A PLACE WHERE THEY ONLY PLAY PEON: SEEING
THE WORLD THROUGH CHUMASH ROCK ART

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Anthropology
by
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DEDICATION

To Earth, and the First People of California who believed in her.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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**Plate 1** Bear's Side of the Panel

**Plate 2** Coyote's Side of the Panel
A forty-foot long Chumash pictograph at Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plains in San Luis Obispo County, California, may be interpreted by viewing the painting as an integrated story explaining the artists' world view. The characters in the pictograph appear to represent celestial beings such as Sun, Moon, and Earth, as well as animals such as Coyote and Bear who were known as the First People of mythology. The relationships between these characters and the balanced structure of the panel suggest that the painting reflects southern Californian cosmological beliefs and social structure which were organized on a dual and hierarchical basis. The repetition of certain pictographic elements throughout the Chumash and Yokuts area indicates that an alphabet of
symbols had been developed to communicate abstract ideas over a wide territory. As a record of symbolic thought of a culture, rock art may provide a window for seeing the world as the Chumash and their neighbors once saw it.
INTRODUCTION

On the inner wall of an immense amphitheatre-shaped rock standing by itself on the barren Carrizo Plains in San Luis Obispo County is a painting over forty feet long made by Chumash, Yokuts, or Salinan people who inhabited the area prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World. Although the panel has been an object of interest for a hundred years, and is perhaps the most famous rock painting in California, the meaning of the animal, human, and abstract figures depicted on the walls has yet to be understood. Recent interpretations of prehistoric art throughout the world have suggested that rock paintings should be viewed as organized units of symbolic thought rather than isolated drawings, which offers a new perspective for such studies in California that may be applied to the Carrizo panel.

Giedion (1962:6) has said that, "The space conception of primeval art is perhaps the most revealing trait of the conception of the oneness of the world: a world of unbroken interrelation, where everything is in association, where the sacred is inseparable from the profane." The painting on the Carrizo Plains shows an "interrelation" of individual figures that may provide the clue to its meaning as expression of the "oneness of the world" that the artists
who produced it believed in. As records of symbolic thought, rock paintings should be viewed holistically. "The positional meaning of a symbol derives from its relationship to other symbols in a totality, a Gestalt, whose elements acquire their significance from the system as a whole" (Turner 1967:51).

The rock art of the Chumash and Yokuts has not previously been viewed as an integrated system of ideas, although a few researchers have suggested that there may be cosmological and mythological stories told in some paintings (Blackburn 1977; Lee 1977; Hudson and Underhay 1978; Romani et al. n.d.). This study will look at the main panel at Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plains as a symbolic representation of unified religious and philosophical beliefs as well as of social structural features of the cultures who produced the panel. One major theme incorporating these cultural values will be suggested for the painting, to be tested by correlating the following variables: (1) the general structure of the panel; (2) individual motifs within the painting; (3) mythological and cosmological beliefs of southern California groups; and (4) the social and political structure and hierarchy of these people.

The approach taken here is suggested by the structuralist models of Levi-Strauss, where cultural symbols are excavated to reveal a vertical stratigraphy of meaning. "Many things and actions are represented in a single
formation" (Turner 1967:28). The Carrizo panel, as well as other southern California art, appears to often exhibit a structural concept of dualism, which Levi-Strauss (1963:135) calls "the result of a balanced and symmetrical dichotomy between social groups, between aspects of the physical world, or between moral or metaphysical attributes." This binary view of the world may have structured the social organization of California's first inhabitants, by creating "their society in the image of the mind" (Douglas 1970:165). The mythology and rock art of groups such as the Chumash may be used as windows for "seeing the world" as they once viewed it.

Chapter 1 presents the cultural background of Chumash, Yokuts, and Salinan groups, emphasizing facets of their religious and social organization which might be reflected in the Carrizo panel. Chapter 2 discusses the mythology of southern California people, particularly the Chumash and Yokuts. Chapter 3 is an overview of present knowledge on rock art in south-central California.

Chapter 4 offers an analysis of the Carrizo panel, with an interpretation of its theme as depicting a cosmological battle between the forces of the universe which is told in a myth of a gambling game of peon between Sun and a huge Coyote in the Sky. Chapter 5 compares the individual motifs and general structure of the Carrizo panel with other recorded rock paintings in Chumash, Yokuts, and Salinan territories. Chapter 6 presents summary and
conclusions concerning interpretations of the Carrizo panel and its value for anthropological research.

The basic aim of this thesis is to interpret prehistoric art from a humanistic perspective, looking in at another culture with a Westernized viewpoint, and ultimately looking out again with expanded vision. Rock art is not just a cultural curiosity, but holds the keys to philosophical thought of its makers, when viewed as an organized system. The art is "not chaos . . . it approaches rather to the order of the stars. . . ." (Giedion 1962:538).
The native populations of California are composed of many diverse people from seven separate linguistic groups (Kroeber 1925: Plate 1). The area under study for this project, the Carrizo Plains, is located on a cultural boundary between coastal Chumash and Salinan people on the west, north, and south (both of Hokan stock, possibly the language group with the greatest antiquity in California) and Yokuts groups of the San Joaquin Valley to the east (Penutian speakers) (Figure 1).

Kroeber (1925:551) states that "the Carrizo Plains are doubtful as between Chumash and Salinans, and may not have contained any permanent villages." Horne (n.d.:72) places the northern Chumash boundary in the Carrizo Plains at the north end of Soda Lake (directly north of Painted Rock), although he admits this boundary to be primarily guesswork as the Carrizo Plain "is probably one of the 'little used areas of doubtful allocation' which Driver describes for aboriginal California (1974:183)." There have been no systematic archaeological surveys or excavations which would aid in locating villages or discovering cultural affiliations of the Carrizo inhabitants, although an
informal survey by Chester King and Bob Gibson suggested a possible five small villages near springs along the west side of the Carrizo Valley north of Soda Lake (King 1982). A small cemetery with four burials was excavated by Finnerty (1963) on the Washburn Ranch a few miles south of Painted Rock. The shell beads associated with the burials are of proto-historic (Phase IIA) Chumash manufacture (King 1982). Finnerty (1963) further suggested a possible contemporaneity of the burials with nearby pictographs (Grant 1965:Plate 7) which contain several motifs identical to those in the main panel at Painted Rock.

Chester King (1982) thinks that Painted Rock may have been the site of a small interior Chumash village (two to three families), possibly the village called Coouchup in the baptismal registers for Missions La Purisima, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Barbara; also appearing as Ko’owshup in the Harrington notes. The chup or shup means "earth," and King says the Ko’ow may mean "pet" or dream helper; a village name of "earth-pet" may have connotations of being a sacred place where the First People of the myths (the "pets") reside.

Ethnographic notes from John Peabody Harrington, who did extensive work with Chumash informants in the 1910s and 1920s, indicate that Yokuts groups travelled through the Carrizo area each year on their way to collect "tunas" or prickly pear cactus (Hudson and Blackburn n.d.). Frank Latta, who collected much information from the Yokuts,
stated that the Canaliño (Chumash) "undoubtedly . . . occupied the Carrizo Plains, including an antelope and jackrabbit hunting area north of Soda Lake and the Painted Rock. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of mixed-blood Canaliño descendents. . . ." (1977:264). Although the Chumash may seem to be the likeliest inhabitants of the Carrizo Plains, there should be strong Yokuts and Salinan influence in this area.

The Chumash inhabited a rich environmental area along the California coast from Topanga or Malibu Canyon in Los Angeles County north to Estero Bay in San Luis Obispo County, and inland for a hundred miles (Grant 1965). The Salinans occupied a colder, mountainous environment beginning north of Chumash territory, stretching northward to Santa Lucia and inland to the crest of the Coast Range (Kroeber 1925:546). Yokuts people inhabited the huge San Joaquin Valley and adjacent foothills of the Sierra Nevadas (Kroeber 1925:475). All three groups practiced a hunter and gatherer subsistence strategy, yet had very complex levels of cultural organization, as discussed in the next sections.

THE CHUMASH

Ancestors of the Chumash may have occupied a large area of southern California for perhaps 10,000 years, making them one of the most stable populations in the world.
Surrounded by related Salinan and Esselen groups to the north, by Yokuts to the east, and by Shoshonean-speaking people to the south and east, the Chumash exercised a great deal of influence, political, economic, and religious, throughout California.

At least six different dialectical divisions are known for the Chumash. Horne (n.d.:76), working from unpublished Harrington notes, states that the Inezeno Chumash language extends north to include most of the Cuyama Valley but that this boundary "fares into uncertainty in the disputed Carrizo Plain." The Purisimeño and Obispeño dialects were spoken on the coast-west of the Carrizo Plains.

Chumash society was highly stratified, as each person was born with a certain status in society according to the wealth, occupation, and social standing of their family, as well as the status of their clan, village, and political province. Every individual belonged to a specific lineage or clan, and possibly to one of two moieties or fictive kin organizations based on groupings of clans (Harrington 1942: 32). In California, one moiety was usually said to have a higher status than the other, so that the chiefly lineages and other wealthy or influential clans theoretically belonged to the high status "Moiety A" (Strong 1929; Gayton 1948; Harrington n.d. in King 1969). These ranked moieties may not have functioned primarily to differentiate classes of people into high and low status, since each family would have been necessarily composed of people from
both moieties in an exogamous system, but instead to create reciprocal categories to take on different ritual, economic and political functions in society. Within each moiety, there were lower, middle, and upper classes of people, based upon differential access to stored wealth, resource zones, ritual knowledge, and hereditary status. In addition to societal organization along lines formed by kin groups and political or religious affiliation, there were craft specialists (makers of canoes, sinew-backed bows, basketry, soapstone items) organized into "brotherhoods" which controlled much of the production and distribution of manufactured goods, some foods, and services (Blackburn 1974; Hudson et al 1977; G. Romani 1982; L. King 1969).

The Chumash influenced much of the local economy by effectively operating mints for the production of shell beads used as currency throughout southern and central California, as seen in archaeological data (Kroeber 1925: 554; King 1982). By controlling this medium of exchange, the Chumash may have been able to "corner the market" on many trade items flowing through the area. A powerful political organization on the level of an advanced chiefdom further strengthened the position of the Chumash. Each village was headed by one principal chief, and often a second or assistant chief who may have represented the moiety opposite the chief's high status moiety (Harrington 1942:33). Village chiefs were subordinate to a high chief at a large village in charge of one of the six known
provinces in Chumash territory. Possibly no larger political system than this was operative until proto-historic times, when the Chumash consolidated into two macro-political federations, one centered at Muwu in Ventura County and the other at Upop in Santa Barbara County (Hudson et al. 1977:11).

The proto-historic development of the 'Antap Cult was a further unifying and complexifying element in Chumash society. The partially mythical origin of this cult began with the arrival of "the Twenty," a group of men from Santa Cruz Island who solidified Chumash religion and politics into a single system governed by a council composed of the twenty 'Antap officials and a head chief from Muwu (Hudson et al. 1977). This stratified organization, whose final impetus may have been promoted by a perceived need for unification among the Chumash due to the coming of Europeans into California in the Sixteenth Century which caused an "imbalance in the universe" (Hudson and Underhay 1978:19), effectively controlled and incorporated all aspects of society.

THE SALINAN

Although the Salinan occupied a coastal environment similar to that of the Chumash and also spoke a Hokan language, there may have been "little trade and considerable hostility" between the two groups (Mason 1912:179), as well as between the Salinan and their northern Esselen and
Costonoan neighbors. The Salinan may have been following a
general California pattern of east-west amity, north-south
enmity relationships between groups based on stratified
environmental differences which make it most profitable to
trade along east-west lines rather than to groups north-
south with similar types of resources. Thus Kroeber states
that "Salinan industries and customs were largely influ-
enced by those of the Yokuts, with whom they traded,
visited, and communicated freely" (1925:548). Gibson
(1977:6) adds that "there was considerable trade between
the Salinan and the Yokuts, often involving sea shells,
shell beads, and obsidian."

The Salinan people were divided into three major lin-
guistic or cultural divisions: the "Playaño" or "beach
people," the northern "Antoniaños," and the southern
"Migueleños" (who were the group closest to the Carrizo
Plains) (Hester 1978; Kroeber 1925). Gibson (1977:4) sug-
gests that the Playaño were actually the northernmost
tribelet of the Chumash, as "many of the items used in
religious (charmstones, bone whistles), political (orna-
ments, beads) and economic (money beads) activities are
similar and often identical" to the Chumash. He also sug-
gests that the inland groups south of Paso Robles "may have
been Chumash, or Yokuts or Southern Salinan" (1977:5).

Salinan kinship structure was organized into clans and
moieties. Shell beads manufactured of mussel or abalone
were the basis of Salinan currency, although most valued
were elongated beads "from an unknown locality at a considerable distance," either the "dentalia of the northerly peoples" or the "columella of a univalve mollusc" from the "islanders" in Chumash territory (Mason 1912:131). Chester King (1982) reports that the "true Salinans" did not make many beads, and that most of the currency in southern California was "tied into the Chumash standard." Reports of extremely high interest rates on loans of shell money were an unusual feature of Salinan culture (Kroeber 1925: 549).

The northern Salinan political organization had a hierarchical system whereby a village chief was subordinate to a high chief of one of nine districts in the area (commanding four or five villages each), and the district chiefs then answering to two head chiefs at the village of Quineau as the "political and social center of the northern Salinan" (Gibson 1977:22). Gibson suggests the southern Salinan may have followed a similar pattern, with a head village at Cholaam (1977:25).

THE YOKUTS

The Yokuts people of the San Joaquin Valley clustered in settlements around the large lakes (Tulare and Buena Vista) on the valley floor and along the rivers in the eastern foothills of the Sierra Nevada. The western edge of the valley along the coastal mountain range was relatively barren and possibly not permanently inhabited,
although one informant related that Chunut Yokuts "frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west" (Gayton 1948:7). Trade with coastal groups is indicated by the statement that the Chumash and Salinans sold shells which were "worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers" (Gayton 1948:8). Chester King (1982) reports that the Tulare Lake Yokuts manufactured clam tube beads, but that they used as money the cupped beads produced by the Chumash.

The Yokuts were unique in California in that they were organized into approximately forty tribes, each with a group name, dialect, and specific territory (Kroeber 1925: 474). The Tachi Yokuts occupied the western edge of the valley, closest to the Carrizo Plains. Social and political organization were entwined into a well-developed system of status and occupation for each individual. Every person belonged at birth to their father's lineage group, which was symbolized by a totem animal. The lineages were grouped into opposite moieties, and each settlement usually had two chiefs who were moiety heads (Gayton 1948). It appears that people of a certain status could actually change their totemic affiliation: "Before becoming chief-tainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwis [moiety] chief always had the eagle for totem" (Gayton 1948:8).

Village chiefs in California usually wielded moral
authority but had no true coercive power (Kroeber 1925). Gayton (1930) speaks of an interesting method of cooperative authority among the Yokuts, the "unholy alliance" between chiefs and shamans. Although political and religious heads had specialized functions and often represented opposing dual factions, their mutual cooperation insured societal reciprocity and unity.

HIERARCHICAL ORGANIZATION

The foregoing brief summaries of the social, economic, and political organization of the Chumash, Salinan, and Yokuts indicate that these societies had complex modes of structuring their adaptations to the natural and cultural environment. Clans or lineages appear to be the most basic, and perhaps the first developed, method of uniting people together and ensuring their cooperation. Each lineage took as a symbol of their solidarity a particular animal (or sometimes a plant or natural feature of the environment) whose characteristics the people identified with; since every member of a clan was a descendent of the ancestral totemic being, this formed a bond of kinship and responsibility.

Grouping people together into clans and moieties had the advantage of consolidating political and economic power, along with stratification of people into classes or ranks based on inherited wealth and occupation. The internal operation of this hierarchical organization of
southern California societies required an integrated system of religious, social, and political activities. The following sections discuss parts of this integration as reflected in supra-kin organization, religion, and games.

MOIETIES

The development of moieties in California may have been the next step in organizing society beyond the formation of clan or lineage groups. Each lineage belonged to one of two moiety groups, and was accorded certain status and duties within that moiety. Stratification of society thus appears with ascription of specialized functions to different groups of people. Gifford (1918:218) suggested that the "affinity and ultimate origin" of both clans and moieties in California must be "traced to the Southwest." Olson (1933) went further, postulating that dual social organization in the Americas originated in the Old World and came over the Bering Strait with the first immigrants.

Information on Chumash moieties is limited, which may indicate that other modes of organizing society (along political and religious lines rather than fictive kinship) became more important in the late and proto-historic periods, with the moiety system falling into disuse or being superceded by the 'Antap Cult. Harrington's Inezeño Chumash informants stated that there were two classes of shkaluksh (clans), that of the shujuwatsheish (meaning "delicado," delicate, refined, sensitive) and the
maqikumetpi ("no es delicado," not delicate and refined) (King 1969:45). The clans with totemic animals listed as belonging to these two Chumash moieties are shown in Table 1. Clans of unknown moiety affiliation were coyote, deer, mountain lion, and prairie falcon or duck hawk (King 1969:45-46). Harrington also recorded a statement in his Ventureño kinship notes about people belonging to the "dynasty of nobility" called mu'aisaljewe: "If they wanted to shit, somebody let down their pants for them. But the bear moiety is altshaljewe, for he has to work to live" (King 1969:46). This implies the existence of bear as the primary totem for the lower status moiety, which is contrary to the Inezeño information placing bear as high status Delicado.

The Yokuts, with a less elaborate or consolidated political and religious hierarchy than the Chumash, relied upon moiety organization for the structuring of their society's cooperative functions. The tohelyuwish moiety had higher status than the other, and meant "west" or "downstream," while the low status nutuwish moiety meant "east" or "upstream" (Kroeber 1925:495; Gayton 1948:27). These relative statuses may be based on local geography, since the "downstream" or western Yokuts tribes lived in the rich environment around the valley lakes, while the eastern "upstream" people of the Sierra foothills had a comparatively poorer resource base.

Lists of Yokuts clans compiled by Gayton (1948:26-29),
### Table 1
CALIFORNIA TOTEMIC MOIETY AFFILIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Status Moiety A</th>
<th>Low Status Moiety B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chumash</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shujuwatsheshi (Delicado)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Magikumetpi (No Es Delicado)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Golden Eagle</td>
<td>Dog</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Antelope or Raven</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Raven or Crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salinan</strong></td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Deer</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wildcat</strong></td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Shoshonean</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Strong 1929; White 1963)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tohelyuwish (downstream/west)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ntuuwish (upstream/east)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Probable:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blue Jay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roadrunner</td>
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<td>Kildeer</td>
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<td>Skunk</td>
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<td>Mountain Quail</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Woodpecker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chunut Yokuts (Gayton 1948)</td>
<td>Tohelyuwish</td>
<td>Nutuwish</td>
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<tr>
<td>High Status Moiety A</td>
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<td>Low Status Moiety B</td>
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<td>Kingfisher</td>
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<td>Screech Owl</td>
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<td>Meadow Lark</td>
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<td>Weasel</td>
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<td>Otter</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tachi Yokuts (Gifford in Gayton 1948)</td>
<td>Tohelyuwish</td>
<td>Nutuwish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Burrowing Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roadrunner</td>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Screech Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Killdeer</td>
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<td>Great Horned Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osprey</td>
<td></td>
<td>Short-Eared Owl</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Billy Owl&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sparrow Hawk</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tachi Yokuts (Gayton 1948)</td>
<td>Tohelyuwish</td>
<td>Nutuwish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
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<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Weasel</td>
<td>Black Bear</td>
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<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Cooper's Hawk</td>
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<td>Mourning Dove</td>
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<td>Elk</td>
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Table 1
(Continued)

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<th></th>
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<td><strong>Chukchansi Yokuts</strong>&lt;sup&gt;(Gifford 1916)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Tohelyuwish</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nutuwish</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Turkey Vulture</td>
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<td>Raven</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
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<td>Crow</td>
<td>Quail</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jackrabbit</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gashowu Yokuts</strong>&lt;sup&gt;(Gifford 1916)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Tohelyuwish</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nutuwish</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wildcat</td>
<td>Turkey Vulture</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Hawk</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Miwok</strong>&lt;sup&gt;(Gifford 1916)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Tunuka</strong>&lt;sup&gt;(Land)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Kikua</strong>&lt;sup&gt;(Water)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Deer</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Rain</td>
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<td>Dove</td>
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<td>Fish/Sucker Fish</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Night Bird</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Miwok</strong> (Gifford 1916)</td>
<td><strong>Table 1</strong> (Continued)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tumuka (Land)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kikua (Water)</strong></td>
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<td>Tunuka (Land)</td>
<td>Kikua (Water)</td>
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<td>Salmon-Berry</td>
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<td>Indian Potato</td>
<td>Vine-Creeper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bluejay</td>
<td>Feather Head</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clear Weather</td>
<td>Sky</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Potatoe</td>
<td>&quot;Farewell-to-Spring&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Also Associated:</td>
<td>Also Associated:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Great Horned Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ceremonial Pole</td>
<td>Magpie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>Goldfinch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bow &amp; Arrows</td>
<td>Feather Head</td>
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<td>Yellow-Jacket</td>
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<td>Seeds for Beads</td>
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<td>Great Horned Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vine/Creeper</td>
<td>California Jay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clouds</td>
<td>Sugar Pine</td>
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<td>Rainy Weather</td>
<td>Beads</td>
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<td>Bullfrog</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mud</td>
<td>&quot;Handle of Dipper &amp; Morning Star&quot;</td>
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<td>Caterpillar</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abalone</td>
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<td>White Oak</td>
<td>Feather Apron</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burrowing Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Bee</td>
<td>Vetch (plant)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Caterpillar</td>
<td>Ant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seashells</td>
<td>Meadowlark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell nose-stick</td>
<td>Football</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Acorns</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Jackrabbit** | **Kikua (Water)** |
| **Goose** | **Land** |
| **Kingfisher** | **Snake** |
| **Swan** | **Water** |
| **Land Salamander** | **Water Snake** |
| **Water Snake** | **Eel** |
| **Whitefish** | **Minnow** |
| **Katydid** | **Butterfly** |
| **Butterfly** | **Clouds** |
| **Rainy Weather** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Wizard** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Cocoon** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Black Bee** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Gambling bones** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Ice** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Feather Apron** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Bows** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Vetch (plant)** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Ant** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Meadowlark** | **Rainy Weather** |
| **Football** | **Rainy Weather** |
Gifford (1916), and Kroeber (1925:495) (see Table 1) indicate that while there were similarities in the kinds of totem animals associated with each moiety, the specific totemic affiliation differed between tribes, and perhaps through time. Five out of six of these western Yokuts clans agree on Crow/Raven and Eagle representing the tohelyuwash moiety, and all agree on Coyote representing the nutuwish. Three of the lists (Kroeber, general; Gifford, Tachi; Gayton, Chunut) agree on Eagle, Antelope, and Roadrunner as tohelyuwash, and on Owl, Skunk, Deer, Cooper's Hawk, and Prairie Falcon as nutuwish.

There are similarities between Chumash and Yokuts totemic affiliations, with Eagle and Bear on the high status moiety, and Dog (and probably Coyote) on the low status moiety. The Salinans appear to have had a Bear/Deer dichotomy (Mason 1912:189), with those animals probably representing the main totems for two moieties (Gifford 1916:295). These groupings are in general agreement with moiety affiliations found throughout California. Strong presented a list (1929:Table 23) of "Moiety Alignment of Natural Phenomena," summarized here in Table 2, for Miwok, Yokuts, Western Mono, Salinan, Cahuilla, and Luiseño groups, in which Sun, Eagle, Crow/Raven, Bear, and Wildcat are high status, opposed to low status Coyote, Buzzard, Deer, and Falcon. Strong correlates this with a winter/summer affiliation of Eagle, Crow/Raven, Lizard, and Bear opposed to Corn (Water/Fog) for Pueblo groups of the
Southwest (1929:Table 23).

