jose and Surroundings, 1871. Hall reiterates portions of the accounts made by Vancouver and Beechey, cited above, and includes Beechey's description of the Ohlone sun worship and burial practices (Beechey, 1831, p. 78).

As many later American historians and writers would, Hall denigrates the Ohlone culture and religious practices as being so minimal as to barely deserve notice; after giving Beechey's account he goes on to say, “But I am of opinion, from all that I have been able to gather, that their traditions of any kind were very meager” (Hall, 1871, p. 42).

They, as well as the other tribes, used the temescal; while in them would dance excessively and shout until they became hoarse. (Hall, 1871, p. 42)

Nearly all of the Indians in this region, and those of Santa Cruz, were in the habit of visiting the hill in which the New Almaden Mine was first opened and worked, to obtain red paint to adorn their faces and bodies. The cinnabar is of a reddish hue, and, when moistened and rubbed, easily produces a red pigment, highly esteemed by the savages in the arrangement of their toilet. While the color of their decoration was pleasing to their eyes, its effect on their system was by no means agreeable. It salivated them—a result as mysterious and inexplicable to them as the setting of the sun. Although a little painful, they seemingly forgot their illness as they witnessed the lustre of their skin, and were as resolute in their pride of dress as the proud damsel groaning in tight corsets and tight shoes. (Hall, 1871, p. 44)

They called it moketka—red earth. (Hall, 1871, p. 397)

Gleeson – History of the Catholic Church in California, 1872. Speaking

generally of the Indians of California:

As the people had no regularly appointed system of divine worship, as I shall presently show, when I come to speak of their religious form of belief, their festivals or gatherings partook more of the character of social entertainments than of religious assemblies. One of their principal festivals was the day set apart for the distribution of the skins of the animals taken during the year in the chase. The delight exhibited on these occasions, by the fair portion of the community, was in keeping with, in their eyes, the importance of the occasion. To them, a mantlet of beaver or rabbit skin, was as precious and as much the beau-ideal of perfection, as a silken or satin one would be to a Paris or London leader of fashion. On the festival day, all the neighboring tribes and rancheros assembled at an appropriate place, where they erected an extensive arbor, the ground in front being cleared, to give room for the diversions of the people. In the arbor were placed the skins of the animals killed during the year, and spread out in regular order, so as to attract the wondering admiration of the multitude. None but the chiefs were permitted to enter the honored circle; ignoble blood should be contented to remain at a distance. At the entrance of the arbor, arrayed in his habit of ceremony, stood a sorcerer, who, with animated gesture and wild vociferations, duly proclaimed the praises of the hunters. Meantime, the people, animated by the words of the orator, ran hither and thither in the wildest confusion, laughing, dancing, shouting and singing. The oration ended, as also the races, the skins were distributed, when the whole ended with a fandango or ball, in which every principle of honor, propriety and virtue, was most shamefully outraged. (Gleeson, 1872, p. 110-112)

Those acquainted with the history of Brazil, will remember a custom known to prevail in that country, by which, contrary to every law of nature and reason, the man, and not the woman, was supposed to suffer the pangs of parturition. In this, the Californians were alike remarkable, for on the delivery of the wife, the husband affecting an extraordinary weakness, lay stretched out in his cave, or under a tree, while the unfortunate woman was left to shift for herself, or to suffer by the neglect. The husband, too, suffered on his part, for custom obliged him to spend several days in this manner on the meagerest diet. They were prohibited leaving the place, except for water and fuel. The use of fish and flesh was not permitted them, while smoking and diversions of every kind were absolutely unallowed. (Gleeson, 1872, p. 116-117)

Bancroft – The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America: Vol. I

The Wild Tribes, 1874. Bancroft speaks generally of the Indians of Central California:

The head dress for gala days and s is elaborate, composed of gay feathers, skillfully arranged in various fashions. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 368)

The men rarely tattoo, but paint the body in stripes and grotesque patterns to a considerable extent. Red was the favorite color, except for mourning, when black was used. The friars succeeded in abolishing this custom except on occasions of mourning, when affection for their dead would not permit them to relinquish it. The New Almaden cinnabar mine has been from time immemorial a source of contention between adjacent tribes. Thither, from a hundred miles away, resorted vermilion-loving savages, - and often such visits were not free from blood-shed. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 370)