Table 2
MOIETY ALIGNMENT OF NATURAL PHENOMENA
GENERAL CALIFORNIA/SOUTHWEST

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Status Moiety</th>
<th>Low Status Moiety</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crow/Raven</td>
<td>Buzzard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wildcat</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Water/Fog (Corn)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The concept of a dualistic nature for man and the universe is clearly widespread. The agreement on particular types of natural beings belonging to certain moieties throughout California and the Southwest indicates a common world view where specialized functions for groups of animate and inanimate beings are ascribed and can be divided into two main groups. The philosophical implications of this concept will be discussed in the following chapter on mythology. The effect of this dualistic philosophy on social and political organization is seen here to be far-reaching. The division of people into two groups at once functions to separate and specialize the duties and privileges of people and, through the generally exogamous nature of moieties, to ensure connection and cooperation between the two groups through reciprocity and social fusion.
RELIGION

Sky Coyote was like God to the old people. . . . They had great faith in him. Sun is our uncle, but Sky Coyote is our father—that is why he works for us, giving us food and sparing our lives.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:92

Mythological stories and beliefs, which will be discussed in the next chapter, are the seeds, and perhaps the flower, of native California religion. The supporting stalk is composed of ceremonies, both public and private, and accompanying songs, dances, and items of ritual paraphernalia. Each person in prehistoric California society had access to the power and understanding of supernatural beings (whether they be Sun, Eagle, a small Hummingbird, or the invisible Coyote of the Sky) who controlled the universe. Through carefully prescribed rituals, a person could communicate with the great powers and thus gain a measure of control, or at least comprehension, of his place in the world.

Southern California societies supported a class of religious specialists whose functions were to monitor the powers of the universe and to form a connection between man and those powers. A Chumash shaman was known as 'alatishinich, literally "one who has a charm, one who has power visions" (Whistler 1980:5). The types of charms or sacred items one might use to communicate with the supernatural varied (crystals, feathers, charmstones, flutes, wands, down-wrapped cords, pipes, beads, effigies, claws,
animal skulls, furs, rocks, even human umbilical cords), as did the different kinds of religious specialties a shaman might practice (Blackburn 1974; Hudson et al. 1977; Hudson and Underhay 1978).

A *paha* was a master of public ceremonies with much official power. An *'alchuklash* was an astronomer/astrologer who watched the movements of the Sky People (sun, moon, stars, planets) and was responsible for naming children according to the planets or stars they were born under. An *'altip'atieshwi* was "master of herbs and keeper of poisons," using his powers (often at the request of a chief or wealthy person) to poison and blackmail people. An *'alaqlapash* composed sacred songs and dances (Hudson et al. 1977).

Weather shamans used charmstones to cause thunderstorms. Bear shamans were thought to wear "bear suits" or to actually transforms themselves into bears; although they were usually considered malevolent shamans, they had ritual functions as dancers at ceremonies. Many other shamans in California societies did not have specific names and functions, but operated as healers. "Shaman's Contests" were often held during large ceremonies, during which one shaman was usually "killed" and subsequently brought back to life by the other shaman. The Yokuts and Salinans may not have had as many specialized types of "doctors" as the Chumash, although they did have bear shamans, and the Yokuts and Western Mono foothill tribes included weather shamans and rattlesnake shamans (Gayton 1948:36).
Although a shaman might spend his lifetime learning to manipulate facets of supernatural power, each common person could also gain access to the "other world" by acquiring a "pet" or "dream helper" (Applegate 1978). This guardian spirit was an animal who existed in a mythical dimension without time, who was one of the First People of legend. Table 3 presents a list of the known dream helpers among Chumash, Salinan, Yokuts, Tubatulabal, Kitanemuk, and Western Mono groups.

Contact was made with the dream helper, known as *'atishwin* by the Chumash, by entering "dreaming time," often by using techniques such as fasting or ingesting ants or *Datura* to induce visions, sometimes by unsolicited dreams (Applegate 1978). Although "the concept of the dream helper is more or less closely allied to that of the inherited totem" (Applegate 1978:88), the "guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals..." a man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit" (Gifford in Gayton 1948:27).

Applegate views the dream helper complex as a means to "integrate the workings of the individual's own consciousness with the structure of his society and his concepts of the universe" (1978:89).

Types of communal ceremonies held varied with each group in California. The Mourning Ceremony, held once every several years with participation by large groups of
Table 3
DREAM HELPERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chumash</th>
<th>Salinan</th>
<th>Tubatulabal</th>
<th>Kitanemuk</th>
<th>Western Mono</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamanistic:</td>
<td>Shamanistic:</td>
<td>Curing:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shamanistic:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Hummingbird</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Dwarves</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chickenhawk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Lay:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal</td>
<td>Whirlwind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spotted Cat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lay:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Condor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mountain Lion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peregrine Falcon</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hummingbird</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Falcon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellowjacket</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whirlwind</td>
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<td>Turtle</td>
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<td>Frog</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Water Dog</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Otter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Listed generally in order of strongest to weakest helpers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono</th>
<th>Wukchummi Yokuts</th>
<th>Tachi Yokuts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shamanistic:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shamanistic:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shamanistic:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Coyote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owl</td>
<td>Owl</td>
<td>Owl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Bear</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
<td>Blackwidow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
<td>Blackwidow</td>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cougar</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Various supernatural creatures (e.g., water monsters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bat</td>
<td>Weasel</td>
<td>Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condor</td>
<td>Skunk</td>
<td>Rattlesnake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lay:</em></td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Various supernatural creatures (e.g., water monsters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Dwarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hummingbird</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghost</td>
<td>Ghost</td>
<td>Cooper's Hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Kingfisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Frog</td>
<td>Condor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackbird</td>
<td>Catfish</td>
<td><em>Lay:</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Condor</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Lay:</em></td>
<td>Mountain Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Datura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wildcat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>Listed generally in order of strongest to weakest helpers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roadrunner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quail</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
people in memory of those who had recently died, is the one ceremony found among all California groups, and may possibly have the greatest importance and antiquity. Puberty or initiation ceremonies for boys and girls, which had both private and public aspects, also had a long tradition of use in California. Most groups held ceremonies to celebrate the changing of the seasons, usually held at times of winter and summer solstices and spring and fall equinoxes. The Yokuts appear to have had a number of small ceremonies, many clustering in the spring (First-Fruit Rites, Seed-Growing Dance, Rattlesnake Ritual, Jimsonweed Ritual) and a few in late summer or fall (Mourning Ceremony, Bear Dance). The Chumash concentrated on major ceremonies such as Hutash (the fall harvest festival) and Kakunupmawa (the winter solstice ceremony), although hardly a month went by that fiestas did not take place.

The Winter Solstice was the most important of the yearly ceremonies for the Chumash (Hudson et al. 1977; Hudson and Underhay 1978), as it marked the end of one year and the beginning of the next. The Barbareño Chumash word for year, shup, also means world or earth (Whistler 1980:30), as does the Yokuts word for year (Kroeber 1925:498), so that each year is symbolically the beginning of a new world. The Sun (Kakunupmawa) was implored to "come back" from its journey toward the north, to light the world and bring warmth once again. At the same time, Sky Coyote (Shnilemun) was asked to supply the next year/world with
rain, providing a balance against the potentially malevolent effects of too much Sun. The concept of balancing natural and supernatural forces (Sun/light/drought vs. Sky Coyote/rain/flood) was central to native California philosophy (Bean 1976; Blackburn 1975).

Certain places were ritually designated as "sacred space" (Eliade 1959), such as mountain shrines which operated as places for men to make connections to the Sky World. Another sacred place was the silyik, a crescentic brush enclosure with an opening to the east, areas for people to sit, and an inner sanctum where only religious specialists could enter. This sacred enclosure was used by the Chumash and their southern Gabrieliño neighbors for holding most major ceremonies; its name meant "a council of officials" or "the whole world" (Hudson et al. 1977:17), and its circular form, like a Kumeyaay (Diegueño) or Luiseño sandpainting, represented the earth or universe.

During solstitial and mourning ceremonies, tall poles painted red, black, and white (or gray) were erected, often on mountaintops, with feathered banners hanging from them (Hudson et al. 1977; Merriam 1955). Other offerings such as beads and baskets were often hung from the poles or deposited at the base. Sacred poles have functioned symbolically in societies throughout the world as means of communicating to and connecting with the upper sky world, often perceived as the land of the dead or home of spirits (Eliade 1959). The sacred pole often represents an "axis
mundi" for orienting the world (and man) around a fixed point (Eliade 1959); another type of pole (miwalaqsh, the sunstick) used by the Chumash on the day of the Winter Solstice, was said to be "in the center of the earth" (Hudson et al. 1977:57). The ceremonial pole represented a sacred tree reaching to the upper world. The Chumash word for feathers (like those hung on poles) was the same as the word for leaves (Whistler 1980:24).

If a person wished to symbolically travel to the "other world," he might climb the highest mountain, then the highest tree (sacred pole) on the mountain, and finally ask the aid of a powerful bird such as Eagle to transport him to the sky. A feathered pole on a mountain shrine is the symbol of a communal effort by a group of people to communicate with (or influence) the beings of the "other world."

The Toloache Cult has as its core the ritual consumption of a hallucinogenic, narcotic plant called Momoy by the Chumash (Datura meteloides, also called Jimsonweed) (Kroeber 1925; Blackburn 1977; Applegate 1975). The drinking of a decoction of the crushed roots of Momoy was used as a medicine and for inducing trances in shamans who wished to travel to the Upper World (or inside their own consciousness), but perhaps the most socially important use was as an initiation rite during adolescence ceremonies.

Every person in most southern California societies was said to have taken Datura at least once in their life, and
experienced a "separate reality" (Castaneda 1971) or altered state of being, perhaps as a means of gaining perspective on ordinary "reality." Among the Luiseño, the drinking of Datura accompanied the spread of the historic religious cult Chingichnich (Du Bois 1908). Although theoretically every person could be initiated into the Toloache Cult, it may be that an individual's parents had to pay for the initiation ceremony, making it a cult of the elite, for those who could afford to acquire this mark of status. "Power and danger are inextricably wed in Datura, which is both venerated and feared" (Applegate 1978:15).

Religion was an important integral element in native California societies, offering an explanation for natural and supernatural phenomena and the possibility of controlling (or understanding) one's own fate. It was as well a mechanism for fusing together diverse sets of rules or codes of behavior for each separate aspect of society by providing a framework of common beliefs. The Chumash 'Antap cult, which began sometime between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, had a religious base, yet functioned to unify political, economic, social, and religious factions of society (Hudson et al. 1977). With such unification, it appears that the Chumash were moving toward a nation-state level of political organization (Wessel n.d.).
GAMES

In the morning they got ready for the race. . . .
Then Coyote said to Turtle, "If we win, your neck will pay
the penalty and if you win my grandsons will be the ones
to suffer. Here there will be no money compensation and
no small business. Life itself will be the penalty for
losing.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts;
Blackburn 1975:112

Although modern societies relegate games to purely
recreational functions, gambling and competitive sports
were once played in America for power, strength, courage,
and knowledge (Aluk'oy 1980). Among the Yokuts, teams were
segregated along social lines, with one moiety always play­
ing against each other (Kroeber 1925; Gayton 1948). Common
types of games played in California included the hand or
guessing game, shinny, pole and stick, hoop and pole, and
the dice game (Kroeber 1925).

The hand game, called peon by the Spanish, continues
up to the present as the most popular gambling game among
Native Americans throughout California and the Great Basin.
The Chumash called the game 'alewsa (Hudson et al. 1977);
the Chunut and Wowol Yokuts called the game, as well as the
bone playing piece, alewus (Latta 1977:711). Two pieces of
marked sticks, shell, or bones were hidden in the players' hands. The bones used were of animals important in
mythology, usually those who were known as participants in
the supernatural peon game: the Maidu use deer metapodials,
the Salinans used eagle bones (Mason 1912:175), and the
Morongo Museum has a set of Cahuilla peon bones or counters
made of coyote metacarpals or metatarsals. The gaming piece was marked, usually with black, and the object of the game was for the other team to guess in which hand the marked piece was hidden. Kroeber (1925:539) states that for the Yokuts, the marked piece was called the "man," the plain piece the "woman."

In the game of peon, two teams sit facing each other in rows, with a neutral scorekeeper at one end, as well as a fire-tender. Objects are often thrown into the fire as psychological weapons against the opposing team—poisons made from crushed lizards, Jerusalem crickets, spiders, snakes—or as aids from the supernatural, such as the chuhupate powder and dried Jimsonweed (Datura) used by the Kumeyaay (Waterman 1910:332; Hudson et al. 1977). Team captains are responsible for deciding which individuals will hold the gaming pieces. The game is always accompanied by songs sung by each team—power songs for seeking aid from supernatural forces, which in a sense involves and invokes the mythical First People in the earthly peon games.

The expression of a dualistic concept of life is manifest in the game of peon. Two sets of bones are held by two players, and there are two sides or teams made up, at least among the Yokuts, of two opposite moieties. Man's needs for cooperation (playing the game) and competition (opposing teams) are thus both satisfied by the peon game. "It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the suppllest of
muscular responses are matched. . . . There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal simplicity, such competitive capacities" (Kroeber 1925: 540).

SUMMARY

The cultural background of the Chumash, Salinans, and Yokuts presented here has provided a framework for understanding not merely the methods by which these groups dealt with their environment but also the ways these people visualized the order of the universe. This perceived system of ordering the cosmos is seen clearly in the dual and hierarchical organization of the political, social, and religious facets of society, and even appears in the way games were played among these southern California groups. The next chapter addresses the mythological and philosophical beliefs underlying this system.
Chapter 2

MYTHOLOGY

Fernando's grandfather used to tell him and other boys that when they heard a story they should listen carefully to the wording, which was metaphorical and enigmatic, so that they would get the substance of the story.

Fernando Librado Kitsepaywit, Chumash:
Blackburn 1975:96

INTRODUCTION

Man seeks to make sense of the world, to define order from chaos, to discover principles and guiding forces of the cosmos; many today call this "science," and attempt to objectively test theories of explanation. Others call their theory "religion," believing that the words of men handed down through generations define truths for the meaning of life and death. To a person living in California 300 years ago, there was no such separation of knowledge. Mythological stories transferred beliefs of ancestors to their descendants, yet the oral tradition permitted explanations of the world to change, to grow with new knowledge and experience, to fit needs of the present while incorporating learning of the past.

The mythological stories of the native populations of California were, with relatively few exceptions, collected by an energetic group of ethnographers in the early 1900s.
Their usually aged informants related stories explaining the world view of cultures long extinct, thrust suddenly into an alien world. How much the old stories had been altered, how much of their deepest meanings obscured by the twentieth century, is impossible to calculate. The Chingiochnich religious cult of the Gabrieliño and Luiseño began on Santa Catalina Island and spread through people already living at the Spanish missions; its purpose was perhaps to incorporate Christian theology with traditional Shoshonean beliefs (Boscana 1978:35; Hudson and Blackburn 1978:247). Comparison with mythologies of their inland neighbors, Cahuilla and Serranos, shows the duality of the culture heroes Mukat/Temaiyaut (prototypical Wildcat/Coyote) to be reduced, among the coastal Luiseño, to the single figure of Wiyot (analogous to the stronger brother Mukat), whose reincarnation becomes the Christ-like being Chingiochnich (Strong 1929; Du Bois 1908; Boscana 1978).

The myths of the Chumash, Salinan, and Yokuts groups, in contrast to their southern neighbors, do not appear to contain strong elements of Christianity. The supposed spread of Chingiochnich to the Chumash did not perceptively change their core beliefs. One story, "Coyote and Lizard" (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 21), begins with a traditional account of a race between Hawk and Turtle, then changes its focus completely to an esoteric account of three men who may represent successive stages of Chingiochnich, which may be a way of integrating old beliefs with new, as the
pivotal figures of Coyote and Lizard provide cultural continuity throughout the story.

The Chumash 'Antap Cult, which may have been a response to acculturation (and perhaps not coincidentally began, like Chingichnich, on one of the Channel Islands, a relatively isolated area where the first contact with Europeans occurred), does not seem to have affected the general structure of Chumash mythology. Rather, it appears that specific 'Antap symbolism was incorporated into traditional stories. In "Coyote Visits the 'Elye'wun [Swordfish]" (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 27), the eight swordfish who cut up a whale (symbol of fertility?) into twelve pieces may represent the eight shan (members of the 'Antap who travelled from village to village) in charge of apportioning goods to villages controlled by the twelve 'Antap.

A myth may thus contain many levels of meaning: it may be an entertainment for children; an explanation of natural and supernatural phenomena for the common people; and an outline of esoteric knowledge for religious specialists and cult initiates. A myth holds in abstract, symbolic language a pool of countless generations of knowledge. The mythos of a group may prove to be a greater determinant of cultural lifeways than ecological factors.

While the mythologies of California groups contain many common elements (a primeval flood, the opposition of supernatural forces, shamanic allegories, explanation of the necessity of death, etc.), each group has a unique
flavor. Shoshonean peoples have strong emphasis on a Wildcat (Wolf)/Coyote opposition, in turn reflected in their moiety social organization. The Chumash have balancing forces of nature, yet Coyote is left without a true counterpart in the myths. The coastal groups of California were the most dynamic leaders of religion and their mythology seems more flexible as opposed to the conservatism of the inland groups; although this may have been largely due to the influence of Spanish explorers and missionaries in the historic period, it appears that coastal groups were dominant prior to that as "religious innovators" (Hudson and Blackburn 1978:246). "An intensive study of Southern California society ... indicates that the coastal region was the fountainhead of all the more complex social and philosophical systems herein considered. . . ." (Strong 1929:339).

Yokuts mythology appears down to earth, not as abstract or metaphysical as Chumash beliefs; operation of Yokuts society mirrored their cosmology without the convolution and distortion of the Chumash. Salinan myths are very similar to Yokuts; their culture heroes (Prairie-Falcon and Raven), many specific myths, and the general flavor of their beliefs are distinctly Yokuts in contrast to their fellow Hokan-speaking Chumash.

This chapter presents an outline of the basic structure of southern Californian mythological beliefs, emphasizing the Chumash and Yokuts, with a view toward
correlating these beliefs with the motifs expressed in the painting on the Carrizo Plains, both myths and rock art as expressions of the perceived order of the cosmos. Different versions of each story are found not only between cultural groups but within localities for each group, so that only a mosaic may be pieced together here. The structure of mythological society offers insights into operation of the human society. The major characters of the myths each have a place in this hierarchical organization, each with symbolic meanings concerning specialized functions for man and all other beings, all ultimately working together in a unified system of beliefs.

CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE

The First People existed together in a world without death, without struggle, where animals, plants, even rocks were equal, all "people." The Luiseño say that First People were born of a union between mother earth and father sky, a twisting together of all the forces in the universe which evolved into life (Boscana 1978:27; Du Bois 1908:129). Many other people do not say; the First People are simply there. "These Forerunners, these Ancient Ones whose bodies shimmered as it were between animal and human forms, these denizens of the elder dream-world, have long since taken their final departure; yet they remain as the visible animals of this everyday world" (Laird 1976:110).
THE FLOOD AND CREATION OF EARTH

Then something happens to the Eden, the dream-world where all beings float through time: the oceans rise, all the earth is covered in water except the highest mountain at the center of the world. The Chumash leave a lone woodpecker on the mountaintop, until Sun takes pity on him, throws him an acorn, and evaporates the waters (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 5). Yokuts and Salinan gather a few people on a mountaintop above flood waters caused by the Old Woman of the Sea pouring water out of her basket (Mason 1918:105), where Eagle, already assuming his role as chief, sends Duck or Turtle (Salinan Kingfisher) to the ocean floor to bring up mud for the creation of land to be spread out in four directions (Gayton and Newman 1940:20; Mason 1912:190). Later Falcon and Raven or Hawk and Crow (Gayton and Newman 1940:54) create the coastal range of mountains and the Sierra Nevadas.

TRANSFORMATION TO ANIMALS

When the flood waters recede and earth stands as it does today, the First People are changed, no longer free to live as they please, roam wherever they wish. At a big cave in Chumash territory called "House of the Sun," it is said that "Bear, eagle, hawk and perhaps other animals are there. These animals were people and it was their house there before the flood, and they turned into stone. . . ."
(Harrington n.d. in Hudson and Underhay 1978:59). "Eagle retired to a high rock . . . followed by his people. He sent Rattlesnake after fish, then others; all died at certain spots where their pictures are now on that rock. The remaining people changed into their present animal and bird forms. . . ." (Yokuts and Western Mono: Gayton and Newman 1940:59).

THE MAKING OF MAN

Some of the First People become human beings, sometimes mysteriously, sometimes created of sticks or clay by certain First People. The Salinan Eagle makes a man of clay and a woman of a feather, then allows Coyote to be first to have intercourse with the woman (Mason 1912:192). The Chumash say that "after the flood Sky Coyote, Sun, Moon, Morning Star, and Eagle were discussing how to make man, and Eagle and Sky Coyote kept arguing about whether or not the new people should have hands like Sky Coyote . . . Sky Coyote was just about to stamp his hand down on the rock when Lizard . . . pressed a perfect hand-print into the rock himself" (Blackburn 1975:95). Yokuts and Salinans tell the same story of man's hand patterned after Lizard's ten fingers, as if the shape of man's hand (to make and use tools?) becomes the differentiation point between humans and other animals.
THEFT OF SUN AND FIRE

During the dream-time when First People lived, fire is possessed by "some other group of people," and a messenger dispatched to steal fire for the people. The Salinans send Kangaroo-rat, Roadrunner, and finally Martin (Mason 1918:107) to make the raid, while other groups send Bat, Jackrabbit, Gopher (Yokuts: Gayton and Newman 1941:32, 60; Latta 1936:51), or Hummingbird (Coast Miwok: Loeb 1932:113). In later times, men who performed as messengers would take as totem or dream-helper these same animals.

The Sun is stolen from people who kept it hidden by the Yokuts Coyote, who then sets Sun too low in the sky until Eagle directs its proper placement (Gayton and Newman 1940:31). The Chumash Coyote holds Sun's firebrand too low "and the world almost burned up before Sun could get it back" (Blackburn 1975:200). The opposition of powerful forces can be seen here, with Sun the light-giver balanced by Coyote, known as rain-maker.

ORIGIN OF DEATH

As First People scatter over the earth assuming their present forms, the cost of their new specialized way of life becomes apparent—some beings must die so that others may live. Death is a decision made deliberately by the First People, with Coyote always instrumental in the argument. "'I don't like too many people . . . Let some die.
Then we’ll get together and have a big time [Mourning Ceremony] and big feasts' (Informant aside, laughing: Coyote wanted lots of bones)” (Yokuts: Gayton and Newman 1940:21). The Chumash Coyote wants to rejuvenate man when he grows old, but the Jerusalem Cricket says no, "the earth will get too full of people" (Blackburn 1975:96).

THE CONTEST OF DEATH

There is always a first death, often told as the story of a contest, usually a race between two beings which ends in death and cremation for the loser. In a Chumash race between Turtle and Hawk, Coyote as referee states that Hawk lost the race because he "was infatuated with a woman" (Blackburn 1975:157), mirroring the southern California Shoshonean belief in death as a result of sexual desire (Applegate 1979:73). Another race between Turtle and one of Coyote's grandsons, Little Thunder, ends with Turtle being burned to death when he loses, thus becoming the chief of the Land of the Dead (Blackburn 1975:112). Yokuts Falcon and Duck race across the "ghost's road" of the Milky Way (Gayton and Newman 1940:67). Death is thus conceptualized as a contest between opposing forces.

LAND OF THE DEAD

The path to the Land of the Dead mirrors the perilous journey of a man through life, with different stages and challenges to be met. The Yokuts Land of the Dead is
presided over by a great bird person, Tipiknits (Gayton and Newman 1940:85). The caretaker or chief of the Chumash Land of the Dead (called Shimilaqsha) is sometimes Turtle (Blackburn 1975:112) and sometimes described like Sun, an old man living in a house of crystal (Blackburn 1975:250). The road travelled to Shimilaqsha may be the Milky Way (Hudson and Underhay 1978:117), and the traveller must pass peril-laden constellations of stars (The Land of the Widows, Clashing Rocks, Ravens Who Peck Out Your Eyes, and Scorpion Woman) before reaching the desired Island Beyond the Ocean (or the end of the Milky Way). At the end of the journey comes the final test, a bridge in the form of a pole that moves up and down. A person initiated into a secret society would have learned to symbolically climb the sacred pole, thus reaching Shimilaqsha safely. But if the "soul belongs to someone . . . who did not know about the old religion and did not drink toloache . . . it falls into the water . . . thus undergoing punishment" (Blackburn 1975:100).

VISITS TO OTHER WORLDS

The Chumash say that "there is this world in which we live, but there is also one above us and one below us" (Blackburn 1975:91). Coyote is the shaman who symbolically dies (in a Datura-induced trance) and visits the underworld by diving under the ocean (Blackburn 1975:176), and the sky world by hitching a ride with Dragonfly (Blackburn 1975:45
199) or climbing a pole (Blackburn 1975:203). The sacred pole, erected at all important ceremonies throughout California and the Southwest, functions as a path to the upper world of the spirits. One Chumash myth, "Coyote and Centipede" (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 30), is an "allegorical expression par excellence of classic shamanic experiences" (Blackburn 1975:88) in which the shaman's initiate Centipede climbs a growing pole to the sky, is rescued by Coyote, and both return to earth on Eagle's wings. The similar Yokuts story of "Growing Rock" (El Capitan in Yosemite Valley) sends a growing rock to the sky with the climber Measuring Worm as rescuer (Latta 1936:107).

OLD WOMAN MOMOY AND THE THUNDER TWINS

The Datura plant was so important to the Chumash that it appears as a major character in the myths, Old Woman Momoy (Blackburn 1975:36; Narratives 15 to 20). Momoy is said to be a widow, but Coyote is always coming around to spend the night with her (Chester King 1982). Her daughter (and Coyote's?) is raped and killed by Bear, and Momoy then creates a granddaughter out of her daughter's blood. The granddaughter marries two sky brothers, Thunder and Fog, and gives birth to the twins Little Thunder and Little Fog (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 15). The story of two brothers who travel around the country killing monsters and escaping danger by using magic flutes is common among many groups, even down to the Kumeyaay (Du Bois 1908). The Salinans call the brothers Prairie-
Falcon and Raven (Mason 1918). The older, wise brother and younger mischievous one reflect a dichotomy or conflict perhaps found in all men, caught between the things one should do (a need for cooperation) and the things one wants to do (a need for individuality). The Thunder Twins also represent a dichotomy found in nature, as the opposition found between Thunder (Fire and Lightning) and Fog (Rain), which both come from clouds.

INTERPRETATIONS

Where I shoot my arrows
There is the sunflower's shade
— song of the rattlesnake
coiled in the boulder's groin
K'ak, k'ak, k'ak
sang Coyote. Mating with humankind —

Gary Snyder

The belief in a mythical time When Animals Were People reaches back into the origins of the world and of mankind, when People Were Animals and humans had perhaps not yet set themselves psychologically apart from the natural world. Myths throughout the world speak of a time when all beings were equal, before a hierarchy of power was instituted in which the Sky People (Sun, Moon, Stars, Thunder, Rain) controlled the fate of earth's children. An earthly hierarchy also came into being, where soil, plants, herbivorous animals, carnivorous animals and finally man became locked into a pyramidal ecosystem. Who eats whom became important, and death for some beings instituted as a part of the
necessary cycle of life.

The myths go further, explaining rules by which people should live and a hierarchy of social, political, economic, and religious organization which is set up by the First People and followed thereafter by man. The genealogy of the Chumash "Thunder Twins" thus appears to indicate idealized patterns of moiety exogamous marriage. Old Woman Momoy may represent the high status Moiety "A" (delicado) mating with Coyote, who always belongs to lower-status Moiety "B" (no es delicado). Their daughter takes her father's Moiety B (a patrilineal system), and is raped by Bear from Moiety A. The granddaughter (belonging to Moiety A following her "father" Bear) marries Thunder and Fog, who as symbols of rain should ideally belong to Moiety B, and their twin sons, who call Coyote "Grandfather" (perhaps literally as well as respectfully) as the three travel about in the stories, are thus also Moiety B.

```
A     B
Momoy ---- Coyote
     |
  B  A
Daughter ------ Bear
     |
  A  B
Granddaughter ------- Thunder and Fog
     |
  B
Little Thunder and Little Fog
```

That the Chumash mythology further exhibits vestiges of moiety organization is found in the game players of the
myths. As in Yokuts mythology (and life), gamblers line up on teams composed of opposite moieties (Kroeber 1925:495; Gayton 1948:22). "In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. . . . It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. . . ." (Kroeber 1925:495).

In one Chumash myth (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 39), Thunder (Moiety B, associated with Coyote and rain) loses his wager of four rain-making charmstones in a gambling game with Little Owl (Moiety A, as the owl's call signals death). In another story, Little Thunder (Moiety B) wins a race with Turtle (Moiety A due to association as Chief of Land of the Dead) (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 15). Turtle (Moiety A) later races with Hawk, as Moiety B, since he represents the chief's nephew (maternal) whose function is assistant chief (therefore probably the head of the opposite Moiety B) (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 21). Three Hawks play the hoop and pole game in another myth (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 28) against the chief, who is always represented by Eagle (and always on Moiety A). Finally, the great gambling game of the Sky People (Blackburn 1975: Narrative 2) is played between Sun and Eagle (Moiety A) and Morning Star and Coyote (Moiety B). Hudson and Blackburn (1978:243) have suggested that the "link between the mythic
duality expressed in the celestial peon game and the
duality in social organization involving sibs/clans and
moieties that characterizes much of southern California" may represent a widespread ideological complex with "considerable antiquity" in this area.

Myths not only detail idealized social organization, but explain natural phenomena as well. Geological history may be told in the myths, as the apocryphal Flood may represent an ancient time when much of California was indeed under water. The First People of myth turn to stone, fossilized in sandstones from oceans of eons past, where they may still be seen in sacred mountains and caves. The Flood was, indisputably, once here, and as the Salinan say, may come again (Mason 1918:82).

The Flood is also a symbolic beginning, a watery womb like the oceans in which life was born, and where the myths complete the cycle by sending the spirits after death to the Land to the West Beyond the Ocean. Even the Land of the Dead has a social hierarchy, however—people who in life had high status, wealth and who belonged to "secret society" religious cults were allowed to spend eternity in the stars, in the Sky Land of the Dead where Sun ruled as chief. The poor non-initiates who "had no 'atıswın [power; a dream-helper] . . . someone who merely lived in ignorance" (Blackburn 1975:100) and whose relatives could not afford to hold a Mourning Ceremony for the cremation (symbolic or actual) of one's body (thus freeing the spirit to fly to
the Sky Land of the Dead)—these people ended up in the Underground Land of the Dead presided over by Turtle.

The Flood and Fire stories in the myths represent symbolic cycles of spiritual life, as cleansing elements to mark stages of growth, and may also be seen as actual cycles of earth's seasons, the rains of winter/spring and the fires of summer/fall. A man's life follows the path set by the rules of nature, where ever-balancing forces of sun and rain, of life and death, cannot be altered but may, with the aid of knowledge, be understood.

Myths provide the framework for understanding the universe by weaving all things into elements of a unified system. It appears at first that the Chumash do not have such a system, an integrated myth for creation of life and the universe. There is no Maidu World-Maker, no Cahuilla Mukat or Luiseño Chingichchnich, and even the Yokuts Eagle, clearly in charge of shaping the world, finds no strong counterpart in Chumash stories. Yet one myth of the gambling game in the sky embodies the Chumash concept of creation and continuation of life as a "constant state of balanced opposition" of the great forces of nature, and as a "symbolic expression of the continual struggle between life and death" (Blackburn 1975:72).

There is a place in the world above where Sun and Slo'w [Eagle], Morning Star and Shnileman (the Coyote of the Sky—not the Coyote of this world) play peon. There are two sides and two players on each side, and Moon is referee. They play every night for a year, staying up till dawn. The game is played in a special house—not in Sun's house, but in a place where they only play peon.
On Christmas eve they make the count of six to see which side has won the game. When Shnileman's side comes out ahead there is a rainy year. Sun stakes all kinds of harvest products—acorns, deer, islay, chia, ducks, and geese—and when Shnileman is the winner he cannot wait for the stakes to be distributed, but pulls open the door so that everything falls down into this world. And we humans are involved in that game, for when Sun wins he receives his pay in human lives. He and Shnileman then have a dispute, for Shnileman wants to pay his debt with old people who are no longer of any use. But once in a while Sun wins the argument and a young person may be picked out to die.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:91

The Yokuts had a similar version of the supernatural peon game:

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call Tih-pik-nits' Pahn. Pahn is our name for "land." Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. . . .

In Tihpiknits' Pahn, Ki-yu, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of Hih-sa Na-us. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Ki-yu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pull feathers from him.

Ki-yu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Ki-yu won that time." When we heard Watihte, the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying.

Yoimut, last of the Chunut Yokuts; Latta 177:684

All of the important Sky People are in these myths, playing the game of peon, creating a new year, a new "world" each year to begin at the Winter Solstice. The same beings are the ones who later discuss how to make man—Sun, Eagle, Morning Star, Sky Coyote, and Moon—the creators. A major feature of California myths is that they
not only set up the Sky People as rulers of the universe, but often reflect detailed astronomical knowledge, such as movements of planets and change of seasons, couched in metaphorical language (Hudson and Underhay 1978). Thus the myth of the peon game is only the most obvious archaeoastronomical story about Sky People—when Roadrunner steals fire from people in the north, for instance, he may be symbolically pulling the Sun southward back toward the earth on the day of the Winter Solstice.

The game of life and death, the opposition of male and female, fire and water, sky and earth, is reflected in philosophy and in social patterns throughout the Americas. Olson (1933:351-422) shows the distribution of clans and moieties occurring in virtually every culture area in the New World, along with the general concept of all parts of the universe falling into two categories (Above-Below, or Bird-Animal, etc.). This opposition of forces may be a device for man to understand and order his world, or it may be a structure inherent in man's mind, the left always opposing the right and yet seeking the unity of understanding and communication. Table 4 presents a list of dual oppositions, and the concepts of unity that pull the dichotomy back together. Most of the list is taken from Applegate's "The Black, the Red, and the White: Duality and Unity in the Luiseño Cosmos" (1978), although the concepts are general and could apply to many groups throughout the Americas.
Table 4

DUALITY AND UNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
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<th>Antithesis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Spirit</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Children/Creation</td>
<td>Mother</td>
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<td>Milky Way/Universe</td>
<td>Earth</td>
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<td>Stars</td>
<td>Moon</td>
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<td>Air/Wind</td>
<td>Water/Ocean/Spring</td>
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<td>Clouds/Lightning/Rainbow</td>
<td>Rain/Fog</td>
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<td>North</td>
<td>Downstream</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Immortality</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
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<td>Death</td>
<td>Land West Across Ocean</td>
<td>Life/Birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sky Land of Dead</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Life/Birth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cremation</td>
<td>Immortality</td>
<td>Death</td>
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<tr>
<td>Funeral Ceremony</td>
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<td>Sacred/Spiritual</td>
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<td>Life/Birth</td>
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<td>Penis</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Dusty</td>
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<td>Closing/Ending</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Opening/Begging</td>
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<td>Above/Outer</td>
<td>The Act</td>
<td>Below/Inner</td>
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<td>Taking</td>
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<td>Day</td>
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<td>Center</td>
<td>Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiate</td>
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<td>Chief</td>
<td>Immortal Deity</td>
<td>Summer Solstice</td>
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<td>Low Status</td>
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<td>Reciprocity/Peon Game</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Moiety B</td>
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### Table 4
(Continued)

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<th>Antithesis</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Eagle/Raven/Wildcat/Bear Wilds</td>
<td>Communication Trail</td>
<td>Coyote/Deer/Serpent House/Village</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountain Peak</td>
<td>The Ceremony</td>
<td>Cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Pole</td>
<td>Smokehole</td>
<td>Sacred Enclosure</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fire Hearth</td>
<td>Seed</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pestle</td>
<td>Datura</td>
<td>Mortar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonial Wand/Arrowpoint/Crystal/Charmstone</td>
<td>Intersection</td>
<td>Ceremonial Bowl/Basket/Tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line/Arrow</td>
<td></td>
<td>Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The mythological stories of the Chumash, Yokuts and Salinan people thus do not stand alone, but contain concepts common throughout the New World, of functions for man and all parts of the universe that are separate, falling into two categories that at once conflict and yet complement each other. As the game of peon places Sun and Sky Coyote on different teams, it still unites them in the gamble of life and death. A myth gives order to the world, and meaning to the actions of man.
Chapter 3

ROCK ART

Some people think that the paintings tell a story that could be read if one only knew the key. . . . Such speculations are intriguing but fruitless.

Grant 1975:76

INTRODUCTION

Art expresses what man sees with his inner eye, the way he wants the world to be, fears it to be, believes it to be. The artistic expression may deal with only a fraction of the perceived universe, yet it will always contain meaning. Like the spoken word, art is communication, and like the written word (indeed, as its forerunner), art endeavors to capture knowledge and beliefs for transmission to the future. Like a myth, carefully honed over generations of retelling into the most compact symbolic form, art is the seed produced from flowers of the past, with the message of life for the future.

Art is a fundamental experience. It grows out of man's innate passion to develop a means of expression for his inner life. There is no difference whether the basic impulse for these feelings rises from a cosmic anguish, the urge to play, art for art's sake, or—as today—the desire to express in signs and symbols the realm of the unconscious.

Giedion 1962:3

The rock art of southern California shares the same
origins as art throughout the world. People locked into modern American culture view rock art as an alien thing, as primitive scratchings of primitive peoples, yet the art is no less understandable (and perhaps more so) than a Picasso painting. Traditional analysis of American rock art has tried to explain the origin and meaning of petroglyphs and pictographs as being boundary or trail markers, hunting magic, fertility magic ("baby rocks"), clan symbols, puberty and initiation ceremonies, weather control ("rain rocks"), or shamanistic practices (Steward 1929; Heizer and Clewlow 1973; Grant 1965). Although many examples of rock art may indeed function in these ways, it is unlikely that simplistic explanations will suffice in the interpretation of the art.

The function of art is to communicate, whether to the gods, to other people, or to one's self. It is therefore important to note whether a rock art panel serves as hunting magic or a boundary marker, but the analysis must contend with the specific content of the motifs (i.e., what are the symbols saying) before it contributes any true scientific value. All cultures wish for luck in hunting, but all pray to different gods in supplication. The deities a people believe in say much about the lifeways of a group; conversely, a people's customs and beliefs must be used to understand specific motifs in a rock art panel, or in myth.

Recent work on California rock art has begun to
attempt the explanation of separate motifs, using for the most part models of cosmological beliefs found in ethnographic records concerning the culture of the artist who produced the art. Although this work has done much to identify specific symbols, as characters or concepts reflected in mythology, the study of California rock art has yet to attempt the understanding of a panel as a whole, with recognition that separate elements are placed together (as words form a paragraph) to tell a story. As Hudson and Lee state, "When designs form a definite part of a panel, or grouping of elements, it is possible that they were intended to be viewed as an entity" (n.d.:6).

This chapter presents a discussion of previous research on California rock art, then specifically Salinan, Yokuts, and Chumash art, and finally the suggestions made by other researchers about the main panel at Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plains. The ultimate goal of this discussion is to view rock art symbols as meaningful units in an integrated system of communication.

CALIFORNIA ROCK ART

In the Handbook of the Indians of California, Kroeber (1925:936-939) included at the end of a discussion "Pictured Rocks" with a hypothesis that Shoshonean groups "are mainly responsible for the painted and carved rocks of California, in part through the work of their ancestors' hands and partly by their influence on their neighbors."
Kroeber felt that the age of California painted rock art "need not be more than two or three hundred years old . . . [or] may well be several times as ancient" (1925:939). He likewise stated that the meaning of the pictographs was uncertain, that many may have been painted by shamans, that some (Luiseño) were made during adolescent rites, and that suggested "practical purposes" for the art such as boundary markers "fits neither their character, their location, nor the habits of native life" (1925:939). "No connected story can be deciphered from any of the groups of symbols, and many are so obviously nonrepresentative as to leave even a speculative imagination baffled for a clew [sic]" (Kroeber 1925:938).

Julian Steward's "Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States" (1929) was the first comprehensive study of California rock art. He included the art from Chumash, Yokuts and Salinan lands into his Area A style of painted rock art (Steward 1929:Map D). Grant (1971, 1965:Figure 107) labels this region as characterized by painted Abstract Polychromes, and breaks this area into:

(1) Monterey (including Salinan), (2) Tulare (including Yokuts), and (3) Chumash style areas, which are analogous to Heizer and Clewlow's (1973:Map 16) (1) South Coast Range Style (including Salinan), (2) Southern Sierra Style (including Yokuts), and (3) Santa Barbara Style (Chumash).

The rock art of the Carrizo Plain, curiously enough, belongs to Grant's (1965) Chumash Style Area but is placed
in Heizer and Clelowl's (1973) South Coast Range Style (associated with Salinans). This distinction may be only an arbitrary one, as Grant (1965:110) states that both the Monterey and Tulare pictograph styles contain much of the same technique and design style as the art of the Chumash. Hudson and Lee (n.d.:6) further state that: "The elaborate [rock art] sites are to be found in the Carrizo Plains, a borderland area between the northern Chumash and southern Yokuts. The paintings at these sites exhibit features of both ethnic groups, and this may very well serve to explain their diversity of style."

Distinction between style areas of rock art, while often roughly following cultural boundaries, has been primarily based upon percentages of different types of design elements. Heizer and Clelowl (1973:Table 4) classify the Element Categories as Human, Animal, Circle-Dot, Angular, and Curvilinear, and indicate that both the South Coast Range Painted Style and the Santa Barbara Painted Style are characterized by equal (approximately 40% each) percentages of Angular and Curvilinear elements, with lesser amounts of Human and Animal figures, and an absence of Circle-Dot designs in the South Coast Range Painted Style. Hudson and Lee (n.d.:4) differ, believing that Curvilinear forms are more common than Angular elements within the Santa Barbara Painted Style.

While the classification of rock art design motifs into such categories, and the use of percentages as
indicators of Style Areas, has provided a survey of known California rock art, this method of analysis unfortunately does not contribute to the understanding or interpretation of the messages the art holds for anthropology. Steward (1929:224-225) merely suggested that design elements in rock art were not random but "must have had some definite significance which was the same over wide areas" whose meaning and purpose "can only be ascertained through careful study of art and symbolism of present Indian groups."

Grant (1965:124) went somewhat further than Steward, stating that representational design elements with naturalistic forms such as big game animals, hunters, warriors, and hunting paraphernalia are common in regions such as the Great Basin which are populated by nomadic groups of hunters. Grant further suggested that abstract paintings, found in areas of settled community life (such as the Chumash region), are a later development of formalized patterns of designs "so abstract as to be almost unrecognizable by an outsider" (1965:124). While such generalizations are necessary to the study of rock art, they will add nothing to the fund of cultural knowledge if designs are accepted as being "unrecognizable." If the Rosetta Stone has not yet been discovered, then the search for meaning in the rock art must be all the more concentrated.
SALINAN ROCK ART

Very little research has been done on rock art in Salinan territory, which appears to occur less commonly than in surrounding Chumash and Yokuts lands. Mason (1912:154-156) wrote of pictographs in a "cueva pintada" above the San Antonio Mission which show many similarities to Chumash art:

The figures themselves are in many cases truly pictographic, the human figure, turtle, and sun being among those recognized, while others are unidentifiable, and some must be either devoid of meaning or else ideographic. Some of the paintings somewhat resemble specimens of Shoshonean work, but the figures most common among the latter, deer, antelope, and other animals and hunting scenes, are conspicuous by their absence in this Salinan group.

Mason concluded that "the probable explanation for these pictographs in the region south of Monterey is that they were made in some esoteric ceremony, probably that of puberty" (1912:155).

YOKUTS ROCK ART

Most native Californians, when asked about the meaning of rock art symbols, denied any such knowledge, stating that ancient people or spirits made the petroglyphs or pictographs (Heizer and Clewlow 1973:26). The Yokuts constitute an exception to this.

... I found living Wukchumne Yokuts who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them... The Wukchumne said that the paintings generally were placed at an important village site, one which was inhabited permanently or at some place where ceremonies were performed... The paintings added prestige to the spot, indicated that it was
tripne (supernatural) and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe. . . .

Indians readily recognize the symbols that represent animals, just as we do, but do not know why the symbol was put there, and they offer no explanation except of the geometrical designs and line drawings of the sun, moon, and Chapet (Chah-pet—the Indian Doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

Latta 1977:600-601

A myth recorded by Latta (1936:77) further indicates that design motifs had culturally known patterns and that some of the same symbols found in rock art may also occur on basketry. Following is an abstract of this tale, entitled "Origin of Basket Designs":

Kah-dah-dim-cha and her daughter lived near Lemon Cove. The girl went to eat clover. A bear killed and ate her. One drop of blood remained on a leaf; it called to the searching mother, who took it home, left it in a covered basket. At dawn a baby girl cried in the basket. Kah-dah-dim-cha removed it, clothed it, named it Chu-chan-cun. She cried for her mother constantly; played surreptitiously with basket materials. Then she disappeared. Much later Kah-dah-dim-cha dreamed, and followed her. As Chu-chan-cun traveled she made a succession of baskets, each with a design, the duplicate of which was painted on a near-by rock [emphasis added]. These designs were Water Snake, Rattlesnake, Gopher Snake, Wild Goose, Caterpillar, Pine Tree, Lightning, King Snake, Arrowhead, and others.

Gayton and Newman 1940:97

The above myth is interesting in that it indicates the use of or association with Datura as showing people how to make design motifs, both for rock art and basketry; the woman Kah-dah-dim-cha is clearly analogous to Old Woman Momoy (the Datura plant) of Chumash mythology, both of whom create a granddaughter out of their daughter's blood and use "dreaming" for knowledge. Latta also reported that
several aged Yokuts informants "furnished descriptions of
geometric designs, some not seen on baskets but which had
appeared to them in dreams . . . Wahumchah stated that he
had seen other similar forms after he had drunk toloache
(jimsonweed) tea at the time of his initiation into the
tribe" (1977:589).

Yokuts designs do not occur randomly on basketry, but
often tell stories by their association with other motifs.
A basket photographed in Latta (1977:579) showing designs
representing Quail, Ants, Measuring Worm and Rattlesnake,
tells the myth of "a bad rattlesnake who turned in the
names of some innocent people who were called in by
Tihpiknita [chief of the Land of the Dead]. Quail learned
of this and told water skater, who carried word across the
river to the ants who stung the bad rattlesnake to death
and ate him" (Latta 1977:578).