Their medicine-men also wield a very powerful influence among them. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 386)

Most important events, such as the seasons of hunting, fishing, acorn-gathering, and the like, are celebrated with feasts and dances which differ in no essential respect from those practiced by the Northern Californians. They usually dance naked, having their heads adorned with feather ornaments, and their bodies and faces painted with glaring colors in grotesque patterns. Broad stripes, drawn up and down, across, or spirally round the body, form the favorite device; sometimes one half of the body is colored red and the other blue, or the whole person is painted jet black and serves as a ground for the representation of a skeleton, done in white, which gives the wearer a most ghastly appearance. Dancing is accompanied by chantings, clapping of hands, blowing on pipes of two or three reeds and played with the nose or mouth, beating of skin drums, and rattling of tortoise-shells filled with small pebbles. This horrible discord is, however, more for the purpose of marking time than for pleasing the ear. The women are seldom allowed to join in the dance with the men, and; when they are so far honored, take a very unimportant part in the proceedings, merely swaying their bodies to and fro in silence. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 392-393)

Every traveler who has seen them dance enters into details of dress, etc.; but no two of these accounts are alike, and the reason of this is that they have no regular figures or costumes peculiar to their dances, but that every man, when his dress is not paint only, wears all the finery he possesses

with an utter disregard for uniformity. At some of their dances we were told that they avoid particular articles of food, even fowls and eggs ...Dancing is executed at Santa Cruz, by forming a circle, assuming a stooping posture, raising a loud, discordant chant, and, without moving from their places, lifting and lowering a foot, and twisting the body into various contortions. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 392-393)

When a Wallie chief decides to hold a dance in his village, he dispatches messengers to the neighboring rancherias, each bearing a string whereon is tied a certain number of knots. Every morning thereafter the invited chief unties one of the knots, and when the last but one is reached, they joyfully set forth for the dance. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 393)

Women are not allowed to practice the healing art, as among the Northern Californians, the privileges of quackery being here reserved exclusively to the men. Chanting incantations, waving of hands, and the sucking powers obtain. Doctors are supposed to have power over life and death, hence if they fail to effect a cure, they are frequently killed. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 394)

They demand the most extortionate fees in return for their services, and often refuse to officiate unless the object they desire is promised them. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 394-395)

Sweat-houses similar to those already described are in like manner used as a means of cure for every kind of complaint. They have another kind of sudatory. A hole is dug in the sand of a size sufficient to contain a person lying at full length ; over this a fire is kept burning until the sand is thoroughly heated, when the fire is removed and the sand stirred with a stick until it is reduced to the required temperature. The patient is then placed in the hole and covered, with the exception of his head, with sand. Here he remains until in a state of profuse perspiration, when he is unearthed and plunged into cold water. They are said to practice phlebotomy, using the right arm when the body is affected and the left when the complaint is in the limbs. A few simple decoctions are made from herbs, but these are seldom very efficient medicines, especially when administered for the more complicated diseases which the whites have brought among them. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 395)

Incremation is almost universal in this part of California. The body is decorated with feathers, flowers, and beads, and after lying in state for some time, is burned amid the howls and lamentations of friends and relations. The ashes are either preserved by the family of the deceased or are formally buried. The weapons and effects of the dead are burned or

buried with them. When a body is prepared for interment the knees are doubled up against the chest and securely bound with cords. It is placed in a sitting posture in the grave, which is circular. This is the most common manner of sepulture, but some tribes bury the body perpendicularly in a hole just large enough to admit it, sometimes with the head down, sometimes in a standing position. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 396)

A scene of incineration is a weird spectacle. The friends and relatives of the deceased gather round the funeral pyre in a circle, howling dismally. As the flames mount upward their enthusiasm increases, until in a perfect frenzy of excitement, they leap, shriek, lacerate their bodies, and even snatch a handful of smoldering flesh from the fire, and devour it. The ashes of the dead mixed with grease, are smeared over the face as a badge of mourning, and the compound is suffered to remain there until worn off by the action of the weather. The widow keeps her head covered with pitch for several months. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 396-397)