Latta also collected certain baskets "made to be
burned during a pageant commemorating the creation of the
world" (1977:586). These "creation baskets" included
designs representing the mythical beings responsible for
the world's creation—Sun; Moon; Watersnake ("first living
person on earth"); Turtle ("the person who dived to the
bottom of primeval, total sea and brought mud from which
the earth was made"); the "first man"; Morning Star ("for
the earth was finished just as [it] was fading"); Eagle
("creator of the Yokuts world"); and a bow, arrows, oak
tree, and blackberry (Latta 1977:587).
That rock art may tell connected stories similar to those found on baskets is suggested by a famous Yokuts pictograph about which Latta said: "Sok-so-uh is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth" (1977:199). Hudson has theorized that this figure could represent Sky Coyote holding the Sun (Hudson and Underhay 1978:102) or possibly the players "in the celestial peon game decided at winter solstice between Sun and Sky Coyote (Chumash); Sun and Sky Deer or Earth (Kitanemuk); Sun and Tihpiknits, a feathered supernatural . . . or in the case of Painted Rock, Sun and Sok-so-uh" (Hudson, Lee and Hedges 1979:51). It thus appears that mythological themes, especially those relating to the creation of the world at the time of the winter solstice, were portrayed in both basketry and rock art designs by the Yokuts.

CHUMASH ROCK ART

Chumash rock art has impressed many people, both scientists and laymen, over the years with its beauty and complexity. Kroeber (1925:937-938) stated that:

The most remarkable pictographs are those in the Chumash country, beginning with the famous Corral Rock in the Carrizo Plains, the largest and most notable group in the state . . . These pictographs are almost all painted in several colors, protected from the weather and well preserved except for defacings by civilized vandals, and inclined to the representation of recognizable figures
—men, animals, suns, and the like.

Campbell Grant, in his excellent *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash* (1965), has produced the most complete recording of Chumash rock art. Some Chumash panels are represented in Heizer and Clelow's *Prehistoric Rock Art of California* (1973:Figures 247-272), while other Chumash panels have been published in separate studies (Lee 1977, 1978, 1981, 1982; Rozaire 1959; Deetz 1964; Hoover 1968; Hudson and Underhay 1978; Hudson, Lee and Hedges 1979; Romani et al. n.d.).

Grant reported that Chumash rock art, which included that of the Carrizo Plains, fell within a time span of 1,000 years ago to the mission period, and suggested that shamans painted the art for "magic or ceremonial reasons, although some may have been in the nature of a recording or special marking of a site" (1965:124). A list of design element types in Chumash rock art by Grant (1965:80) is shown in Table 5, with asterisks by the elements represented in the main panel at the Carrizo Plains (see Chapter 4, Figure 2).

Grant postulated that "most of the abstract paintings in the Chumash country are visualizations of supernatural beings or forces to be used ceremonially in much the same manner as the Navajo sand figures" (1965:76), and quoted the opinion of Professor Herbert Kuhn that "Chumash paintings depict, not things but concepts—the concepts of good and evil that have occupied man since the beginning" (1965:
Table 5  
CHUMASH DESIGN ELEMENTS  
(Grant 1965:80)

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<th>Abstract</th>
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<td>diamond</td>
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<td>* wheel</td>
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<td>* lizard</td>
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<td>* centipede</td>
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<td>star</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Indicates motif found in main panel at Painted Rock on Carrizo Plains.
93). Following is a discussion of the different hypotheses presented by other researchers concerning the meanings and uses of Chumash rock art.

**LEVELS OF MEANING IN ROCK ART SYMBOLS**

Hudson and Lee (n.d.:12) point out the distinction between a sign, which stands directly for something else, and a symbol, which stands for potentially "multiple cognate meanings." Thus a single rock art motif may function as a symbol with many levels of meaning—a motif may represent a coyote, a shaman, a clan, a myth, a contact between two worlds—all in one depiction. Hudson and Lee present a picture of Chumash symbolic motifs as "power elements which served as a vehicle of communication... [and also for] fixing certain values of ideological content" (n.d.:15). They add that this graphic method of communication formed a link between man and the supernatural (Hudson and Lee n.d.:22), and functioned on at least three levels: (1) maintaining sacred power, (2) maintaining cosmic equilibrium, and (3) personal acquisition and manipulation of power (Hudson and Lee n.d.:24). Rock art thus served not only as a static portrayal of man's beliefs and conception of the world, but as a dynamic means of communicating with and influencing the world of the supernatural.
FIRST PEOPLE TURNED TO STONE

People throughout the world have seen the past held immobile in stone, or seen their ancestors fossilized in great rocks and mountains. What the stones themselves did not reveal, man modified to portray—a giant Sphinx, the faces of the Presidents at Mt. Rushmore, a dancing circle of ancestors at Stonehenge. Native Californians were no exception to this, believing that unusual rock formations were people turned to stone.

Some places were also known as locations where a mythical event occurred, such as a place with red rocks representing blood of a monster or culture hero who was killed at the spot. "Such locations represented continuity with the sacred past. . . ." (Hudson and Lee n.d.:24), or as Eliade says, constitute a place where "something sacred shows itself to us" (1959:11). Rock art may be present at such locations to commemorate the mythical event, or as Grant said, as a "special marking of a site" (1965:124).

The Salinan say that an ashamed elf once turned himself to stone (Mason 1918:111). Latta shows a picture of standing stones, said to have been Dumna Yokuts women who lost their belongings while gambling until Eagle turned them to stone (1977:15). Landforms in Chumash territory are often named after body parts of mythical characters, such as "Coyote's Jaw" at Ventura (Hudson et al. 1977:29). The First People of the myths were sometimes literally
turned into stone and sometimes represented as pictures on rocks. "Bear, Eagle, Hawk and perhaps other animals are there. . . . After the flood people found them there already made into stones. Nobody did it. One looks like a bear. There was a big painting [emphasis added] of the sun in the cave and at a short distance the Coyote turned to stone and is still to be seen. . . ." (at S'apaksi, "House of the Sun," in Chumash Cuyama region: Harrington in Hudson and Underhay 1978:59). "Eagle retired to a high rock, Etiptu, followed by his people . . . all died at certain spots where their pictures are now on that rock" (Western Mono: Gayton and Newman 1940:58).

DREAM HELPERS IN ROCK ART

Dream helpers who were the guardian spirits of shamans and other people may have been portrayed in rock art. Dream helpers were often animals who were First People, and as such, could be found "turned to stone" or pictured in sacred places. A person seeking a dream helper through visions might visit a cave or mountain where First People were known to reside. "Power is present everywhere in the universe, but it is more concentrated in a timeless supernatural dimension inhabited by personified spirits whose roles and characteristics are formulated in myth" (Applegate 1978:88).

The Chemehuevi used certain sacred caves for the "acquisition of hereditary songs and also of shamanistic
songs and powers . . . they were places of great power and mystery" (Laird 1976:38).

There was another cave, far up in the mountains of Nevada, which was truly great in every sense of the word: great in size, running far back into the mountain, and great in potency. George Laird did not remember the name of this cave, but he had heard that from it one might get any song or gain control over any tutuguwii [spirit helper] that one desired.

Laird 1976:39

The Chemehuevi further believed that rock art was made not by people but by dream helpers themselves. "Stones which bear these ancient markings are said to be tutuguuvo'opi, marked by tutuguuviiwi [spirit helpers]. It is thought that the spirit animals who act as shamans' helpers made these markings" (Laird 1976:123).

Driver (1937:86, 126) reported that Yokuts and Western Mono pictographs were made by shamans who "painted their 'spirits' (anit) on rocks to 'show themselves, to let people see what they had done.' The spirit must first come in a dream." A test could be devised for determining if pictographs often depict dream helpers, by correlating numbers of identifiable animal figures in rock art with the animals commonly known as dream helpers in the society that produced the rock art under study.

ROCK ART DEPICTING SHAMANS

One of the most famous depictions in Paleolithic European rock art is known as the Sorcerer, a masked and horned dancing figure, part man, part animal (Giedion 1962:72
503). Since Chumash rock art was likely to have been painted by shamans, it may be that they, like the sorcerers of old, also represented themselves on the cave walls. This representation may have taken the form of animals whose shape shamans were said to assume, such as the common "bear" shaman. Garvin (1978:65-74) suggested that the "eagle" and "frog-man" figures at a Ventureño Chumash rock shelter may relate to shamanistic practices of taking on the form of an eagle to fly to the other world, and of body positions a shaman might take when in a trance state.

ROCK ART AND THE DATURA CULT

Kroeber (1925:938) suggested a connection between Chumash rock art and the Datura Cult:

The cave paintings of the south, therefore, represent a particular art, a localized style or cult. This can be connected, in all probability, with the technological art of the Chumash and island Shoshoneans. . . . Since these paintings further fall well within the region of the toloache religion, in fact their distribution coincides fairly closely with the area in which this religion was strongest, and since its cult was in certain tracts worked out in visible symbols such as the sandpainting, an association with this religion is also to be considered, although nothing positive is known in the matter.

Since Kroeber's time, researchers still have not come up with anything "positive" to connect Chumash rock art with the Datura or Toloache Cult, but the evidence is mounting. Hudson and Underhay (1978:146) have postulated that "some (most?) of the paintings were executed by the 'alchuklash [Chumash astronomer-priest] as part of a vision quest" with the aid of Datura. Blackburn (1977:93)
suggested that many design elements in rock art could be patterned after phosphene images produced by ingesting *Datura*, that "what we are seeing in much of Chumash rock art are individual expressions of mythological themes or characters as a direct or indirect consequence of ingesting a known hallucinogenic substance." These are probably the same images seen by the Yokuts "which had appeared to them in dreams" and which Latta called "migrane designs" (1977: 589).

Blackburn's suggestion that Chumash rock art portrays mythological themes seen through visionary eyes accords well with Kroeber's correlation of rock art with sandpaintings. The Luiseño and Kumeyaay sandpaintings made to the south of Chumash territory incorporate mythical beings (moon, sun, rattlesnake, bear, coyote, spider, wolf, crow, mountains, Orion, and Pleiades) in their conceptual map of the world.

As sandpaintings teach a *Chingichnich* Cult initiate the secrets of the order of the universe with a visual map, so may Chumash rock art function to portray the cosmos during *'Antap* Cult initiation ceremonies, both cults using *Datura* as a perceptual aid to strip cultural blinders from initiates (Blackburn 1980). There may be a conceptual difference in the use of paintings on sandstone rather than on ephemeral sand—a sandpainting returns to the earth after it has been used, while a rock painting becomes a semi-permanent part of the place it is painted on.
Hudson and Lee (n.d.:19) believe that Chumash rock art was produced specifically by members of the 'Antap Cult. Edberg has suggested further that the concentric circle "universe symbols" at a Ventureño Chumash rock art panel were in fact used "to instruct the toloache or shaman initiate on the nature of the universe and its creation" (n.d.:34). It should thus be very profitable to compare known design motifs and concepts from sandpaintings with rock art in an effort to find common symbolic meanings.

The association of the Datura Cult (whether specifically 'Antap, Chingichnich, or another variant) with rock art is strengthened by the habit of Chumash and Yokuts shamans using caves or rock shelters during trance states and for holding initiation ceremonies. A Yokuts myth recorded by Latta (1936:141) tells of the origin of the Pleiades as six young women who flew to the sky by using Datura in a cave:

Six young wives went seed gathering; they wanted a warm place to live. They sat at some sun-warmed rocks; decided to go to Sun. They remained there, took jimson-weed on six successive days, slept in a cave at night [emphasis added]. Each day down and feathers grew on their bodies; on the seventh they started to fly....

Abstract from Gayton and Newman 1940:66

Thus a person wishing to contact the world of the supernatural (to talk to Sun, the spirits of the ancestors, or a dream helper) would go to a cave, perhaps take mind-altering drugs, and symbolically "fly." Rock art of the timeless First People and a visual map of the universe may
have greatly aided a shaman's flight.

ROCK ART AND ASTRONOMY

Many examples of Chumash rock art may reflect the astronomical knowledge held by these people. Hudson and Underhay stated that "A few paintings were probably the work of individual shamans for individual purposes, but the greatest emphasis must have been on community-related concerns such as foretelling the future, especially in connection with the Winter Solstice Ceremony" (1978:147). One Chumash shaman was said to have painted pictographs in a cave at the time of the Winter Solstice (Hudson and Underhay 1978:58). Hudson and Underhay (1978) postulate that many rock art motifs reflect astronomical themes, such as solar eclipses, comets, the Milky Way, suns, stars, constellations, moon, and ceremonies or paraphernalia (such as sunsticks) relating to the solstices and equinoxes.

Hudson, Lee and Hedges (1979:39-63) show California rock art that may actually depict astronomical monitoring of solstitial events (sun setting over mountains), and discuss quite a few places where rock art not only functions as a shrine to depict astronomical themes, but aids in the indirect observation of solstices. Sunlight enters caves or overhangs at the time of the Winter Solstice, often bisecting human figures or concentric circles painted on the rock (Hedges 1976; Romani et al. n.d.). These often spectacular light shows may have functioned to celebrate
the creation of a new year, with the sun (male) penetrating a cave (female) and cutting through concentric circles (female) representing the earth.

**MYTHS TOLD IN ROCK ART**

We can no longer doubt that the key to so many heretofore incomprehensible motifs is directly accessible in myths and tales which are still current. One would be mistaken to neglect these means which enable us to gain access to the past. Only the myths can guide us into the labyrinth of monsters and gods when, in the absence of writing, the plastic documentation cannot lead us any further.

Levi-Strauss 1967:267

Rock art in California does at first appear to be a "labyrinth of monsters and gods," of strange, misshapen figures dancing wildly through caves and over mountains. The legends tell of magical beings who did just that, Falcon and Raven creating the mountains (Gayton and Newman 1940:54), the brothers Little Fog and Little Thunder overcoming monsters who leave behind trails of blood and destruction that may still be seen in the landforms today (Blackburn 1975:114). When the First People of myth turned to stone, might they not be shown enacting the very stories people still tell of their wondrous deeds?

Georgia Lee (1977:1-14) has suggested certain rock art motifs from Chumash panels as representing characters and concepts found in the myths. She sees Earth; Sun; Eagle; Sky Coyote; the two serpents who hold up the earth; hills of bleached bones of people eaten by Eagle; Sun as a man
holding a firebrand; Lizard; Coyote; Turtle; Beetle; Centipede; an old woman rolling a burning tray; Swordfish; Bear; the four cardinal directions depicted on a sacred celestial body; and the souls of dead people represented by a moving "fiery ball" of light.

One rock art panel from the border of the Ventureño Chumash and Fernandeño area has inspired many interpretations. This panel at Burro Flats was described by Grant (1965:Plate 25) as containing two comets, figures with "rake" hands and feet, and people with feathered headresses. Lee suggested that these "comets" were souls of the dead (1977:12). Edberg (n.d.:16, 20) correlated the comets with spirits of deceased chiefs who had ascended to the sky, and the ladder-like motifs below the comets as depicting Kutu'mit ceremonial poles with inverted baskets hung from them, used traditionally during Gabrielino Mourning Ceremonies. "These poles symbolize the link between the world of man and the celestial world of Gods (First People) and God-Kings (chiefs) above" (Edberg n.d.:23).

The Burro Flats panel has also been interpreted as depicting a Winter Solstice event, the symbolic outcome of the celestial game of peon, seen when a dagger of sunlight pierces the concentric rings of a circle that may represent the five "worlds" of the Chumash universe, or the Sun itself being held by two shamans during the solstitial standstill (Romani et al. n.d.). Romani et al. (n.d.) also postulated that three motifs in the Burro Flats panel
portrayed together a Chumash myth (Blackburn 1975: Narrative 30), seen in the panel as Coyote ascending poles to the sky, and as Centipede descending from the Sky World on the wings of Eagle. Thus rock art may not only portray isolated mythical characters but also appears to depict entire scenes from important mythical events, in order to tell an integrated story.

ROCK ART PORTRAYS THE COSMOS

The evolution of theories concerning explanations of Paleolithic European rock art has progressed from Abbe Henri Breuil's notion of the art as hunting magic to the recent approach of Leroi-Gourhan which views the art as "an expression of an entire organizational, perceptual world view, a cosmology, a system of thought" (Conkey 1982:17). Mountjoy (1982:121) has recently suggested that a cave painting in Mexico represents a view of the organization of the cosmos with gods painted on the ceiling, sun and mountains below, and below that rain, plants and weather shamans. "It is possible to 'read' the painted rock scar as an integrated scene with distinctive conceptual sub-areas. . . ." (Mountjoy 1982:121). California rock art specialists have only lately begun a similar evolution of thought, from traditional static explanations of rock art (as primitive "magic" or "markers") to dynamic approaches which indicate that the art may indeed be telling integrated stories and portraying a people's perceived order of
Leroi-Gourhan has postulated that Paleolithic cave art is organized into divisions of male and female motifs placed in certain parts of the caves. This male-female duality is a concept that orders the world for men attempting to understand it. Levi-Strauss discusses the duality of split representation of some art styles as "a function of a sociological theory of the splitting of the personality" (1967:253). He says further that this type of art is "intimately related to social organization . . . [the] societies were organized along similar hierarchical lines and their decorative art functioned to interpret and validate the ranks in the hierarchy" (Levi-Strauss 1967:250). Thus the concept of duality may reflect a human structure inherent on many levels: (1) man split within himself; (2) man split from woman; (3) man's social organization split into dual functions and into a vertical hierarchy; and (4) man's perception of the universe as split into two opposing and complementary halves.

The list of dualities presented in Chapter 2 (Table 4) as found in philosophical thought throughout New World religions reflects this basic dichotomy and also a striving for unity. Levi-Strauss and Leroi-Gourhan have demonstrated that concepts of duality and hierarchy of the universe are found represented in art forms throughout the world and through a wide range of time. Since the philosophies of native southern Californians are organized around
a dual structure, it should be reasonable to look for this concept portrayed in their art. "Some of these [Chumash rock art] sites may also represent the opposition and power play between various Sky People (such as Sun versus Sky Coyote) with themes of rain versus drought, light versus darkness, or warmth versus cold, reflected" (Hudson and Lee n.d.:33).

PAINTED ROCK ON THE CARRIZO PLAINS

The place known as Painted Rock or Corral Rock (CA-SLO-79) on the western side of the Carrizo Plains is perhaps the most famous pictograph site in California, having been the object of intense interest and speculation at least since the mid-1800s. Grant (1965:90) describes the setting as follows:

At a spectacular site in the Cuyama area, there is an immense rock about 60 feet high and formed like a horseshoe, creating a natural amphitheatre. Inside the rock are a great many fine paintings, badly vandalized. Ancient trails wind up the surface of the rock, and at the top there are more paintings, including the mysterious fishlike design. The amphitheatre could easily hold hundreds of people, and it is not difficult to imagine fires burning in the center, lighting some ceremonial dance while great numbers of Indians gathered from the surrounding country to watch from the gallery above. Near this picture rock [a couple of miles south] is a village site and a cemetery.

Nineteenth century visitors to Painted Rock found the rock art fascinating. A schoolgirl's essay in 1892 described "a huge crown painted on the wall" and "four people dancing." Another person in the 1800s pronounced "The Rock" to be a "primitive post office" for people's
communication (Lee 1980).

In 1925, Kroeber published pictures from the main panel at the "famous Corral Rock" as the finest examples of California pictographs. Unfortunately, one of these pictures (1925:Plate 83), of the twin figures at the right side of the panel, is shown upside down. The twin figures (see Chapter 4, Figure 2) have inspired strange interpretations. In 1895, W. H. G. Schulte called them "two men joined together, equal in size and design, perhaps two of the lesser gods. Below there is a serpent, with a head at each end, and many feet. This with the Aztecs meant time. Could it not here mean the same?" (Smith 1932). Frances Smith (1932:95) quoted correspondence from Albert B. Reagan who says the two figures "are shown flying through the heavens on the wings of the clouds with a candled, almost rainbow-shaped altar at their feet, a candle being represented at each end of the altar and eleven placed upon it. It would appear from the cut [photograph] that the altar and the two priests are flying as a whole through the heavens." Smith believed the "flying men" represented a legend of two Spanish friars who came over the hills not on foot but flying: "... the clouds beneath their arms which appear as wings may be symbolical of the power of Mother Maria de Jesus to accompany these priests in their journeys, possibly as early as 1620" (1932:95).

In 1910, Myron Angel called Painted Rock a "temple of sun-worshipers" (1979:17). Angel related a legend about
the rock concerning Aztecs and human sacrifice, of a "Dreamer" who told his people to embrace Christianity ("a Child of the Sun [Christ] was painted on the rock"), and a beautiful maiden named for a comet who sacrificed herself ("As the cooking vessels of the chief are broken at his grave so their spirits may serve their master, so let me be broken that my spirit may go to thee").

The convocation ended with the order to record the curse. The paintings were made in the written language of the olden time. The three colors, red, white and black, were the symbols of their religion. . . . Records in these colors were deemed sacred and all-powerful, never to be disregarded; so through the centuries have they remained.

Angel 1979:97

Georgia Lee has in the past several years undertaken the huge task of recording the rock art at Painted Rock. She suggests that there are both Chumash and Yokuts designs at the rock, although the main panel appears to be of Chumash style (Lee 1980). The large figure with huge white eyes in the main panel on the left (see Chapter 4, Figure 2) has been suggested by Lee (1977) as representing Sky Coyote, and Hudson and Underhay (1978:Figure 11b) believe the large circle in the middle of the panel could depict a total solar eclipse.

Hudson and Lee (n.d.:23) believe that Painted Rock and some other Carrizo rock art sites are "public" sites "used for community ritual involvement," a view collaborated by Grant (1965:90) and Angel (1979). Painted Rock is unique, a place of power where even the unimaginative visitor feels
the weight of the past. Although the pictographs have been heavily vandalized for over 100 years, their potential as tools for anthropologists has been barely tapped.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented many alternative explanations for the meaning and functions of rock art in Chumash, Yokuts and Salinan areas. Explanations for motifs have ranged from depicting First People turned to stone, dream helpers, and shamans, to Datura-induced designs, astronomical themes or celestial bodies, mythological characters and stories, and cosmological maps of the universe.

Although the list of possibilities for interpreting rock art at first appears endless, closer examination shows basic agreement between the varied explanations. The rock art appears, in almost every instance, to be portraying the world as man saw it, not literally but symbolically with inner eye. The philosophers and scientists of Chumash and Yokuts societies conveyed their knowledge and beliefs of the universe, of life and death, of the changing of the seasons, in visual forms. Perhaps they knew or sensed that their traditional paths to power and knowledge would die out with the coming of the white man. Myths and rock art may prove to be the only survivors of a California Holocaust which destroyed past and future for thousands of people.

Perhaps in the not-too-distant future we will be able to approach prehistoric rock art in a new way, and not just look, but see.

Blackburn 1977:93
Chapter 4
THE CARRIZO PANEL

Can the discovery of a Rosetta Stone be hoped for to lead to the reading of the paintings on the rocks of California? That these paintings have a deep significance has long been believed by many, but no one has yet translated them, and so deep has been their mystery that they have been neglected, and abandoned to the elements and the ignorant marauder.

Of one of these there has strangely been handed down a legend of the period and of the events inciting the painting and its record, but not a key to read the writing unless some studious archaeologist, from the crude lines and this legend, exhumes its alphabet. This legend concerns the Painted Rock of Carrisa.

Myron Angel, 1910
(1979:24-25)

INTRODUCTION

Sixty miles northwest of the center of the Chumash universe, the mountain known as 'Iwhinmu'u (Mt. Piños), lies the long valley of Carrizo bordered on the east by the Temblor Range formed by the San Andreas Fault, and on the west by the Caliente Hills. In between the San Joaquin Valley and the coast, the Carrizo Plains stand barren. On the western edge of the valley near the dried-up Soda Lake is a chain of huge upthrust rocks of sandstone. One of these is Painted Rock, standing apart from the others.

A person may walk inside the corral-shaped rock, where ancient painted eyes stare down from the walls. Many
of the mythical First People are there, some dancing, some dignified, often holding arms upraised and with eyes shooting bolts of lightning at each other. They do not mill around haphazardly along the forty foot length of the large painting on the eastern wall, but instead each being has its function, duties, and particular place in the cosmos, in a world once timeless now shrunk to the size of a protected wall inside a huge rock.

Figure 2 shows the main panel at Painted Rock as it once looked, before twentieth century vandals chipped away many of the figures. This version has been taken from Campbell Grant's excellent reconstruction of the panel (1965:Plate 4), for which he used photographs taken in the 1870s and 1890s. Some minor changes have been made from Grant's rendition, based on recent field verification, including the addition of the snake figure at the far right end of the painting. Throughout this chapter, line drawings will be shown of the individual figures, usually at the same scale as Figure 2 but sometimes slightly enlarged to show detail.

The age and exact cultural affiliation of the main panel remains uncertain. Georgia Lee (1980), Campbell Grant (1965), and Frank Latta (1977) all believe the pictograph relates more to the Chumash art tradition than to that of Yokuts or Salinans. The Chumash had a highly complex society, and it might have been their "religious innovators" (Hudson and Blackburn 1978:246) who created
much of the elaborate rock art of the area. Many of the pictographs appear to date from the Late or Historic Periods, and could have been produced as part of the 'Antap or Datura Cults (Hudson and Lee n.d.). The latest superimpositions at Painted Rock's main panel appear to have been either made very late in time or touched up fairly recently; the white paint has eroded noticeably since photographs were taken of the pictograph 100 years ago in which the paint is bright and clear (see Plates 1 and 2).

In the indisputable center of the painting is a huge red and black circle, measuring two feet in diameter and split in half horizontally by a long white stripe. On either side of the center circle are abstract white shapes with vestiges of arms or radiating triangles, and below the large white beings are tiny dancing humans. The center circle and the white beings with dancers below form a central focus for the entire painting, as though this were the center of power for the universe of First People.

Radiating outward from this center in both directions are zigzag lines, forming a break and at the same time a connection between the beings of the center panel and those consigned to the far right and left. While the central figures stand out clear and uncluttered, the farther ends of the painting are complex, appearing to the eye at first an uncontrolled hodgepodge of animal and abstract designs. The eye discerns a balance to the two far sides of the painting, an opposition of figures that mirrors the
balancing white beings on either side of the center circle. Two huge figures stand at the center of the complex sides of the painting, to the left a large being with black hat or ears and white eyes that bug out, sending lightning bolts out in opposite directions. To the right an ominous black being dominates that side of the painting, canted to the side where he is missing one leg, with a man dressed in white dots inside the larger black figure.

Yet for all their complexity, these First People do not speak. Sun fades, moonlight moves over the face of the rock, and the remaining unvandalized eye of the being on the left stares on, waiting for the lightning to connect to someone, perhaps for a "studious archaeologist" to read his "crude lines," perhaps waiting for the message of the past to speak to the future.

MEANING OF THE PANEL

There are many possible interpretations for the meaning and function of the great panel. No one would suggest of this pictograph, as people have of other rock art, that it was made as a way to pass the time, as doodles without meaning. It is certainly not merely a "trail marker"—although trails undoubtedly led to and past Painted Rock, a forty-foot painting of remarkable complexity is rather excessive for simply marking a trail. There may well be clan symbols, either animal or abstract, included within the panel, yet the integration of motifs suggests a less
isolated theme for the painting.

That the rock art was made by shamans in a ritual context is very likely. The *Datura* Cult (perhaps specifically 'Antap), with its emphasis on visual symbols and graphic representations of esoteric concepts, may have been the motivating factor for these rituals, and hallucinatory visions from *Datura* may have provided stimulus for many design motifs. Puberty or cult initiation ceremonies could have been an occasion for display or use of the rock art, but it is not presently known what rock art designs in such contexts may have represented. Archaeoastronomy may also have been a focus of the rock art, yet Painted Rock does not appear to have functioned as an observatory or monitoring station for solstitial or other astronomical events.

"Hunting magic" is an often-suggested reason for rock art, yet none of the motifs at Painted Rock appear to represent either game animals or hunting paraphernalia. "Fertility magic" is usually thought to consist of representations of phallic or vulva symbols (such as cupules), which are not found at the main panel. Some of the abstract symbols on the panel could relate to fertility, like the chain-like motifs representing rattlesnakes which were painted in Luiseño girls' puberty ceremonies (Strong 1929: 299), but if this were the main function of the panel then one would not expect its motifs to be integrated with each other.

"Weather control" is another function of rock art
which could be represented at Painted Rock, yet there seems
to be a conceptual jump between producing cupules (the "rain rocks" used by northern California weather shamans) and painting an entire wall of a rock with complex inter-related symbols. The "boundary marker" interpretation of rock art has the same conceptual problem—certainly the Carrizo Plains is on the Chumash/Yokuts/Salinan boundary, yet the rock art at Painted Rock and surrounding sites says much more than "Warning: This is Our Territory!"

Thus many of the traditional interpretations of rock art may have validity for the main panel at Painted Rock, but these theories do not go far enough to enable the explanation of the painting's message. Merely stating "this is fertility magic" does not further cultural knowledge of the people producing the "magic" symbols, and indeed the main panel is so elaborate and inter-connected that its meaning is more complex than mere "magic." These alternative interpretations will be re-evaluated at the end of this chapter, with an emphasis on looking at the panel as an expression of elements of a people's cosmology rather than as isolated mysterious symbols.

METHODOLOGY

The method used for interpreting the Carrizo panel was to look at it first as a whole, as a cosmos by itself, and to diagram the actions and connections between the individual elements as Laming (1959:185) did for the Paleolithic
cave of Lascaux, which showed "many closely associated figures which have hitherto been interpreted as juxtapositions or superpositions [that] should in fact be regarded as deliberately planned compositions" (Laming 1959:186). Once the structure of the entire panel was looked at, it was then necessary to see if the structure proposed a theme for the painting, based on an assumption that rock art portrays the cosmology and symbolic thought of a people.

Once a central theme was proposed for the Carrizo pictograph, individual elements were looked at to see what each might symbolize in light of that theme. Animal and human figures, inanimate objects occurring in nature (rain, fire, celestial beings), and man-made items (tools and ceremonial objects), were suggested as being in the panel based on the figures' form, position, actions, and even color. The analysis was then taken a step further. If a rattlesnake was shown to be in the panel, the mythical and symbolic/ritual acts or functions of rattlesnakes as believed in by groups in southern California were then examined to determine why a snake might be in a certain place within the pictograph. Social uses (such as clan symbols) of animal or inanimate objects shown in the panel were also looked at to see what function they might serve in the panel.

After the separate elements of the panel were explained, the main theme for the panel was looked at again to see if it "fit the facts." If there were indeed certain
correspondences between figures placed in particular parts of the painting, then explanations were sought that might connect to beliefs of Chumash and Yokuts groups. If the structure of the panel did then appear to reflect the human social and religious structures, the panel might be viewed as a unified portrayal of the beliefs of the artists.

The problems inherent in this approach are many, that the symbolic thought of man cannot be quantified and measured scientifically, and any attempt to explain something on this basis will be speculative in nature. Furthermore, proposing a main theme for the panel sets up a primary assumption upon which all following interpretations must be based—if the first assumption fails, then the others may not stand on their own. Correlating the symbolic meanings of each separate figure with the main theme does, however, provide a check on the main assumption by seeing if the individual elements "fit" within the hypothesized framework.

The rewards of the attempt to interpret rock art, despite the inevitable failure to prove the interpretations, are nevertheless manifold. To see the world through eyes of a long-dead artist is to see oneself contrasted and reflected in that light. Following is an interpretation of the Carrizo panel as representing Chumash and Yokuts mythic beliefs of a great cosmological game of peon played between the most important of the First People, Sun and the Coyote of the Sky.
THE THEME OF PEON

There is a place in the world above where Sun and Sło'w [Eagle], Morning Star and Shnilemun (the Coyote of the Sky—not the Coyote of this world) play peon. There are two sides and two players on each side, and Moon is referee. They play every night for a year, staying up till dawn...

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:91

The main panel at Painted Rock is unique in its great size and in its deliberate organization, suggesting a master artist with a unified vision of the world. The huge circle motif in the center of the panel surrounded by balancing sides (on two separate levels each) composed of interrelated representational beings, suggests to a mind immersed in native California mythology, the gambling game of peon that the Chumash and Yokuts say is played every night of the year between balancing supernatural forces of nature, with the final count (determining the fate of earth's inhabitants for a year) being made on the night of the Winter Solstice.

Previous researchers have suggested, among other possibilities (see Chapter 3), that rock art in the Chumash and Yokuts area may represent the following concepts: (1) the First People of myths seen as characters enacting stories; (2) ceremonies or themes concerning the Winter Solstice; (3) the opposition of important cosmological beings such as Sun and Sky Coyote playing the game of peon; and (4) visual representations of the perceived order of
the universe. The main panel at Painted Rock, with its elaborate balance and symmetry, may portray, on several different and simultaneous levels, all of these concepts integrated into the theme of peon. Structural correspondences between the myth of peon and the pictograph have been used as the basis for interpretation. As the social structure discussed in Chapter 1 and the mythical/philosophical beliefs related in Chapter 2 both show a concept of the world based on dual and hierarchical organization which can be seen symbolically in the game of peon, so the Carrizo pictograph may be graphically portraying this concept. Following is an attempt to view the panel as a whole, and to then see if individual elements can be understood or "read" not on their own but as parts of the story of the game of peon.

THE FLOW OF ACTION

The panel has a definite organization, a flow of action between all individual elements that unites them into a whole. The rock overhang dictates the panel's basic shape, a long (40 foot) and narrow (5 foot high) space which slants from the left upwards toward the right on a 20° angle. The center of the panel is painted on a surface slightly upraised from the surrounding sides, so that the circular motif in the center is dominant physically and visually.
The two sides of the panel thus appear to radiate either out from or in towards the center circle. Cultural perceptions may play a role here in whether a person sees the flow radiating out or in to the center; while this author has always viewed it radiating outwards, it was pointed out by Willie Pink, who is Cupéño, that he saw the two sides coming in to the center, as a fusion of forces rather than a fission (Pink 1980).

The panel is further separated into two levels on each side of the circle. The large white figures on either side of the center are directly connected to the circle by the white stripe that bisects the circle.
The large white figures, however, do not directly touch the other motifs on the two extreme sides of the panel. Instead, they connect or communicate by means of zigzag designs or "power" lines (Lee and Horne 1978:221).

The "universe" formed by this panel therefore is separated into two main divisions with two further subdivisions inside that. It is suggested here that a logical
interpretation of this division is that the large white characters of the "Upper Hierarchy A and B" represent the celestial players of the peon game, Sun (on the right "A" side) and Sky Coyote (on the left "B" side), and that the characters on the two extreme sides represent an earthly "Lower Hierarchy" of beings, divided like Yokuts social organization into two opposing sides or moieties (A, the upper status moiety, and B, the lower status moiety). The two large dominant figures of the opposite extreme sides are further suggested to depict Coyote (on the left B side) and Bear (on the right A side), as these important beings often were the representative animals of the two opposite moieties (see Chapter 1, Tables 1 and 2).

As the mythologies and social structures of southern California societies reflect both a layered hierarchy (of supernatural Sky People who control the Earth People) and a
duality (of Sun vs. Sky Coyote, Male vs. female, life vs. death, Coyote/Deer vs. Eagle/Bear), so it appears that the main panel at Painted Rock is portraying these same conceptions of the world. The hierarchy and dual divisions are clearly seen in the panel, but equally important are the connections between all beings (the zigzag lines of power) that unify the concept. With this basic theme proposed for the panel, individual motifs may be interpreted with reference to their positions and functions in the "universe" portrayed by the panel.

... we learned a world view in which Nature is a being larger than the sum of all creatures, and can be seen best in the flow of its interactions. ...

Watkins 1978:19

THE CENTER CIRCLE

This world is merely a great flat winnowing tray ... it is all a circle. ...

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:97

The large circular design in the center of the panel is clearly the pivotal point around which all else revolves. It represents the unity found between opposing factions, the creation between male and female, the connection between life and death. Is the circle then merely an abstract symbol that stands for the important but vague concept of "unity," or might it have also a more concrete meaning?

The circle is two feet in diameter, painted red
towards the center, surrounded by a black ring, then a narrow red band outlining the black. At the base of the circle appears a motif consisting of a row of vertical parallel designs surrounded by a thick black line (a "rake" design) which has had the large center circle superimposed over it, indicating perhaps that many prior pictographic elements existed on these walls before the entire panel was painted. Modern vandals have since chipped away many parts of the painting, including "WJ HAMILTON" who inscribed his name on the center circle in 1900.

With the aid of photographs taken of the panel in the 1870s and 1890s, Campbell Grant reconstructed the painting (1965: Plate 4), including a large white irregular stripe with two black dots which bisected the circle horizontally. Figure 3 shows the circle as it presently looks, with the white stripe vandalized out of existence. Old photographs also appear to show white outlining of the circle; since the white color is the first to fade with time (Lee 1980), this is now gone. The circle is further augmented by four projecting triangles (two at the top, two at bottom) and four projecting circles (two at each side). "Some rocks [cave walls] are rayed [in discs?] and mean the eight winds" (Harrington n.d. in Hudson and Underhay 1978:66).

Concentric circles in Chumash rock art have been suggested as representing the earth or the universe composed of three to five layered worlds (Lee 1977; Hudson and Underhay 1978:45; Romani et al. n.d.). As Blackburn (1975:
Figure 3
SUN'S SIDE OF THE PANEL
72) states, "The entire [Chumash] universe consists of three flat, circular worlds floating in a great abyss, and supported by powerful supernatural beings."

The circle in the Carrizo panel resembles the "map" of the universe portrayed in Kumeyaay groundpaintings (see Figure 4). As discussed in Chapter 3, Chumash rock art may have served as part of rituals for the *Datura* Cult much as sandpaintings did for the Shoshonean and Yuman people just south of them. The large circle in the Kumeyaay sandpainting is the world, with small circles at the four corners or cardinal directions of the earth which in the ground painting represent four sacred mountains. A long white stripe bisects the ground painting, just as in the Carrizo pictograph. Travis Hudson (1980) suggested that the white stripe in the Carrizo panel represented the Milky Way, and it is the Milky Way that the similar horizontal stripe portrays in the Kumeyaay ground painting. The white stripe could alternatively represent the sea ("the earth is on top of the water of the ocean") or the sun's "equator of light" spreading out across the earth (Hudson and Underhay 1978: 37).

If the center circle does indeed represent the earth or the universe, does this interpretation fit with the theme of the peon game? If Sun is on the right side of the circle and Sky Coyote on the left, what should be between them in a game of peon? A gaming tray, perhaps, like "Chapet—the Indian doctor's magic tray" that Latta (1977:
Figure 4
KUMeyaAY GROUNDPAINTING

1,2,3-Toloache Mortar & Pestle
4,5- Rattlesnake
6- Milky Way
7- World’s Edge
8- New Moon
9- Full Moon
10- Sun
11- Coyote
12- Buzzard Star
13- Crow
14- Black Spider
15- Wolf
16- Mountain-sheep, Orion
17- Pleiades
18- Black Snake
19- Gopher Snake
20-23-Mountains

Waterman 1910:Plate 25
said was depicted in Yokuts rock art? The game itself, the gaming pieces, or perhaps the thing over which the players gamble? The wager in the cosmological peon game is life or death over the inhabitants of earth. Might it not then be the earth depicted between the players—earth as both the wager and the battle ground between the forces of the universe?

Fernando replied that an old man told him that we are all brothers, and our mother is one: this mother earth. He has always believed what the old people told him when he was a boy—that the world is God.

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash;
Blackburn 1975:103

SKY WORLD A

THE SEVEN DANCERS

There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

Yokuts Shaman’s Dream Song
Kroeber 1925:515

The first things the eye sees to the right of the center circle are two large abstract figures outlined in red, painted with now-fading white inside. While these figures (see Sun and Moon) are dominant and clearly connected to the center circle, closer examination reveals that they are painted around and over smaller figures—seven tiny "dancers" who were there first.

The seven figures are anthropomorphic, with five fingers and toes, approximately six inches tall each (see
Figure 3). There are four in a row (two red and two white) along the bottom, and three in a row (two white and one red) on the top. The four bottom ones have short radiating lines painted beneath them. The four figures painted white, with red outlining, are wearing red "skirts" with white dots. The three red figures are painted a solid color, with no "skirts" between their legs. All seven wear feathered headdresses—at least presumably, for the heads of the two white figures on the top have been erased by superimposition of the large white abstract figure over them.

Three of the seven "dancers" (the two white ones on bottom and the red one on the top, all towards the right side) are holding feathered poles or wands. The bottom left white dancer holds two tall poles, one in each hand, out of which radiate tiny "pinwheel" motifs, at the top of the poles and from the sides. The bottom right white dancer has one pole which he is not exactly holding but which begins just above his head. The "pinwheels" on the poles resemble radiating bunches of feathers; since southern California ceremonies often employed feathered banners, poles, and small hand-held wands, the "pinwheels" in the panel are likely to represent these. The feathered bunches on the poles may be sacred wands attached to ceremonial poles used during Mourning Ceremonies. "Wands presented to visiting chiefs at the waqao [Kitanemuk Mourning Ceremony] and placed on the kutumits poles [erected for dead chiefs]
were obtained by trade" (Blackburn and Bean 1978:567).

The red dancer on top is not holding long poles like those below him, but rather appears to have three short bunches of feathers along each outstretched arm. A Mourning Ceremony of the Tejon Gabriilino people described by Merriam (1955:83) may describe a dancer such as this figure in the panel:

Then a young unmarried man called to-vet, son of a chief, is... paid for dancing. He is curiously dressed in feathers, wearing a large feather headdress... crowned with eagle plumes... and a short feather skirt, the upper part white, the bottom black... On each shoulder he wears a curious object called ah-u'-in (noise), covered with feathers... These shoulder pieces are tied on with (or to) the same sacred rope (ho-yow't we'-vor) which is wound around his body.

The seven dancers appear to have different functions or status (sex?), indicated by their white or red body
paints, presence or absence of the red skirts, by who carries the feathered poles, and by the one figure with feathered wands or bunches tied to his shoulders. In addition, the numbers of feathers in their headdresses differ. The red dancer on top has eight red feathers, while the two red dancers on the bottom each have eight white and six red feathers in their headdresses. The bottom white figure who holds two poles has eight white and seven red feathers, while the bottom white dancer with one pole has only five white and six red feathers.

Despite their differences, the seven dancers together clearly form a unit. Their headdresses, skirts, feathered poles and wands, and body paint all indicate that they are enacting a ceremony of great importance. Why seven dancers? An interesting correlation might be made with the "seven god pantheon" of a religious system connected with the Datura Cult which was found throughout south-central California (Kroeber 1925:622-624). Some of the names of the seven gods (or goddesses) may refer to: (1) Datura or moon; (2) "breath of life"; (3) "looker, seer" or Polaris; (4) "maker" or sacred tosaut stones; (5) "crusher" or Evening Star; (6) deer or earth; (7) sun; (8) dew or Morning Star; and (9) swordfish or wind (Kroeber 1925:623; Hudson and Blackburn 1978:228).

Hudson and Blackburn (1978) connect the seven "gods" of this religious complex to important Sky People such as Sun, Moon, Polaris (Sky Coyote?), the Two Thunders, Morning
Star, and Evening Star. They further suggest that the unifying concept for this pantheon of deities was the mythical game of peon, reflecting the dichotomy found in social organization and in religious philosophy throughout southern California. While it is impossible to determine that the seven feathered dancers in this pictograph definitely represent the seven gods of the pantheon, it may be significant that the "gods" were the same ones who played in the celestial game of peon, suggesting a potential connection between the seven dancers and the peon players later superimposed over them.

SUN

Beneath
Lie down
The sacred we-vor [rope]
Alone
You are following me
Feather headdress
The sun
Big bird
My brother.

Sung by Gabrielino to-vet dancer
during Mourning Ceremony;
Merriam 1955:84

Above and behind the seven feathered dancers and to the right of the center "earth" circle is the motif described in 1892 by a schoolgirl as a "huge crown" (Lee 1980). A figure two feet long painted in white, outlined in red, it is composed of a long oval with a row of triangles or points along the top, looking very much like a representation of a rising or setting sun.
"To the Yokuts, Sunset (The Dying Day) meant Death. The Yokuts saw their Sun die at the end of every day. . . . When the Ground Owl . . . a Winatun (Messenger) for Tihpiknits (the Keeper of the Hereafter) sent his wailing screech across the West Side Plains at dusk, to the Yokuts it meant that some one had died. . . . " (Latta 1977:217).

To the Chumash also, Sun was the harbinger of death, receiving his pay in human lives when he won the yearly game of peon.

Sun is an old man. He is naked, with a ougele' [headdress] on his head, and he carries a firebrand in his hand. . . . Sun is a widower. He lives alone with his pets and his two daughters. . . . When Sun returns home in the evening he takes along whatever people he wants. . . . He and his two daughters just pass the people through the fire two or three times and then eat them half-cooked. . . . Every day Sun carries people from this world off this way—every day.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:92-93

Here in the main panel Sun is not given an anthropomorphic figure but a more abstract one. The nine points along the top may be Sun's rays or feathered headdress, symbolizing his power and position. The headdress (of eagle feathers as befitting a chief?) is an important symbol. In the Yokuts game of peon, Sky Coyote battles not against Sun but the Caretaker of the Land of the Dead, Tihpiknits, a "great bird person" (Latta 1977:684).
Tihpiknites may be a fusion of Sun and Eagle, who play together in the Chumash game. Eagle is the messenger of death, transporting shamans and spirits from one world to the next. The eagle feathers of the Gabrielino to-vet Mourning Ceremony dancer (the word to-vet also associated with sun) further connect a number of beings and concepts: Sun, Eagle, a Chief (a chief's son is the to-vet dancer, and Eagle is the chief in mythological stories), and death —"... the sun, big bird, my brother..." (Merriam 1955:84; Hudson and Underhay 1978:85). Thus the abstract Sun figure in the panel may symbolize all these concepts in one motif.

Sun's power was neither good nor bad, or rather was both, "capable of either benevolence or malevolence: giver of warmth, light, life and rain, or bringer of death" (Hudson and Underhay 1978:72). He was, for southern Californians, indisputably male, penetrating mother earth with light, thereby creating life, and at the same time causing death. "The earth produces fruit while the sun vivifies all creatures" (Hudson et al. 1977:37). In Table 4 (Chapter 2), Sun is clearly on the side of the duality associated with male, father, sky, west, and death. In the Carrizo panel, Sun does not touch the center "earth" symbol, but hovers at her right, slightly above her.

Fernando's grandfather said that the modern people say the sun is made this way or that way, but all we have are our own thoughts. He also said that he and others
before him had tried to figure out how the sun was made, but how could they?

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash; Hudson et al. 1977:37

MOON

The moon is intermediate between the sun and Hutash [earth]. They call the moon 'alahtin, a cleansing thing, because the moon's powers are cleansing. It cleans all that is dirty. Its forces move the sea, extend all the way to the stars, and control the menses of women and all creatures, even the oak.

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash; Hudson et al. 1977:37

Underneath Sun and to the right of Earth is a strange figure. The white stripe from the center circle (representing the Milky Way, the ocean, the sun's "equator of light," or perhaps all of these) reaches out and connects to a white oval outlined in red (painted on top of one of the seven dancers). The oval has two curved "horns" or points above and below it, and two thick red lines leading out to the right which terminate in two red circles with white dots inside (see Figure 3). Out of the terminating circles emanate zigzag lines which connect to the farther right side of the panel.