It is customary to have an annual Dance of Mourning, when the inhabitants of a whole village collect together and lament their deceased friends with howls and groans. Many tribes think it necessary to nourish a departed spirit for several months. This is done by scattering food about the place where the remains of the dead are deposited. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 397) (For an analysis of the relation of feasting to burial grounds, see Luby & Gruber, 1999)

When Father Junipero Serra established the Mission of Dolores in 1776, the shores of San Francisco Bay were thickly populated by the Ahwashteas, Ohlones, Altahmos, Romanons, Tuolomos, and other tribes. The good Father found the field unoccupied, for, in the vocabulary of these people, there is found no word for god, angel, or devil; they held no theory of origin or destiny. (Bancroft, 1874, p. 400)

Bancroft – The Native Races Vol III: Myths and Languages, 1883. Bancroft

does not cite the tribal affiliation or source of this myth; however, Kroeber (1907a) notes

that it is “perhaps from the northern part of the Costanoan territory” (p. 189):

The Californians tell again of a great flood, or at least of a time when the whole country, with the exception of Mount Diablo and Reed Peak, was covered with water. There was a Coyote on the peak, the only living thing the wide world over, and there was a single feather tossing about on the rippled water. The Coyote was looking at the feather, and even as he

looked, flesh and bones and other feathers, came and joined themselves to the first, and became an Eagle. There was a stir on the water, a rush of broad pinions, and before the widening circles reached the island-hill, the bird stood beside the astonished Coyote. The two came soon to be acquainted and to be good friends, and they made occasional excursions together to the other hill, the Eagle flying leisurely overhead while the Coyote swam. After a time they began to feel lonely, so they created men; and as the men multiplied the waters abated, till the dry land came to be much as it is at present. (Bancroft, 1883, p. 88)

Bancroft cites "Johnston, in Schoolcraft's Arch., vol. IV, pp. 221-5." for this

Myth:

Now, also, the Sacramento River and the San Joaquin began to find their way into the Pacific, through the mountains which, up to this time, had stretched across the mouth of San Francisco Bay. No Poseidon clove the hills with his trident, as when the pleasant vale of Tempe was formed, but a strong earthquake tore the rock apart and opened the Golden Gate between the waters within and those without. Before this there had existed only two outlets for the drainage of the whole country; one was the Russian River, and the other the San Juan. (Bancroft, 1883, p. 88-89)

Between the foregoing outlines of Californian belief and those connected with the remaining tribes, passing south, we can detect no salient difference till we reach the Olchones, a coast tribe between San Francisco and Monterey; the sun here begins to be connected, or identified by name, with that great spirit, or rather, that Big Man, who made the earth and who rules in the sky. So we find it again both around Monterey and around San Luis Obispo; the first fruits of the earth were offered in these neighborhoods to the great light, and his rising was greeted with cries of joy. (Bancroft, 1883, p. 161)

It is doubtless the same people, living near Monterey, of whom Marmier says, they supposed that the dead retired to certain verdant isles in the sea, while awaiting the birth of the infants whose souls they were to form. Others regarded these islands as paradise, and placed hell in a mountain chasm. (Bancroft, 1883, p. 525)

Halley – Centennial Yearbook of Alameda County, 1876.

The aborigines of Upper California had no history, and but a meager amount of tradition. Their remains consisted of earth and shell mounds,

which were used as places of interment. They buried their dead in a sitting posture. They also used cremation. (Halley, 1876, p. 17)

The first thing they would do in the morning, after rising from their litters, would be to plunge into the river or wash themselves in the stream. They would then dance and play around a large fire until they had acquired sufficient appetite to relish a hearty meal. This was their practice in the cold mountain regions as well as the more temperate valleys; in winter as well as in summer. (Halley, 1876, p. 18)