![Diagram of the sun and moon]
The horns of this figure suggest a waning crescent moon (Romani 1980), and it appears to have two radiating antennae (Benson 1980) leading to the right as a sign of supernatural extrasensory power. The Kumeyaay depicted the moon as a crescent design in their groundpaintings (see Figure 4), and the Chumash drew a crescent moon design on their ritual sunstick stones to be used at the Winter Solstice ceremony (Hudson et al. 1977:57). The Chumash say that "Moon is a single woman. She has a house near that of Sun" (Blackburn 1975:92).

Zigzag motifs like those at the end of Moon's antennae may represent "power lines" such as those suggested as radiating out from powerful beings in rock art (Hedges 1976; Hudson and Underhay 1978:60; Lee and Horne 1978:221). The zigzags resemble lightning and may represent here a flow of power and communication between the Sky People (Sun and Moon) and the Earth People to the right of the center panel, just as lightning comes from the clouds, strikes earth, and flows upwards again. Moon is thus the communicator between the two Sky and Earth divisions on the right side of the panel.

And whenever there was lightning the old men would say, "Now beware, that is an element from the hand of a power that caused us to see this world."

Fernando Librado Kitsepowit, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:96

Why should Moon be on the same side of the panel as the deadly Sun? In the Chumash game of peon she is referee,
a proper job for a female (neutral in a man's game) and for the only one of the Sky People (unlike Sun, stars, planets) who can travel through both night and day. The peon referee is also in charge of the game counters, which may correlate with man's practice of counting the days in a month or months in a year by observing moon's cycle. Yet the seemingly neutral Moon is sometimes a symbol of death, perhaps typified here in her waning (dying) phase. The Chumash believed that if the horns of the moon were vertical (as in the panel, and as occurs in rainless months of fall), the moon was "empty" and there would be no rain (Harrington 1942:42; Hudson and Underhay 1978:76). The Yokuts thought that vertical horns of the moon signified death (Driver 1937:88). Thus the scorekeeper Moon is depicted in the panel on the side of death along with the Sun.

The position of Moon in the panel, to the right of Earth and below Sun, may reflect astronomical knowledge—Moon is gravitationally bound to Earth, but reflects light from Sun.

But few people see [the waning crescent moon] rise in those early morning hours—it shines mainly for owls, bats, cats. But one can watch it long enough in daytime, as it stays in the sky till the afternoon, followed by the sun ever more closely...

Rey 1952
SKY WORLD A SUMMARY

The seven feathered dancers, Sun, and Moon motifs are the dominant figures in the "Sky World" to the right of the center "Earth" circle. There is also a row of eight "segmented pole" motifs (possible meanings for which will be discussed later) between Earth and Moon; the segmented poles are faded, painted in red outlined in black, and like the seven dancers, were superimposed over by the Sun and Moon motifs (see Figure 3).

Underneath the Sun, Moon and segmented poles are two other painted symbols. One is a small abstract figure with five bulbous projections (some with tiny hairs on the end); there were probably several more projections at one time, now eroded. This symbol is painted within a natural round depression in the rock, possibly as a way of enhancing the natural "power" of the rock (Hudson and Lee n.d.:28). Below the multi-armed figure is a long narrow motif, parts of which have been chipped away, painted black with small red dots or circles outlining it.

It appears that the seven dancers and the segmented poles were painted on the rock prior to the larger figures in the panel and to the complex integration of the panel's separate motifs into a unified whole. The prior elements were not ignored, however, but carefully integrated into the later motifs and probably "touched up" (seen in the bright white feathers in the lower dancers' headdresses).
Thick red lines were moreover painted in the center of the panel with the seeming purpose of forming a "bowl" which encompasses the four lower dancers and leaves the three upper figures dancing on its "rim" (see Figure 3). A strange motif hovers to the right of the red "bowl" connected by a single line; it looks like an upright red bow-tie with ten rows of horizontal white dots painted on it (a charmstone?).

There are many small motifs in the "Sky World A" side of the panel whose meaning is presently obscure. The Sun, Moon, and seven dancers, however, fit very well with the interpretation of the peon game theme for the panel—in fact, although their shapes do accord with what might be expected for illustrating these beings, it is the theme of peon which first suggested what these motifs might represent.

SKY WORLD B

THE COYOTE OF THE SKY

Shnileman [Sky Coyote] was like God to the old people, Maria thinks. They had great faith in him. Sun is our uncle, but Shnileman is our father—that is why he works for us, giving us food and sparing our lives. He watches over us all the time from the sky. Shnileman has the form of a coyote—a big coyote.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:92

To the left of the Earth circle is a large figure in white, outlined in red, appearing as a balance or opposite to the Sun figure on the other side of Earth. Vaguely
anthropomorphic, this figure seems to be lying on its side, with arms (or tails, or possibly "feathered poles" that it holds) and a long nose which bends downwards (now chipped away), out of which the zigzag power lines emanate (see Figure 2). Although the figure is too abstract to resemble any particular man or animal, its position of opposition to Sun suggests that this may be Sky Coyote—"a big coyote . . . [who] watches over us all the time from the sky" (Blackburn 1975:92).

The Coyote of the Sky is the life-giver, rain-maker, representing the "female" side of the dualities expressed in Table 4 (Chapter 2). Although Sky Coyote is a male being, he nevertheless symbolizes the fertility associated with women. His counterpart in the celestial peon game as told by the Kitanemuk is Tssuquit, Deer, who also represents earth, female, mother, rain, and fertility, opposed to a deathly male Sun (Hudson and Blackburn 1978:235). The figure in the panel may incorporate this "female" aspect of Sky Coyote, as it appears to have the breasts of a woman.

Hudson and Underhay (1978:101) have postulated that Polaris, the North Star, may represent Sky Coyote. A
Chumash name for Polaris meant "to divide" or "to separate in the middle" (Hudson and Underhay 1978:101), perhaps indicating the Sky Coyote who plays opposite Sun in the game that "divides all things" at the time of the Winter Solstice. Sky Coyote could also be represented by a constellation of stars prominent in the rainy winter months (such as Orion), as in Maidu cosmology which depicts a Coyote consisting of several constellations stretching halfway across the sky (Coyote Man 1973:101). This could fit the description of Sky Coyote as a "big coyote" better than a single star. Polaris could represent Sun's partner Eagle, who is "up there watching the whole world too. . . . He never moves; he is always in the same spot . . . sustaining the upper world. . . . [emphasis added]" (Blackburn 1975:92).

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit said that "the Sun was their chief god" for the Chumash (Blackburn 1975:96), but it may be that Sky Coyote was more important than many researchers give him credit for. Hudson and Underhay (1978:68) mention an historical account of shrines used by the Chumash:

People came to them [shrines] on pilgrimages or out of necessity, petitioning for rain, abundance of food, protection from bears and rattlesnakes, and for good health. The Spanish priest added that offerings of beads and seeds were made to the "Invisible One," who provided rain, seeds, fruits and all manner of things. The "Invisible One," of course, was Sun.

It may be suggested that the Sun is not at all "Invisible" but that a "big coyote" in the sky certainly would be, and
that if one wished to petition for rain, food, good health, and protection from Sun's "pets" (bears and rattlesnakes) (Blackburn 1975:93), it would make more sense to pray to Sky Coyote than to Sun.

Thus the large white figure left of the center circle may represent one of the most important Sky People, a star or stars of the night who balance the light (and potential drought) of Sun with darkness and rain. "When Sky Coyote is the winner he cannot wait for the stakes to be distributed, but pulls open the door so that everything falls down into this world. . . ." (Blackburn 1975:91-92).

FOUR DANCING CHARMSTONES

Below the white figure of Sky Coyote are four lively beings, legs that seem to be dancing and arms upraised as though in supplication to the sky above. Like the seven dancers below Sun, they appear to be acting out a ceremony, although unlike the seven dancers, these four appear to have been painted at the same time as the panel's larger figures (Sun, Moon, Sky Coyote). Most of the four dancers have been chipped away by vandals.

The hands of the four dancers cross or touch each other, as the figure on the right reaches for the Earth,
and the one on the far left touches the nose of Sky Coyote where the lightning comes out. The dancers have rectangular bodies, with their upper torsos and heads painted black in contrast to their lower white halves, perhaps as a shaman or dancer would paint themselves for a ceremony. Their four-toed feet dance atop a long red and black strip with small feathery triangles attached.

Why should there be four dancers below Sky Coyote? Are they praying to him for rain? A correlation might be made with a Chumash myth about another game of peon, this one between Thunder and Little Owl (each representing opposite moieties). Thunder (Moiety B) lost the gamble and sent Coyote to fetch his wager—four charmstones.

So Coyote went and got the shopo [charmstones], which were all bundled up, and started back with them. . . . Halfway on the return trip . . . he unwrapped one of the shopo, and as soon as he did so it shook itself free of his grasp and began to dance all by itself. Coyote looked at it dancing there, and it was very beautiful to see, and he also began to dance and sing. . . . Before long all four of the shopo were dancing there on the trail. . . .

Lucrecia Garcia, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:224

Among the Yokuts, four charmstones were used for calling the rain. Gayton (1948:24, 37) said that "Thunder (Kunumu’muwiya) is personified in charmstones called Unok" which were said to be natural, not made by mortal men.

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pumuk) and two round tule (poton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Josie Alonzo, Yokuts; Gayton 1948:24
Charmstones were usually "plummet" shaped and may have appeared to "dance" when spun like tops or hung suspended from strings, manipulated by shamans for amazing the public. "The old men would have these stones and mysteries, and sometimes the common people would come and see these stones jumping" (Hudson et al. 1977:40).

Thus it may be that the four charmstones (used by weather shamans for rain-making, and associated with Coyote and Thunder) are represented in the pictograph as a traditional wager for a supernatural game of peon. "Before long all four ... were dancing on the trail," or perhaps dancing upon a woven mat fringed with feathers (as in the painting)—a shaman's feathered bundle filled with charms for calling Coyote, and the rain. The four dancing charmstones, the "tools of thunder" (Blackburn 1975:272), may thus represent the rain that Sky Coyote brings when he wins the game of peon.

Certain charmstones were even associated with the Winter Solstice:

Most people had sacred sentient stones (tisait) in their houses to protect them from storms, or to place in water to be drunk as medicine. ... They were kept wrapped with offerings of eagle down, seeds, beads, and tobacco, the offerings were changed yearly at the winter solstice [emphasis added].

Kitanemuk; Blackburn and Bean 1978:567

The stylized body paint of the four dancers suggests another possible interpretation, of gaming pieces, white bones marked with black, to be held in each hand of two
members on a team of peon players. Perhaps Sky Coyote, singing his songs of power above, holds the four gaming pieces ready for the nightly game. Whether the four dancers are the gaming pieces or the wagered charms, however, it is clear that they are an integral part of the game of life and death, of sunlight and rain, played in the sky.

SKY WORLD B SUMMARY

The hierarchy of Sky People to the left of the center circle thus appear to consist of Sky Coyote and four dancers who play in the peon game. The Chumash peon player Morning Star is missing, as is Eagle on Sun's side; perhaps only the team captains were portrayed here, so that Chumash, Yokuts, Salinan or other visitors to the Carrizo Plains might recognize common ideology.

THE CENTER PANEL SUMMARY

The central part of the panel is thus composed of three main parts: (1) the Earth circle in the center; (2) Sun's side A of the Sky World to the right; and (3) Sky Coyote's side B of the Sky World to the left. These symbols together, if interpreted here correctly, represent all of the important celestial bodies—Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars (Sky Coyote). The white stripe that connects them all, running from Sky Coyote through Earth to Moon, therefore makes sense as the Milky Way, the visible
edge of a swirling galaxy that contains all the suns, planets, satellites, comets.

There may be a correlation between the internal organization of the panel with the layout of the Kumeyaay ground-painting shown in Figure 4, both as visual depictions of the universe possibly used for *Datura*-related ceremonies. The Sun is depicted on the far left side of the ground-painting, Coyote on the far right, with the Moon and Milky Way between them. Although these directions are reversed in the Carrizo panel, the concept of opposition, of an ideological placement of cosmological beings that may be graphically displayed, is the same.

The two balancing sides of the panel's Sky World represent more than a division of life into day (Sun) and night (stars/Sky Coyote). As Table 4 in Chapter 2 illustrates, life was conceptually divided into other opposing factions, of female/life/rain versus male/death/sunlight. Both sides of the pictograph have tiny human figures dancing below the Sky People, some asking for rain, some praying for sun, as "we humans are involved in that [celestial peon] game too" (Blackburn 1975:92). Thus the game of peon is the unifying mechanism for two opposing yet complementary factions.

EARTH WORLD A

A jump may now be made from the central Sky World part of the panel to the "earthly" side farther away from the
central hierarchy. To the right of Sun is a large black figure surrounded by smaller beings (see Figure 2). If these beings follow the interpretation of the panel as the game of peon with its divisions into opposing halves of nature and society, then they should represent concepts associated with Sun's side of the dualities listed in Table 4 (Chapter 2), including male, death, sky, sun, high status, and chief. If the two divisions further represent Chumash or Yokuts social organization, then the painted animal figures on either side of the panel should generally follow the moiety divisions for animals listed in Table 1 (Chapter 1), which for Sun's side (high status Moiety A) includes eagle, raven, wildcat, and bear as the principal animals.

The central black being on the right side of the panel will be described first, as he is the pivotal figure for the "Earth World A" side of the panel, and therefore should represent either an important animal (one of the First People) or concept associated with Sun's side (Moiety A) of the peon game. Most of the other important motifs (both abstract and representational) surrounding this figure will be described and interpretations for them suggested, but some of the smaller designs will not be discussed since there are presently no meanings suggested for them.
Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

Yokuts bear doctor's song;
Kroeber 1925:515

The large black figure in the center of the Earth World A side of the panel stands over four feet tall, canted slightly to the right, outlined with an almost luminous white paint. His body is thick, with large ears projecting upwards. He was painted, strangely enough, as having only one arm (to the right, probably "his" left), balanced by only one leg on the left (his right). There are many abstract detailed designs that the black being was superimposed over, but the main motif inside the black being appears to be an integral part of him—a human figure outlined in red and white. Plate 1 shows a photograph of this part of the panel taken in either 1876 or 1896 (courtesy of John Cawley, shown in Angel 1979:16, 26).

The human figure inside a larger black being suggests immediately the most common California belief in man-animal transformation, that of the bear shaman. A bear shaman
might actually become a bear (Yokuts, Yuki, Miwok), or might wear a bear skin or "suit" (Chumash, Pomo) while working his often-malevolent magic.

When the blackberries were ripe [this man] would turn into a bear and go out to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper. . . .

Josie Alonzo, Yokuts; Gayton 1948:36

If a man wants to be a bear shaman he kills a bear and pulls the skin off over the head in one piece, cutting the paws and the skin from the head carefully. . . . Then they make . . . a kind of shirt to protect the wearer of the bearskin in case of attack by arrows (that is why men sometimes shoot at bears and fail to kill them). . . . These forces are supernatural. . . .

Fernando Librado Kitsepatit, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:258

Campbell Grant (1965:Plate 4) reconstructed the man inside the "bear" as having white dots all over his body, although the old photographs are not clear and it may be that he was simply painted solid white. The white paint or dots may represent the "protective shirt" worn beneath a bear suit, which among Pomo bear doctors was actually composed of an "armor" woven of shell bead belts (Barrett 1917:456).

A bear (who was really a man) jumped out of some bushes, and . . . tried to get at the girls. The old woman [a sorceress] took her walking stick and pointed it at the sun. Then she thrust it into the bear and burst his skin, and there was a man inside. He had a lot of abalorio [shell money beads] inside of the skin. Such men always carry abalorio when they turn into a bear so they
can pay people not to betray them in case they get into trouble. . . . [emphasis added]

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:264

Bear is further connected with the Sun, as one of the "pets" who inhabit Sun's crystal house in the world above:

[Coyote] reached the house of Sun, and there were lots of wild animals there that Sun kept as pets—lions, deer, bears, and even rattlesnakes. . . . Sun's bear wanted to bite Coyote, and he had to dodge around, but the bear couldn't hurt him. Then the rattlesnake tried to get him but he dodged again. Coyote reached the door at last. . . .

Luisa Ygnacio, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:199

Porno bear shamans also had a special relationship with Sun:

He [bear shaman] sang to and invoked particularly Sun-man because he was an all-seeing deity and knew everything that happened all over the earth. . . . The substance of his prayer to Sun-man was: "I am going to do as you do. I shall kill people. You must give me good luck."

Barrett 1917:460

Thus Bear as one of the First People, and bear shamans thereafter, were associated with Sun as fellow bringers of death. Bear shamans may also have participated in ceremonies for the sun, as may be symbolized in the panel by the black pole or staff with jagged points (feathers?) hanging from it, just above Bear's head.

As the sun rose above the eastern horizon the Chumash Bear Dancer pointed his hand-held staff at it, and sang:

Darkness goes blind like a blind man. Then
light bumps into it, and light will last forever.

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash;
Hudson and Underhay 1978:14

It is clear that Bear belongs on Sun's side of Earth World A in the panel, according to mythology and ritual. Bear also belongs to Moiety A (high status) among the Chumash, and usually among the Yokuts (see Table 1, Chapter 1), although Eagle is the most representative animal for Moiety A among these groups. Bear was, however, apparently the most important being on the "A" side for the Salinans (Mason 1912:189; Hudson and Blackburn 1978: Table 3). "Long ago the people did not believe in the world; they believed in (like?) the bear" (Salinan: Mason 1918:117). Does this mean that, as Bear is the most dominant being of the panel's Earth World A, it is Salinan philosophy being represented here? It is significant that Bear represents Sun's side in the earthly side of the panel, yet it may be that he was chosen to be painted here rather than Eagle because his role as a shaman was more important to the panel's meaning than was Eagle's position as headman of Moiety A.

In the panel, the white shaman inside the bear appears to be holding two large red ovals—possibly Bear's eyes, from which emanate jagged streaks of lightning or lines of power. These zigzag lines are the same as those connecting to Moon and Sky Coyote, but smaller. The Chumash, Costonoan, and Kitanemuk believed that the Thunder being
had lightning which came from his eye (Harrington 1942:30, Item 1155). The Yokuts said that abalone shell ornaments attracted lightning (Gayton 1948:31), and most southern California groups believed that spirits were given eyes of abalone when they reached the Land of the Dead, which furthers a connection between lightning, eyes, and death. The lightning motifs from Bear's "eyes" (and one that zig-zags down the left side of his body) may represent his power, or may be his shaman's extrasensory means of communicating to other beings.

Why Bear should be shown with only one arm and one leg is a mystery. There is a "lame devil whose leg is broken and who goes hopping around the world" in Chumash mythology (Blackburn 1975:93). A Yokuts story tells of many First People who lost one arm, leg or ear while gambling with an evil Crow (Latta 1936:174). Bear's lack of appendages may symbolize his malevolent nature or the bad luck and violence that follows a Bear Shaman. "For you people [Bear Shamans] are to blame for a great deal of our suffering. . . ." (Fernando Librado Kitsepawit; Blackburn 1975:261).

I am a creature of power.
I stand up and begin to walk to the mountain tops, to every corner of the world.
I am a creature of power.

Chumash bear song,
Fernando Librado Kitsepawit;
Hudson et al. 1977:83
Rattlesnake

An elongated figure appears next to Bear, red lines painted over a black background, beginning in a point near Bear's foot, travelling upward to the right just above Bear's leg, turning horizontal when it reaches Bear's body, and ending to the right of Bear underneath a segmented pole motif (see Figure 2). The figure might almost be abstract, except that its cross-hatched designs and long body shape indicate one of the most important First People—Rattlesnake.

Rattlesnake's shovel-shaped head has been superimposed by the pole motif, but the old photographs (see Plate 1) show its faint outline. Bear has also been painted over Rattlesnake, but in such a way that the two figures flow together, as Rattlesnake's tail curves downward at the same place Bear's leg does. Rattlesnake and Bear do belong together, as the most deadly and feared of Sun's "pets" in Chumash mythology. "Sun's bear wanted to bite Coyote... Then the rattlesnake tried to get him..." (Blackburn 1975:93). Sun's two daughters even have "aprons made of live rattlesnakes... [who have] woven their tails together voluntarily" (Blackburn 1975:93). Rattlesnake is most deadly in summer months when Sun is supreme.

Rattlesnake is known as a shaman's dream helper among
virtually every group in southern California (see Table 3, Chapter 1). Rattlesnake is, even more specifically, an avenger sent by powerful deadly Sky Beings—Sun (Chumash), Tihpiknits (Yokuts), or Chingiechnich (Luiseño). Chingiechnich said to his people, "To him [who obeyeth me not], I will send bears to bite, serpents to sting, misfortunes, infirmities, and death" (Boscana 1978:29).

Luiseño and Kumeyaay sandpaintings usually depicted the avenging rattlesnakes (Du Bois 1908; Waterman 1910), as abstract lines or clearly as serpents (see Figure 4). The Yokuts portrayed rattlesnakes on many of their baskets as a cross-hatched or diamond design (Latta 1977: 554, 575, 576, 648) similar to that on the figure in the Carrizo painting. "Rattlesnake baskets" were meant as a "warning to rattlesnake not to turn in innocent Yokuts" to the Land of the Dead (Latta 1977:578).

In Yokuts religion, the rattlesnake was the private secretary or Winatum [messenger] of Tihpiknits, keeper of the Hereafter. He was more than that. He was a combination of a Winatum and an F.B.I. operator. It was his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he found a bad Yokuts, he sent in his name to Tihpiknits, who immediately called in this bad Yokuts.

Latta 1977:649

Thus Rattlesnake belongs symbolically near Bear, both on Sun's side because of their association with death. Rattlesnake also appears to be associated with the game of peon, as the messenger or "pet" of Sun or Tihpiknits, acting as agent to kill "bad people" when Sun or Tihpiknits won the gamble of human lives.
SPIRIT LADDERS

There is another world above this one; or outside of this one; the way to it is thru the smoke of this one, and the hole that smoke goes through. The ladder holds up, some say, the world above; it might have been a tree or pole; I think it is merely a way.

Gary Snyder

Surrounding Bear and Rattlesnake are several long segmented pole motifs such as those previously mentioned between Earth and Moon. While the ones near Moon have faded, those around Bear are bright, painted black inside, outlined in white, with thick red paint surrounding the white (see Figure 2). Although Bear's leg is superimposed over the pole to the left of him, it appears that the poles are definitely associated with Bear and probably painted not long before he was painted, as part of a related concept.

There are five segmented poles near Bear, two large ones left of him and three to the right (one large one next to him and two smaller poles right of that). Each one begins at the bottom with a point almost like the shovel-
shaped head of Rattlesnake, then "grows" upward in triangle-shaped segments numbering 11, 10, 8, 4, and 11 respectively (from left pole to right). The pole at the far left is the most decorated one, with a vertical red line running up the segments bisecting the pole, which is further outlined by white along three of the top segments. There are many small figures around and between the poles, some anthropomorphic or animistic but mostly consisting of concentric circle motifs.

Motifs similar to these segmented poles are common in rock art throughout Chumash territory, and also appear in a "Cueva Pintada" in the Salinan area (Mason 1912:154). The wide range of this motif suggests that it might have a common meaning (or set of meanings) throughout the area. Kote Lotah, a Chumash Bear Doctor, has described segmented poles at the Burro Flats rock art panel in Ventureño Chumash territory (see Grant 1965:Plate 25) as "spirit ladders" where each segment represents a different level of spiritual existence (1980). The ladders symbolize a concept common to world-wide religious experience—the sacred pole that forms the axis of the earth and is used by shamans to climb to the world of the sky (Eliade 1959:33).

When animals were still people, the boys used to spend all their time trying to climb a smooth pole... but only Centipede [a shaman's apprentice] could do it. He started up the pole toward the top, but the higher he went the taller the pole grew, for Coyote [the shaman] was bewitching it... He looked up then and saw a light far above him—it was the door into the sky.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts;
Blackburn 1975:202
Edberg (n.d.:16, 20) further correlated the Burro Flats ladder motifs with ceremonial Kutu'mit poles used in Gabrielino Mourning Ceremonies as monuments to dead chiefs and as a means of connecting the earth to the sky world of spirits. Edberg suggested that the pole segments represented a series of inverted baskets traditionally hung from Kutu'mit poles. Each segment may symbolize a stage in the journey to the "other world," perhaps a rite of passage in a man's life, or perhaps each basket hung from a sacred pole symbolically contained a soul travelling to the Land of the Dead. The segments of the poles make them appear to be "growing" like the pole that Centipede climbs to the world of the sky.

The segmented poles at the Carrizo panel may indeed represent sacred poles erected during Mourning Ceremonies to symbolize the soul's passage to the other world. The theme of death on this right side of the panel, connected with Sun, Bear and Rattlesnake, is thus continued with depiction of the "spirit ladders." The poles may also depict the last stage in the Chumash "Journey to Shimilaqsha [Land of the Dead]," where a pole-bridge must be crossed.

Just beyond . . . lies a body of water that separates this world from the next, with a bridge that the soul must cross to reach Shimilaqsha . . . When the pole begins to fall the soul starts quickly across, but when it reaches the middle two huge monsters rise from the water on either side and give a loud cry . . . . The old people used to say that someone who drank toloache always passed the pole safely for they were strong of spirit.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:100
Only a person "who drank toloache," who knew the old ways and belonged to the Datura Cult, would have learned to symbolically climb the poles into the other world and thus go to "heaven." Bear and Rattlesnake, painted in the panel between the "spirit ladders," are the avengers who prevent non-initiates or "sinners" from entering the spirit world.

Harrington's Yokuts informants stated that the Land-of-the-Dead was reached by a little bridge that moved up and down. A bear and a snake were stationed at the bridge to bite any living person who tried to cross. The bridge was called K'a'nal [analogous to Kutu'mit], a name also given to the gravepole erected at Yokuts fiestas and later moved to the cemetery for erection over the grave of a captain [emphasis added].

Hudson and Blackburn 1978:235

Hudson and Underhay (1978:115) have postulated that the path to Shimilaqsha is the Milky Way. The ceremonial poles may be models of this pathway to the Land of the Dead and of the "Ghost's Road" of the Milky Way. As Eliade (1959:35) says, "The visible image of this cosmic pillar in the sky is the Milky Way." Bear and Rattlesnake lie in wait at the end of the pole/path to the Other World, preventing living people from entering Sun's house of death.

TURTLE, POLE-CLIMBERS, AND CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

Besides Bear and Rattlesnake, the other motifs between and around the Spirit Ladders are both abstract and representational, the most frequent one being nine concentric circle elements. Concentric circles have been suggested as representing a series of "worlds" within the concept of a
circular universe (Lee 1977; Romani et al. n.d.). The circles are sometimes described as "sun" or "star" motifs, and even as comets (Grant 1965; Lee and Horne 1978; Hudson and Underhay 1978; Edberg n.d.).

The level of abstraction of the circle motifs indicates the likely possibility that they may have many levels of meaning, as they are common symbols in art throughout the world. In Chumash territory, concentric circles are often associated with the Spirit Ladder motifs, as in the Carrizo and Burro Flats panels, which may indicate a specific meaning attached to the two motifs when found together. The circles appear to be a female symbol, while the poles are male. The poles are the penetrators, connectors between worlds, the axis of the earth, while the circles represent a concept of containment, of continuing cycles of life, of worlds separate and yet united. The poles are death, the circles life, and their association is an opposition and also a creation.

The most striking of the Carrizo concentric circle motifs also has animistic features, a small head, stubby tail, and four white circular feet, looking like a stylized turtle.

This symbol is found in almost the exact same form at the Washburn Ranch pictographs on the Carrizo Plains a
couple of miles south of Painted Rock (see Grant 1965: Plate 7). Georgia Lee (1977:Figure 4) interpreted the Washburn circle as representing the earth or Middle World of the Chumash supported by two gigantic serpents. Benson (1980) suggested that the vertical line bisecting the Washburn circle could be the earth's central axis or pole, or the "staff of stabilization" (Pink 1980). Hudson and Underhay (1978:Figure 8) included the Washburn circle as a possible solstice motif similar to the design on a ceremonial sunstick.

The heads of two snakes (one with the segmented tail of a rattlesnake) converge upon the circle in the Washburn pictograph. A similar symbolism is found in the Kumeyaay groundpainting (see Figure 4) where two rattlesnakes are "so arranged that their heads just touch the [sacred toloache] mortars" (Waterman 1910:304). "The boys [being initiated] are instructed that mankind is typified by these mortars. The great snakes are drawn with their heads just touching them to indicate that when people are careless, the snake is always waiting to destroy them" (Waterman 1910: 304). The "turtle" circle at the Painted Rock panel is painted directly above the Rattlesnake motif, suggesting a connection with the associated circle/snake motif at Washburn Ranch. The warning of the rattlesnakes in the Kumeyaay groundpainting moreover suggests that the Painted Rock and Washburn circle/snakes are involved with the pervading death symbolism that characterizes Sun's side of the Carrizo
In addition to the Painted Rock circle representing the earth or universe, or a general female symbol like the mortars in the groundpainting, it may portray the mythical Turtle whom the Yokuts say dove to the bottom of the ocean to bring up mud for the creation of earth (Latta 1977:587). In one Chumash myth, Turtle is the chief of the Land of the Dead, and is burned to death when he loses a race to Coyote's grandson Little Thunder (Blackburn 1975:112), thus associating Turtle directly with the death theme of the panel. Turtle is again in opposition to Coyote, as well as in league with Sun, in a Miwok myth where Coyote steals Sun from Turtle, who is called "Keeper of the Sun" (Latta 1936:147).

Turtle appears to have a myriad of mythical guises or functions among south-central California groups—Earth-Diver, Keeper of Sun, or Chief of the Land of the Dead. None of these potential interpretations, however, conflict with the theme of peon and Earth World A for this side of the panel, as all of Turtle's functions are related to Sun and death. Turtle is also known as a dream helper among the Western Mono groups, so that he may be aiding Bear or Sun (see Table 3, Chapter 1).

The motifs surrounding the "Earth-Turtle" may provide clues for its interpretation. Turtle appears to be holding a smaller red and black concentric circle in his mouth, much as the Yokuts pictograph of the "bad supernatural
spirit" Sok-so-uh who holds a "sun" symbol in its mouth (Latta 1977:199; Hudson and Underhay 1978:102; Hudson, Lee and Hedges 1979:51). The Carrizo panel may be showing Turtle in his "Keeper of the Sun" role, with the smaller black anthropomorphic figure (with a tail and three-pronged "headdress") just above Turtle and the tiny "Sun" representing the Coyote who steals light for his people.

The "Turtle," "Sun" and "Coyote" figures between the Spirit Ladders probably do not represent a particular myth, but rather symbolize the concepts associated with each of these mythological characters. It is interesting that some of the same concepts may be portrayed by similar motifs in the Burro Flats panel, where Romani et al. (n.d.:14) have suggested that a figure there (which has a small circular motif directly below it) between the two pole motifs is Coyote ascending the poles to rescue Centipede from the Sky World.

There is a fourth motif between the two Spirit Ladders left of Bear, a small black being outlined with red and white, with two legs, two arms, and a wide mouth that looks like it intends to devour Turtle's left rear foot. This
small figure with a big mouth is also associated with the "Turtle" circles in the Washburn pictograph (Grant 1965: Plate 7), perhaps serving as Turtle's helper or assistant.

There are quite a few other small motifs left of the far left Spirit Ladder, including five concentric circles and four anthropomorphic figures, two of the latter which seem to be holding the bottom of the Spirit Ladder in one hand and grasping a complex, rather phallic-looking, symbol in the other hand.

At least two more concentric circles (Grant shows three, but the old photographs are not clear and most of this area has been chipped away by vandals) are located near the Spirit Ladders to the right of Bear. One is actually superimposed on top of the Ladder right of Bear.
Two of the motifs left of the Spirit Ladders, one a concentric circle and one a tiny human figure, have special functions. They are directly connected to the lightning lines of power that emanate from Moon's antennae.

The red human-like figure at the bottom has a thick red line that extends up from his head, perhaps as a headdress. This "headress" connects to a red linear motif (once filled inside with tiny white chevrons, now faded away) which touches Bear's foot. This small red figure might be communicating between Moon and Bear, much as a dream helper was supposed to carry messages and give power to its "owner."

It may be that Bear, as a shaman representing the Earth World A side of the panel, did not communicate
directly with the Sky World A beings, Sun and Moon. It appears that Moon sends power lines (as a message?) to the Bear Shaman through tiny dream helpers, the small red figure and the concentric circle at the ends of the lightning motifs.

TWO RECTANGLES

To the right of Bear, Rattlesnake and their surrounding Spirit Ladders, concentric circles, and various pole-climbing beings, are two rectangular abstract motifs, now completely chipped away. These two elements are perhaps the most non-representational designs in the entire panel, and they appear to form a conceptual break from the Bear and Ladder parts of Earth World A to the left (see Figure 2).

The two rectangles have within them a series of red, black and white geometric motifs which resemble the designs portrayed on basketry. The motifs on the right rectangle are similar to the "lightning" and "quail top-knots" found on Yokuts baskets (Latta 1977:571-601). It is likely that, as in Yokuts basketry, the combinations of geometric designs on the rectangles tell a story or represent an important concept. The designs could also indicate a clan or personal name.
The association of the rectangles with the Spirit Ladders next to them makes it possible that the rectangles could be ceremonial paraphernalia relating to Mourning Ceremonies. If the Spirit Ladders represent Kutu'mit or K'a'nal poles used in ceremonies for the dead and then placed over the graves of chiefs (Hudson and Blackburn 1978; Blackburn 1975; Merriam 1955), it may be that the rectangles are meant to depict wooden placards or painted boards which were also placed over the graves of chiefs. The Chumash Harvest Festival included a procession of boys who carried rectangular wooden images "inlaid with abalone shell representing wind, fire and water" (Hudson et al. 1977:48).

The indirect associations with chiefs found on this side of the panel (via the Spirit Ladders, rectangles, and Sun/Tihpiknits and Turtle as chiefs of the Land of the Dead) are consistent with the dualities presented in Table 4 (Chapter 2) where chiefs are on the same side as sun, death, high status, and Moiety A. Gayton (1930) wrote of the "unholy alliance" of Yokuts chiefs and shamans, in which men occupying these two important positions represented a basic dichotomy of societal functions. As the opposite side of the panel is occupied by the character who most often represents a shaman in mythology, Coyote, the Carrizo panel may be indirectly portraying a chief/shaman dichotomy along with the duality of philosophical thought prevalent throughout the Americas.
One day [the granddaughter of Old Woman Momoy] stayed too long [by the river] and saw a shadow fall on the water. When she turned around she saw Thunder standing there with an agbele [headdress] on his head, dressed in all the fine clothing of old, and holding a tokoy [stone disk used in hoop and pole game] in his hand (it is with that he makes the Thunder)... When she raised her head again she was already in the sky...

Thunder had a brother, Fog, who lived there with him... eventually the girl became pregnant... [and their] two children [later] began to grow up. One was a little thunder and the other a little fog. And Old Thunder and Old Fog made their daily trips around the world as they had always done...

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:105

The design to the right of the two rectangles is one that has inspired much admiration, including Kroeber's, who published a picture of it, upside-down, in the Handbook of the Indians of California (1925:Plate 83). The twin figures are black, outlined with red and white, and connected to each other by a shared arm, with their other two arms upraised and "pinwheel" headdresses or supernatural antennae projecting from their heads. Two concentric circles are painted below the twins.

These twin figures were once suggested as being two Spanish priests on a candled altar "flying... through
the heavens," although another person called them "two of the lesser gods" (Smith 1932:95). In southern California mythology, there is a common story of two brothers who roam the world, often known as the Thunder Twins. Travis Hudson (1980) has suggested that the figures in the Carrizo panel portray the Chumash Thunder brothers, with the red "rake" design on the thirteen projections representing rain beneath them. The long red motif behind the twins with white "teeth" could be a bullroarer, which makes a noise like thunder. Since this is hypothesized as being the "earthly" division of Sun's side of the panel, it may be that the twins represent Little Thunder and Little Fog who travel about the earth rather than their celestial fathers.

Although the Thunder brothers appear to be the likeliest explanation for the Carrizo "twin" motif, this poses a problem for the interpretation of this side of the panel as portraying concepts associated with Sun's side of the game of peon. The Thunder brothers, associated with rain, should clearly belong on the side of Sky Coyote and not that of Sun. It was further suggested in Chapter 2 that the mythological characters Thunder and Fog, as well as their sons Little Thunder and Little Fog, belonged to Moiety B (Coyote's side).

An alternative interpretation of the twin figures is that they represent the two daughters of the Chumash Sun, who live with him in his crystal house in the sky, help eat the people Sun brings home, and wear aprons made of live
rattlesnakes. The "rain" motif below the twins in the panel could be the deadly skirts of the daughters where "the snakes have woven their tails together voluntarily at the top of the aprons so that they seem deliberately made that way" (Blackburn 1975:93). The circular endings to the twins' bodies (they have no legs) lend themselves more to an interpretation of the twin figures as female rather than male beings.

Hudson and Underhay (1978) have postulated that most of the characters in Chumash mythology are symbolic representations of celestial beings. They suggest that Thunder and Fog may represent Morning Star, with Eagle symbolizing Evening Star (Hudson and Underhay 1978:82-83). Thunder and Fog may just as plausibly be seen in the sky as clouds (fog) and lightning (thunder). Sun's two daughters (or two "wives") may be likely candidates for both aspects of the planet Venus as Morning Star and Evening Star, which precede sunrise and follow sunset at different times of the year.

It seems likely that whether the twin figures in the panel represent the Thunder Brothers or Sun's Daughters, they appear to symbolize the planet Venus. Although Morning Star plays peon on the side of Sky Coyote, it seems that the Chumash recognized Venus as a planet which "mirrored the earth" (Hudson and Underhay 1978:83) and followed the Sun's orbit rather than the path of Sky Coyote's stars. It might be therefore not unexpected to
find the twins on Sun's side of the panel.

THE "FEATHERED SERPENT"

To the right of the Twins is a single motif, standing alone as a guardian of the far end of Earth World A. Campbell Grant did not include this figure as part of the main panel, and indeed it stands somewhat aloof from the rest, yet its style and position indicate that it was meant to be viewed in relationship to the panel as a whole. The figure is a snake, 1½ feet long, black outlined with red, with a simplicity of design matched by a remarkable presence and integrity.

The snake is very different from the rattlesnake next to Bear, lacking the cross-hatched diamondback pattern of the first snake. Yet this one too is obviously a Rattlesnake, with a shovel-shaped head and tiny segmented rattles on the end of his tail which appear to have once been painted white.

This second Rattlesnake is decorated by small red pinwheel motifs just behind his head, one above and one below him. The seven spokes on the upper pinwheel curve to the left, while the eight spokes on the lower one curve to the right. They appear to be the same motifs as the
pinwheels on the Seven Dancers below Sun, and thus are likely to represent radiating bunches of feathers.

Why is there a Rattlesnake decorated with sacred feathered bunches at the far right end of the Carrizo panel? Like the snakes in the Kumeyaay sandpainting (Figure 4), his head faces menacingly toward the other beings of the Earth World. Perhaps he serves as the final warning, the avenger of the Datura Cult who calls in the souls of those who "did not know about the old religion . . . someone who merely lived in ignorance" (Blackburn 1975:100). Perhaps this "feathered serpent" and the other Rattlesnake underneath the Spirit Ladders are meant to symbolically support the earth world, as did the serpents the Shoshonean culture-heroes Mukat and Temaiyuit "drew from their hearts all kinds of snakes to hold the center pole of the world" (Strong 1929:132).

And there are two giant serpents, the ma'aqsiq'ita'q'shap, that hold our world up from below. When they are tired they move, and that causes earthquakes.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:91

EARTH WORLD A SUMMARY

The power lines reach out from Moon's antennae, connecting the Sky World ruled by Sun to an Earth World dominated by a huge Bear-Man. Surrounding the Bear are Rattlesnake, Spirit Ladders, Turtle, tiny pole-climbing beings, concentric "universe" circles, Twins, and a
Feathered Serpent. Although Bear may be the representative of high status Moiety A, the other animals surrounding him are not common clan animals (see Table 1, Chapter 1). Rattlesnake, Turtle, and others appear to function not as representatives of idealized social organization into clans and moieties, but as powerful supernatural beings often known as dream helpers (see Table 3, Chapter 1).

Bear appears as the animal most akin to man, as a feared and often malevolent shaman who receives his strength from Sun. "I am going to do as you do. I shall kill people," said a Pomo Bear Shaman to Sun (Barrett 1917:460). Along with Rattlesnake and other small dream helpers, Bear guards the sacred poles that lead to the Land of the Dead. Earth World A is the dark side of existence, the strongest and most powerful where chiefs rule, and where shamans may pray to Sun so that they will receive their deadly share of the payment "in human lives" (Blackburn 1975:92) when the game of peon is decided in the sky.

EARTH WORLD B

On the left side of the panel, Sky Coyote, like Sun and Moon opposite him, communicates to a set of beings inhabiting what might be termed Earth World B. Like the power lines Moon sends out to Bear, Sky Coyote radiates lightning to a complex group of abstract and representational motifs surrounding a large bug-eyed creature. As with Earth World A, if this part of the panel correlates
with the peon theme, the beings here should represent either animals belonging to Moiety B (principally Coyote and Deer; see Table 1, Chapter 1) or concepts associated with the B side of the dualities presented in Table 4 (Chapter 2) which includes female, mother, earth, water/rain, east, life/birth, low status, and shaman. As with Earth World A, the large figure in the center of Earth World B will be described first.

COYOTE

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

Dreamed coyote song, Yokuts;
Kroeber 1925:515

The figure in the center of the Earth World B side of the panel is perhaps the most visually striking in the entire pictograph. Standing nearly five feet tall, he has bowed legs, upraised arms holding objects in both hands, and a black head with two pointed ears or headdress. His strongest feature is the huge white eyes with red pupils which bug out in either direction. Plate 2 shows this
figure as it looked in the late 1800s. Today his right eye is gone, but the left still stares at visitors with unrelenting power.

The figure is somewhat anthropomorphic, but his four "fingers," long body, black ears and comical stance suggest that he may represent the ubiquitous North American culture-hero Coyote. "Coyote laughed and the girl cried, "Aha, you're Coyote! Your head is black and so is your tail" (Blackburn 1975:165). Georgia Lee (1977:Figure 3) has postulated that the characteristics of this motif suggest the Chumash Sky Coyote. Since this is hypothesized to be the Earth World division of Sky Coyote's side of the panel, it should be the "Coyote of this world" rather than the "Coyote of the Sky" (Blackburn 1975:91) depicted here.

The most important of [the First People] by far is Coyote . . . [who] represents man himself in all his variety—alternately wise and foolish, brash and cautious, good and evil. . . . His place in the social universe is a curious one, for although his power and knowledge seem generally recognized, he is never really part of the wealthy clique of high-born families surrounding the chief, Sio'w [Eagle]. Perhaps his uncertain status is symbolic of the ambivalence with which the shaman was frequently regarded in aboriginal California—respected and feared for his possession of supernatural powers but lacking in the moral authority that could only be acquired by birth.

Blackburn 1975:35
Coyote in the pictograph appears to have shaman's paraphernalia around him. A long narrow white design below his feet may be the "downy cord" used by shamans in ceremonies and sorcery (Blackburn 1975:39). A long "toothed" object just left of Coyote may be the ceremonial bull-roarer used to make a sound like the wind or thunder (Hudson et al. 1977:79).

Abstract objects Coyote holds in each hand may be flutes, rattles, charms or ceremonial wands and staffs used by shamans during ritual activities. Coyote even has extra appendages beneath his arms, out of which emanate tiny zigzag power lines which end in a fork, as if they are extrasensory supernatural fingers or energy coming from "power spots" on his body (that one might see with the aid of Datura?). One of the zigzags, a short black one to the left above his legs, may be the tail no Coyote would be caught without.

Coyote is always the primary representative animal of low status Moiety B throughout California (see Table 1, Chapter 1). He is moreover, as suggested by Blackburn (1975:35), the archtypical shaman of Chumash mythology. The opposition of moieties (high and low status) thus appears to embody the chief-shaman dichotomy in Yokuts political and social organization discussed by Gayton (1930), like today's "separation of church and state." Chiefs theoretically belonged to Moiety A (ideally the Eagle clan). While shamans could belong to any clan or
moiety, their philosophical representative Coyote was always associated with Moiety B. Societal reciprocity was thus assured by the opposite and complementary functions of dual moieties and of a chief/shaman dichotomy.

Coyote in the Carrizo panel is a proper opposition for Bear in the middle of the other Earth World side of the pictograph. Like Bear, Coyote is the most dominant figure in the center of his half of the earth world. Like Bear, he is an important representative moiety figure. Like Bear, he has zigzag lines of power emanating from his eyes. And like Bear, Coyote is a shaman. "Serpents, bears and coyotes are all mentioned [in Chumash narratives] as animals apparently capable of assuming human form. . . ." (Blackburn 1975:40). A Cúpeño groundpainting showed the same opposition of the two culture-heroes: "On each side [of the center] were the figures of Mukat [Wildcat] and Tumaiyowit [Coyote]. . . . Around them were figures representing their people" (Strong 1929:256).

Unlike the malevolent Bear Shamans, those shamans who had Coyote as their spirit helper functioned as healers, as administrators of Datura for initiation rites, and as rain-makers (Blackburn 1975; Hudson and Underhay 1978; Gayton 1948). While Bear Shamans are associated with death, "coyote" shamans are associated with life and fertility (healing, initiation, and rain).

Suddenly Maria and many of the people who were watching [the shaman Shapaqay during a healing ceremony] saw two xelex [hawks] coming in the night, and the birds
landed on each of the sick man's shoulders . . . shortly the people heard coyotes sounding right in the middle of the crowd and not far from the dancers. The coyotes were there helping Shapaqay.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:267

The Coyote Shaman on the left side of the pictograph provides a balance to the Bear Shaman on the right, not only visually but symbolically. As Sky Coyote and Sun represent the celestial dualities of life and death, so Coyote and Bear symbolize the same concepts on an earthly level. As Bear receives his power from Sun, and Bear Shamans participate in ceremonies for Sun, so Coyote gets power from Sky Coyote and acts in ceremonies to produce rain.

Coyote is in his proper place and function on the left side of the panel, representing low status Moiety B, fertility, female, rain, life, and shaman (see Table 4, Chapter 2). He is not good versus evil Bear, however, but a creature representing "man himself in all his variety" (Blackburn 1975:35). "For the Chumash, good and evil are not mutually exclusive categories. . . . Power can be wielded for either negative or positive purposes, to kill or to cure. . . ." (Blackburn 1975:68). The Coyote that brings rain may also bring flood, so he must be balanced by Sun and Bear. "When there are many of you coyotes trouble is inevitable" (Blackburn 1975:168). Most peoples of aboriginal California did not have a single all-powerful god, but a "dynamic balance" of the "great forces of
nature" (Blackburn 1975:72).

I am travelling—I, I, I
I go around the world—I, I
I cause the mist—I, I.
When I climb the mountaintops
I cause clouds
I cause the rain.
Long live Coyote!
He will always be.

Chumash coyote song,
Fernando Librado Kitsepawit;
Blackburn 1975:226

LIZARD

The first time Coyote met Lizard (he-of-the-flute)
was on the beach. . . . [Lizard] saw the serenity of
the world and played on his flute. . . . The Lizard
played three times, and the fourth time he played Coyote
heard him. . . .