The Upper California Indians, as I have already stated, had no religion; they had no moral code nor even practical superstition. They worshipped no Supreme Being, and observed no sacred rites. They sometimes, however, set up a stuffed coyote, around which they lazily danced. (Halley, 1876, p. 18)

The Californians were festive in their way, but they allowed the burdens of labor to be mostly borne by the women. They had many dances and dance-houses, and indulged in many and hideous midnight orgies. They were, too, shamelessly sensual. There were a few of a particularly depraved class among the tribes. These, however, were among the men, not the women. Down our valleys they were called Goyas, and were regarded as outcasts. They assumed the habits and appearance of women, and lent themselves to the lusts of both sexes. (Halley, 1876, p. 19)

The Bay of San Francisco: A History, 1892. Discussing “Central Californians”:

The medicine man wielded great power, from the fear entertained of his supposed alliance with the evil spirit. (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, p. 27)

The central Californians celebrated all important events with feasts and dances. They usually danced nude, with their heads adorned with feathers, and their faces and bodies grotesquely painted. The dance was accompanied with chanting, hand-clapping, blowing on pipes of two or three heads, or played with mouth or nose, beating of skin drums, and rattling of shells filled with pebbles. Women were not allowed to take part in the dances with the men. Plays representing war scenes, hunting, and private life were skillfully performed. (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, p. 31)

Women were not allowed to practice medicine as among their northern neighbors. The medicine man, if he failed to cure, ran great risks of losing his life, for he was supposed to have power over life and death. The

temescal or sweat-house was the most common means of curing diseases. Some authorities assert that they bled the right arm when the body was affected, and the left for aching limbs. A few decoctions of herbs were known to be efficacious in many cases. But as the treatment was imperfect, even simple ailments became chronic, or carried off the sufferer. Their medicine men were not held responsible for the death of their patients. It was attributed to the just anger of the god. Incrimination was common. The body was adorned, kept in state for some time, and then burnt or buried. With the ashes or body were buried the weapons and effects of the deceased. The ashes were often kept by the family. When the body was interred, the knees were doubled up against the chest, and securely bound with cords. The body was then placed in a sitting posture in a circular grave. Some tribes buried the body perpendicularly, in a hole deep enough to hold it...Widows in many tribes kept their hands covered with pitch for several months...In some tribes food would be left in or about the grave for the traveling spirit. (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, p. 32-33)

Of the central Californians it may be said that their traditions or legends were childish, and senseless, and generally speaking mixed with more or less obscenity...They believed in all sorts of omens and auguries. An eclipse, a comet, or shooting- star would frighten them out of their wits. It has been said that some of the tribes carried their superstition to the extreme of a man never eating the flesh of an animal killed by him. Hence they went in pairs, and at the end of the day's work each took the game or fish the companion had secured. Sorcerers were numerous: as astrologers and soothsayers they claimed to be able to tell by the appearance of the moon when a day would be propitious for a feast, for assailing an enemy, or for doing any important act of life. These fellows blackmailed their dupes by threatening them with evil. (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, p. 34)

William Heath Davis in his *Sixty Years in California* tells us that an intelligent Indian in the service of Nathan Spear at Yerba Buena, assured Spear and Duflot de Mofras, author of *Exploration de L' Oregon, de Californias, etc.* that a tradition existed among his ancestors to the effect that at one time the Golden Gate was an isthmus, the natural outlet of the bay of San Francisco being through the Santa Clara valley to Monterey bay. There was still another old Indian tradition that the bay was at one time an oak-grove with a stream running through it. The Spaniards, from the fact of oak roots having been found there, thought the tradition might have been well founded. *Arch. Santa Barbara, M. M. S. Payeras, Noticias d' un Viage a San Rafael, 1818.* (Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, p. 43)

Baker – Past and Present of Alameda County, CA., 1914.

For disease their great "cure-all" was the sweat-bath, which was taken in the "sweat-house," an institution that was to be found in every rancheria. A fire being lighted in the center of the temescal (the term applied to the native sweat-houses by the Franciscan Fathers) the patient is taken within and kept in a high state of perspiration for several hours; he then rushes out and plunges into the convenient stream on the bank of which the structure is always raised — a remedy whether more potent to kill or cure is left to the decision of the reader. (Baker, 1914, p. 17)

The following graphic description of the experiences of a gentleman in a temescal, is given to the reader as a truthful and racily told adventure: "A sweat-house is of the shape of an inverted bowl and is generally about forty feet in diameter at the bottom and is built of strong poles and branches of trees, covered with earth to prevent the escape of heat. There is a small hole near the ground, large enough for Diggers to creep in, one at a time, and another at the top to give out the smoke. When a dance is to be held, a large fire is kindled in the center of the edifice, and the crowd assembles, the white spectators crawling in and seating themselves anywhere out of the way. The apertures, both above and below, are then closed and the dancers take their positions. Four and twenty squaws, en dishabille, on one side of the fire, and as many hombres, in puris naturalibus, on the other. Simultaneously with the commencement of the dancing, which is a kind of shuffling hobble-de-hoy, the 'music' bursts forth. Such screaming, shrieking, yelling and roaring, was never before heard since the foundation of the world. A thousand crosscut saws, filed by steam power—a multitude of tom-cats, lashed together and flung over a clothes-line—innumerable pigs under a gate—all combined would produce a heavenly melody compared with it. Yet this uproar, deafening as it is, might possibly be endured, but another sense soon comes to be saluted. Here are at least forty thousand combined in one grand overwhelming stench, and yet every particular odor distinctly definable. Round about the roaring fire the Indians go capering, jumping and screaming with the perspiration streaming from every pore. The spectators look on until the air grows thick and heavy, and a sense of oppressing suffocation overcomes them, when they make a simultaneous rush at the door for self protection. Judge their astonishment, terror, and dismay to find it fastened securely—bolted and barred on the outside. They rush frantically around the walls in hope to discover some weak point through which they may find egress, but the house seems to have been constructed purposely to frustrate such attempts. More furious than caged lions, they rush boldly against the sides, but the stout poles resist

every onset. There is no alternative but to sit down, in hopes that the troop of naked fiends will soon cease from sheer exhaustion. The uproar but increases in fury, the fire waxes hotter, and they seem to be preparing for fresh exhibition of their powers. See that wild Indian, a newly-elected captain, as with gleaming eyes, blazing face and complexion like that of a boiled lobster, he tosses his arms wildly aloft as in pursuit of imaginary devils while rivers of perspiration roll down his naked frame. Was ever the human body thrown into such contortions before? Another effort of that kind and his whole vertebral column must certainly come down with a crash! Another such convulsion, and his limbs will surely be torn asunder, and the disjointed members fly to the four points of the compass! Can the human frame endure this much longer? The heat is equal to that of a bake-oven. The reeking atmosphere has become almost palpable, and the victimized audience are absolutely gasping for life. The whole system is sinking into utter insensibility, and all hope of relief has departed, when suddenly with a grand triumphal crash the uproar ceases and the Indians vanish through an aperture opened for that purpose. The half-dead victims of their own curiosity dash through it like an arrow and in a moment more are drawing in whole bucketfuls of the cold, frosty air, every inhalation of which cuts the lungs like a knife, and thrills the system like an electric shock. They are in time to see the Indians plunge headlong into the ice-cold water of a neighboring stream, and crawl out and sink down on the banks, utterly exhausted. This is the last act of the drama, the grand climax, and the fandango is over. (Baker, 1914, p. 17-18)

Describing a rancheria in Alameda County circa the 1850s:

Their religion consisted in their efforts to escape annihilation by grizzly bears and mutilation by horned cattle. Their only ceremony was the sweat dance—a wild, naked orgy of sweating and drinking by both men and women. (Baker, 1914, p. 25)

Engelhardt – San Francisco or Mission Dolores, 1924.

All, men as well as women, are accustomed to cut their hair frequently, chiefly when some relative of theirs dies, or when they suffer some affliction. In these cases they throw handfuls of ashes over the head, on the face, and over the other parts of the body. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 61, quoted from Palou's Noticias)

In not one of the Missions that occupy the stretch of more than two hundred leagues from this Mission to San Diego has any idolatry been discovered, but only a negative infidelity. Hence there has not been

encountered in the Indians the least difficulty to believe any of the points of Faith. Only some kinds of superstitions and vain practices have been found among them; and among the old people some ridiculous tales circulate that such and such people send the rain, make acorns grow, etc.; that they let the whales approach, or the fish, etc. However, they are easily convinced, and those that claim such powers are regarded by the gentiles themselves as frauds, who speak thus only for the purpose of being maintained. Whenever any one falls sick these artful liars attribute it to some hostile Indian who has harmed him. The gentiles also burn the bodies of the dead, nor could they yet be induced to change the custom, which is different from that of the natives in the south, who bury the dead. (Engelhardt, 1924, p. 62)

Engelhardt also quotes the San Francisco Mission answers to the Interrogatorio of 1812, as described above.

History of Washington Township, 1904.

It was the custom when any one died to burn or destroy, or bury with them all of their valued possessions, so very few relics of any kind are to be found extant today. The men were the only dancers, and they wore gay and fantastic headdresses of feathers and skins. (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 31)

It was the custom of these people to bury their dead in a sitting position close to their wickiups, and this practice resulted in making a mound about which their huts were built, and upon which they built their fires for burning the possessions of the dead, and for other purposes. (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 31-32)

They continued the custom handed down from father to son, and held their three or four annual dances to insure success in hunting and fishing, and no game but the kind danced for could be brought into camp. The dance in September was a very serious, ceremonial dance, lasting several days. Their dresses, worn for the dance, were very elaborate and well made, of feathers. Upon one day, the Coyote dance, a rude sort of play, was given, one of the favorite characters being Cooksuy, a clown. There must have been some meaning of a memorable character to this dance, because when asked why they danced, they always replied: "Because our fathers are dead." Their tradition of the coming of death into the world is as follows: A beautiful maiden lay in a trance, and no creature should make a sound for four days. The lark, however, forgot and began its song, "who-who."

The maiden died, and death came to all thereafter. Today, if an Indian kills a lark he will strike its bill with his forefinger, and say, "If you had not spoken death would not have come to us." The dances were continued annually until about twelve years ago, but as the old leaders and full-blooded Indians are nearly all gone, these dances have ceased. The very last one was given near Pleasanton in 1897. (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 33-34)

The only remaining Indian villages today in this part of the state are in this township. They are, in the native tongue, El Molino, the mill, near Niles, and Alisal near Pleasanton, with perhaps half a hundred persons in each village. In the former, the last full-blooded Indian chief died some three years ago. In Alisal, the wife of the chief still lives, and six others of full blood. There are but seven full-blooded Indians in all this part of California...All of the information appearing in these papers concerning the old Indian history and customs has been gleaned from these seven full-blooded Indians, one being the widow of the last chief, whose name was Jose Antonio. There will never be another chief. They had a curious custom called "pooish,"—throwing of prized bits of shell or cloth, or scraps of baskets upon piles of stone which were on the tops of the hills, and about which they danced at night to charm away the devil, which sometimes they drove out in the form of a great white bull, or a white snake. However, they believed the padres had driven out this devil, as it had never appeared since their advent. (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 35)

One by one they are going fast and are laid to rest on the little hilltop, set off for their, especial use more than a century ago. The funeral ceremonies are conducted to-day much as they always were; the men dig the graves, while the women march around the grave a certain number of times, then cover their heads while they sit about wailing and weeping. (Woman's Club of Washington Township, 1904, p. 39)

In a description of Niles:

Scattered here and there throughout this neighborhood are still found a few traces of this peculiar people. On the Meyer's place, back in the small canyon, are portions of a ditch and a walled spring of stone and cement made by the Indians. Their adobe huts were in the edge of the hills close to the mouth of the canyon. Here some fine metates, or grinding stones, have been found; one in the Meyer's garden is no less than three feet in circumference; and in the almond orchard south of the house was located a temescal, or sweat-house. Piles of stone on the hills back of the Meyer's

and Mosher's ranches are the remains of the devil-worship practiced by these Indians. (Woman's Club of Washington Township 1904, p. 97)