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash;
Blackburn 1975:156

One of the motifs in Coyote's hands may be an
animistic being rather than an item of ritual paraphernalia.
Coyote holds in his hand on the right a creature with a
long neck, small head, and long protruding lips, looking
like a profile view of a lizard.

In Chumash mythology, Lizard is companion to Coyote.
Yokuts said that Lizard was Coyote's son (Gayton 1948:24).
Kroeber (1925:495) suggested that "totemic affiliation of
certain animals . . . can be reasonably predicted from
mythology" by correlating which animals act together in myths (therefore of the same moiety) and which oppose each other (from opposite moieties). The association of Lizard with Coyote may suggest his moiety affiliation as B, although Lizard is not a common totemic animal.

Lizard is an important mythic character, as the only being participating in the Making of Man who is not one of the great celestial peon players.

After the flood Shnilemen (the Coyote of the Sky), Sun, Moon, Morning Star, and Slo'w (the great eagle that knows what is to be) were discussing how they were going to make man. . . . Shnilemen was just about to stamp his hand down on the rock when Lizard . . . quickly reached out and pressed a perfect hand-print into the rock himself. . . . They say that the mark is still impressed on that rock in the sky. If Lizard had not done what he did, we might have hands like a coyote today.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:95

Thus the lowly Lizard, seen in the myth as opposing Sky Coyote, is instrumental in the formation of man. He gives hands to man and later plays the flute with his "human" fingers. His hand-print in the stars may be represented by a constellation such as the five stars now called the Dolphin, which the Maidu believed to be Grizzly Bear Mother's paw-print (Coyote Man 1973:100).

The Chumash Lizard is a mystic, playing the "serenity of the world" on his magical flute, which may be represented in the pictograph by the circular design below him. "The hole of the flute is the pathway to thought"
(Blackburn 1975:253). Lizard acts as a dream helper might, counseling Coyote as spiritual advisor.

The little Lizard, in order to find out what was going on in the world, would play the flute. And the Coyote, in order to take it in, would cock his ear.

Fernando Librado Kitsepawit, Chumash;
Hudson et al. 1977:7

CENTIPEDE/MEASURING WORM

Now back on earth Coyote was beginning to regret what he had done to Centipede. . . . Finally he told everyone that he was going to go look for Centipede, who had disappeared into the sky and must surely be dead by now. And so Coyote started up the pole. . . . He reached the door into the sky and jumped through it. . . .

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts;
Blackburn 1975:202-203

To the left of Coyote's feet is a long narrow motif with a white cross-hatched body and 23 lines below it like a row of feet. Although the design could be abstract, it may represent a profile of an insect with many legs and a segmented body.

To the left of Coyote's feet is a long narrow motif with a white cross-hatched body and 23 lines below it like a row of feet. Although the design could be abstract, it may represent a profile of an insect with many legs and a segmented body.

In Chumash narratives, Centipede is a "sorcerer's apprentice," and the myth of "Coyote and Centipede" above
reflects "standard and virtually universal shamanic themes" (Blackburn 1975:88). Yokuts stories replaced Centipede with Measuring Worm as the rescuer who climbs a Growing Rock instead of a pole (Latta 1936:107). Both Centipede and Measuring Worm act as heroes, shaman's apprentices, or dream helpers using their unique climbing ability to reach the sky world. The long white strip below Centipede/Measuring Worm may be the pole they climb, or the sacred rope connecting Centipede to Coyote.

After it had gotten dark... [Coyote] placed his takulshooshkinash, his downy cord, around the base of the pole. ... [Centipede] started climbing the pole toward the top, but the higher he went the taller the pole grew, for Coyote was bewitching it.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:202

The allegorical descriptions of shamanic techniques such as pole climbing, flute playing, and use of downy cords may be a way of passing along such knowledge through myths. Rock art could have functioned as a means of visually portraying these techniques as accompaniment to the myths, much as Luiseño and Kumeyaay groundpaintings were used in ceremonies for instructing initiates in esoteric knowledge. The myths and the rock art might prepare an initiate for his hallucinogenic experiences when taking Datura, such as sensations of flying, climbing, hot and cold, fear, and the feel of death (coma) and rebirth (awakening).
[Centipede] continued climbing and came eventually to a place where there were very strong winds that almost blew him off the pole. But he traversed this section and came to a place where it was terribly hot. . . . He said to himself, "I'd better reach that [door into the sky] pretty soon!" for his limbs were getting tired. . . . Just then a swarm of [gigantic] mosquitoes arrived. . . . They began to sting him and suck his blood, and soon there was nothing left of him but bones—just bones, and nothing else.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:202

ROADRUNNER

Coyote and Roadrunner were friends, and they lived together in a cave. . . .

Juan de Jesus Justo, Chumash; Blackburn 1975:218

To the left of Coyote is a figure surrounded by many complex motifs. This black being, outlined in red and white, has a round head with long topknot or headdress, two legs, long body, and a forked tail. The tail, topknot, and position of the body suggest the shape of another mythical character associated with Coyote, that of Roadrunner.

Roadrunner is one of the most naturalistic of the animal figures in the Carrizo pictograph. Below is a profile of a roadrunner traced from Peterson's *Field Guide to Western Birds* (1941).
Like the Coyote figure to his right, Roadrunner may have items of ritual paraphernalia in his hands. One pin-wheel motif on his leg appears to be a feathered wand like those held by the Seven Dancers below Sun. Roadrunner is also holding in one hand an oval object with three strings hanging from it. Above his head is a curved pole with three strings of feathers hanging from it, with a resemblance to the feathered banners hung in the Chumash siłyik or ceremonial enclosure (Hudson et al. 1977:39).

Silyik Banners
Hudson et al. 1977: Figure 1
Roadrunner appears to be making an offering beneath a sacred feathered banner. Another type of feathered pole, \textit{Kakunupmawa} the "sun pole," was ritually erected at the time of the Winter Solstice.

[The Chumash] knew exactly the day when the peon game in heaven ended [at Winter Solstice]. On that night they danced several kinds of Indian dances, assembled in the house of the captain. And they prepared the \textit{junco batea} [juncus basket] of food stuffs and one man alone went in the nighttime and put it nicely arranged at the foot of the old plumero [feathered pole]. . . . When he has finished putting them, he then takes up the old pole and puts the new one [emphasis added].

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Hudson and Underhay 1978:67

Roadrunner may be acting in the pictograph as a messenger for his people, placing an offering basket below a feathered pole and symbolically "pulling the sun" back toward earth at the end of the old year, thus beginning the new (Hudson and Underhay 1978:56). A zigzag line connects Roadrunner to a large pinwheel which may represent the Sun.

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{roadrunner_pictograph}
\end{center}

The association of Roadrunner, a sacred pole, and the Sun or Fire again appears among the Yokuts myths. In Yokuts belief, "the dove, in the Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the \textit{winatum} [tribal messenger], just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups" (Gayton 1948:96). In myths,
the messenger Roadrunner helps Coyote steal fire for the Yokuts people.

For a long time the first bird and animal people had no Fire. . . . Ki-yoo [Coyote] told Troqhill [Bald Eagle], "I am going after that fire tonight." After dark Ki-yoo started to the north where he could see the Fire burning. Oi-oî, the Roadrunner, went along to help bring the Fire back. . . . Ki-yoo threw Wih-sa-tuh, the pole, like a long spear so that the roots went in the Fire . . . and began to burn. . . . Then Oi-oî ran up, picked up one end of the burning pole and ran as fast as he could toward the village where he lived. . . . He took it home safely and the old-time bird and animal people had Fire ever afterward.

Wah-hum-chah, Yowl-may-nee Yokuts; Latta 1936:39-42

The Yokuts Roadrunner and Coyote use the sacred pole to capture Fire in the same way the Chumash use a "sun stick" during Winter Solstice ceremonies to capture the Sun (or warmth and fire from Sun), bringing Sun back on course toward the Earth, ending the cold of winter. In the myth above, Coyote and Roadrunner enact a ritual opposition to Sun/Fire at the time of year when the Sun is farthest north, at the Winter Solstice when the game of peon is decided. The Yokuts Theft of Fire myth appears to tell in metaphorical terms the story of the yearly cycle of warm/cold seasons, and of the balance of nature's forces exemplified by the opposition of Coyote and Sun. The Carrizo panel may be visually portraying this concept, as Coyote and Roadrunner appear on each side of the small Sun/Fire motif, both reaching for it with zigzag lines of power.
Measuring Worm, shown as the figure situated directly below the Sun/Fire design, also figures in a Yokuts Theft of Fire myth, in which he fastens a supernatural String to the sky, climbs up it and brings back Fire as a small shining rock, probably flint or iron pyrites (Latta 1936: 46). Thus all three animal figures surrounding the small Sun/Fire, Coyote, Roadrunner, and Centipede/Measuring Worm, appear as oppositions to Sun (therefore helpers of Sky Coyote) at the time of the Winter Solstice, and as characters in myths telling of that yearly world renewal ceremony.

TWO FROGS

And the water in the springs and streams of this earth is the urine of the many frogs who live in it.

Maria Solares, Chumash/Yokuts; Blackburn 1975:91

Two small round-bodied figures left of Roadrunner, with four legs and stubby tails, look much like frogs or toads. Roadrunner appears to have been superimposed over the figure on the right, who is outlined with more white than the being on the left.
Frogs are known as shamanistic dream helpers among the Wukchumni Yokuts and Tubatulabal, and as lay helpers among the Western Mono (Applegate 1978:Appendix II). The frog figures in the panel may be, like Lizard, Roadrunner, and Centipede, acting as dream helpers to the Coyote Shaman.

Finally one night Haiaaca [a Wukchumni Yokuts youth] dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said "Hello, napash [brother's son] I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me."

Gayton 1948:114

Both Frog and Toad appear in Chumash myths in association with Coyote (Blackburn 1975:Narratives 31, 45), but usually as female beings who are married to him, and who should therefore belong to the moiety opposite of Coyote. Analysis of this pictograph thus far, however, appears to indicate that moiety affiliation of the characters on either side of the Carrizo panel is not as significant for the meaning of the painting as are the symbolic acts attributed to each animal and their status as dream helpers. Thus Frog or Toad, known as "queen of the waters" (Blackburn 1975:206), may be represented on Coyote's side of the panel because of a mutual affiliation with water and fertility, and as oppositions to Sun.

Coyote ran a race with Sun and won. Two little frogs ran in the race too. They jumped from hilltop to hilltop and also beat Sun. . . .

Joe Waley, Western Mono;
Gayton and Newman 1940:44

Frog appears in Kawaisuu myths as a participant along with Coyote in a race with Sun (Zigmond 1980:Narratives
41-42). Coyote keeps overtaking Frog and urinating on him (as the rains of winter nourishing the frog-controlled springs?), then finally beats Sun and his "pets" (Bear, Snake, Spider) and stuffs them underground at Coso Hot Springs (at the time of the Summer Solstice?). The supremacy of Coyote/rain/winter does not last, however, and Sun is finally brought up again (at the Winter Solstice or Spring Equinox?) by the First People who have had enough of winter and want to be warm again. The Shoshonean "Dying God" myths also contain the same characters acting out the change of seasons—the culture hero Mukat or Wiyot (who is associated with Sun) is poisoned by Frog (the flood waters?), and travels to numerous hot springs before dying in July (near the Summer Solstice). Coyote (the rain?) steals Mukat/Wiyot's heart and eats it, and plants then sprout from the ashes of the "god's" cremation (the time of harvest at Fall Equinox?). Mukat/Wiyot is then reborn (at Winter Solstice?) as the Moon (Du Bois 1908; Boscana 1978).

Frog is therefore an important mythological character, receiving rain from Coyote and causing the floods on earth which balance out the drought of summer Sun. Frog belongs on the female/water/fertility side of the panel along with the other First People who steal, race, and oppose the Sun.

**HUMMINGBIRD**

Hummingbirds are messengers of good fortune, but only certain people can interpret the singing (humming of the wings).

Aluk'oy, Chumash; 1980
The last motif in the Carrizo panel to be discussed is a large horizontal figure over four feet long, in black outlined with red and white. The figure has a round head with a huge eye inside, two triangular protrusions behind its head that might be wings, and a forked tail or feet. The being's most distinctive feature is a long narrow protrusion beginning at its head and curving upwards toward Coyote—possibly a beak or tongue. The wings, forked tail, and long beak suggest a bird important in California mythology—Hummingbird.

Although Hummingbird does not figure prominently in existing collections of Chumash and Yokuts mythology, he is known among neighboring groups. The Costonoans and possibly Salinans believed that "the humming-bird was first brother to the coyote" (Taylor in Mason 1912:186). Hummingbird steals fire for the Coast Miwok (Loeb 1932:113). In a Kitanemuk myth, Deer as the mother of mankind gives birth to Hummingbird (Blackburn and Bean 1978:568). Among the Gabrielino, when Deer gives birth to the first child, she tells her brothers that it was lightning which made her pregnant (Hudson and Blackburn 1978:226). It is therefore interesting that in the pictograph, Hummingbird is connected to Sky Coyote (who is analogous to Deer, both of
whom play peon against Sun) by a lightning design. Sky Coyote may be symbolically giving birth to Hummingbird as the first child, via the lightning which accompanies rain associated with the Coyote of the Sky.

In southern California beliefs, Hummingbird is a messenger, a tiny being who may fly fast, hover, and observe. Hummingbird is a dream helper, sometimes as a shaman's assistant (Tubatulabal) and often a helper available to any person (Kitanemuk, Yokuts/Western Mono, and Chumash) (see Table 3, Chapter 1).

But one night two hummingbirds . . . addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning." . . . Then he again addressed his dream, the hummingbirds, saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone."

Sam Osborn, Yokuts/Western Mono; Gayton 1948:242-243

Hummingbird in the pictograph is a huge being, equal to the size of Coyote and Bear although not as visually striking. The exaggerated size of such a small animal may be a symbolic reversal, a way of indicating the power Hummingbird possesses. It has been suggested that Chumash pictographs might have been made for use in cult or puberty initiation ceremonies. Turner (1967:105) says that initiation rituals throughout the world often utilize pictures and stories of monsters or of beings with exaggerated features which "startle neophytes into thinking about objects, persons, relationships, and features of their environment they have hitherto taken for granted."
Hummingbird's size may have been reversed in the pictograph for such a reason. Some other strange or exaggerated features of characters in the panel, such as Coyote's bug-eyes or Bear's missing arm and leg, may be accounted for by this method for making people think about things out of the norm.

Like Coyote and Bear, there are two lightning power lines emanating from Hummingbird's eyes, which reach out to touch Coyote on the left. Another power line connects Hummingbird's tail to Sky World B to the right, ending at Sky Coyote's snout. The function of Hummingbird is thus to communicate between the "Coyote of the Sky" and the "Coyote of this world," to form the connection between Earth and Sky Worlds.

EARTH WORLD B SUMMARY

Coyote yaps, a knife!
Sunrise on yellow rocks.
People gone, death no disaster,
Clear sun in the scrubbed sky
empty and bright
Lizards scurry from darkness
We lizards sun on yellow rocks.

Gary Snyder

The Earth World division of Sky Coyote's side of the Carrizo panel is composed of several large animal figures surrounded by smaller abstract motifs. In the center stands Coyote, his huge white eyes observing everything in the world he commands as the trickster shaman. In his hand
is the little Lizard, playing the knowledge of the world on a flute. At Coyote's feet Centipede/Measuring Worm climbs a white pole to the spirit world of the subconscious mind. Left of Coyote is Roadrunner making an offering beneath a feathered banner. Between Coyote and Roadrunner is a ball of Sun-Fire that they reach out with lines of power to pull back to the earth and begin a new year. Two frogs near Roadrunner rule the springs on earth, aiding the Coyote Shaman who calls down the rain. And Hummingbird hovers next to Coyote, connecting him with power lines to the white Coyote of the Sky in the Sky World to the right.

Hummingbird, Roadrunner, Centipede/Measuring Worm, Lizard, and Frog/Toad are all spirit helpers, surrounding and aiding the Coyote who howls down the rain sent by the Coyote in the Sky. Coyote and Roadrunner stealing the Sun-Fire between them have defeated drought and death for the coming year. Thus the fragments of myths that these Earth World B characters seem to be enacting in the pictograph are all ceremonies of world renewal, of the rain and fertility that results when Sky Coyote wins the yearly peon game.

PEON THEME SUMMARY

There are two sides and two players on each side. . . .

Blackburn 1975:91

The southern California myth of the peon game is a
metaphor for a way of conceptualizing the operation of the forces of the universe. The opposition and complementarity of nature's forces as viewed by groups such as the Chumash and Yokuts was mirrored by their organization of society into dual reciprocal units. It was suggested in the beginning of this chapter that the main rock art panel at Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plains may represent an idealized map of Chumash and Yokuts social organization and the perceived structure of the universe into principles of hierarchy and duality embodied in the peon myth.

The organization of the forty-foot long Carrizo pictograph does indicate a definite structuring of the panel's theme or internal universe. The large circle in the center of the panel is flanked on either side by white beings who may represent the Sun, Moon and Stars of the Sky World. These Sky People are the ones that play in the celestial peon game that decides earth's fate each year. Sun, Moon and Sky Coyote form a central hierarchy within the pictograph that appears to reflect the way Chumash and Yokuts people viewed their world as dominated by powerful celestial forces or beings. The game of opposing celestial forces and its visual depiction is an old idea:

In northern Europe, rock pictures of bronze-age date have been found depicting [ritual] games—fights, running contests, and horse and chariot races. Probably these games symbolized the movement of the sun and its contest with darkness. . . .

Maringer 1960:250

The opposite placement of the Sky People on either
side of the center Earth circle suggests the concept of binary opposition for all inhabitants of the universe as perceived throughout the New World in aboriginal times. Life and death, male and female, sky and earth, form balancing concepts that together decide the fate of the world. The earthly beings on the two far sides of the pictograph are also divided, like Sun versus Sky Coyote in the center of the panel, into opposing factions. They represent the First People of myth, frozen into a time When Animals Were People and ruled the earth.

Table 6 lists the characters on either side of the Carrizo panel which have been identified by their resemblance to living animals and to items of ceremonial nature known to be used by Chumash and Yokuts people, like the sacred poles. Figure 5 presents a diagram of the flow of action of the characters. It was hypothesized at the beginning of this chapter that the animals on either side of the panel might be totemic representatives of Moiety A on the right side and Moiety B on the left. With the notable exceptions of Coyote and Bear, however, none of the animals in Table 6 are known as common totemic representatives in southern California (see Table 1, Chapter 1). Even Coyote and Bear, who often serve as the representative animals of the two moieties, do not appear to have been depicted here for the main purpose of illustrating idealized human social organization into clans and moieties.
Figure 5
DIAGRAM OF FLOW OF ACTION

Roadrunner → Coyote → Milky Way → Earth/Universe → Sun
Frogs → Centipede → Hummingbird → Charmstones → Moon
Coyote → Sky Coyote
Sun → Dancers → Pole → Pole
Bear → Poles → Twins
Turtle → Rectangles
Feathered Serpent
Table 6
CHARACTERS IN THE CARRIZO PANEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIDE B:</th>
<th>SIDE A:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sky</strong> Coyote</td>
<td><strong>Sun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Dancing Charmstones</td>
<td><strong>Moon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Seven Dancers</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instead, the animals depicted on both "earthly" sides of the pictograph are all, without exception, important as dream helpers or shaman's supernatural assistants (see Table 3, Chapter 1). Coyote and Bear, as the most powerful known shaman's helpers, appear to represent shamans in their animal or First People forms.

Although the animals in the pictograph cannot be easily segregated into opposing moieties, they can be separated into two main opposing ritual functions as indicated by their acts in mythological stories. Bear, Rattlesnake, and Turtle on the right side of the panel are all central characters in myths about the Land of the Dead. Coyote, Roadrunner, Hummingbird, Frog/Toad, Lizard, and Centipede/Measuring Worm on the left side are all actors in
myths concerning the renewal of life and the world. Bear and his friends participate in ceremonies for the Sun and death, while Coyote and friends act in ceremonies for rain and fertility associated with Sky Coyote. It might be that there were "secret societies" of different kinds of religious practitioners as in southwestern Pueblo groups, each society being responsible for carrying out certain ceremonies such as Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote Dances, rain-making rituals, and even Summer and Winter Solstice ceremonies.

The earthly beings of the panel mirror the concepts associated with the celestial beings Sun and Sky Coyote in the central part of the panel. The earth creatures communicate with, receive power from, and perhaps even influence the Sky People via the lightning lines of power. "The three cosmic levels—earth, heaven, underworld—have been put in communication" (Eliade 1959:36). As in the game of peon, the pictograph has two sides, one playing for life and one for death, with both united in the middle. The balance of the universe can be seen in this painting on the Carrizo Plains.

The interpretation of this pictograph as mythical characters symbolically enacting the game of peon is entirely speculative, due to the present state of rock art analysis which, in the absence of direct evidence, relies upon indirect associations between rock art designs and philosophical or cosmological concepts held by the people
producing the art. The celestial, animal, and ritual objects which have been suggested as being represented in the Carrizo panel are certainly subject to further re-interpretation. The assumption of the peon theme for the panel was used as a key toward interpreting many of the more abstract motifs, so that one set of assumptions has been necessarily built upon other unproven hypotheses. There has been no attempt, however, to force the "fit" of any motif into the hypothesized mold of the peon game. Some of the designs are still unrecognizable, while others do not fit the peon theme, such as the Thunder Twins being depicted on the "wrong" side of the pictograph according to their symbolic function. The amount of symbolic correspondences between the beings and objects portrayed on the two sides of the pictograph with the dualities presented in Table 4 (Chapter 2), however, is remarkable, and may indicate that the Carrizo panel is indeed a conceptual map of the Chumash/Yokuts universe.

RE-EVALUATING TRADITIONAL ROCK ART THEMES

In light of the foregoing analysis of the motifs at Painted Rock's main panel, some of the traditional explanations for rock art may be re-evaluated for their applicability to this pictograph. Some of the potential explanations for rock art discussed in Chapter 3 have been incorporated into the peon theme, such as the art depicting
First People Turned to Stone; mythological characters and stories; dream helpers and shamans; and shamanistic practices or techniques. Other explanations, such as boundary markers or fertility and hunting magic, appear to be more indirectly related to the panel.

BOUNDARY MARKERS

Romani (1981:192) has noted that the greatest concentrations of rock art in southern California are found along cultural boundaries: the Carrizo Plains (Chumash-Yokuts), west San Fernando Valley (Chumash-Fernandeño), Santa Barbara interior (Ynezéño-Barbareño Chumash) Vasquez Rocks (Chumash-Tatavium), and eastern Sierra foothills (Yokuts-Western Mono). Although the traditional view of a boundary marker is as a territorial warning to other groups, Romani makes the point that the rock art and accompanying ceremonial activity along cultural boundaries serves as a mechanism for integrating different groups of people.

It is very likely that Painted Rock functioned as a place for communication between Chumash, Yokuts, and Salinan people, that by visually and ceremonially portraying the order of the cosmos, these people recognized common ground with each other. It did not really matter if the yearly celestial peon game was played between Sky Coyote and Sun, Deer and Sun, or Sky Coyote and Tihpiknits, since the concepts behind the dualities (of life and death, male and female) were the same in each instance. The First
People painted on the sandstone walls may have served as spiritual guardians, representing and invoking the presence, not just the symbol, of the supernatural beings who helped people understand the world. Places such as Painted Rock, as well as the commonly known myth of the peon game, may even have represented a step toward "organized religion," as the unification of religious beliefs by widely spread people that was necessary for economic and political unification.

HUNTING MAGIC

As Mason (1912:154) observed for the "cueva pintada" in Salinan territory, there are at Painted Rock none of the traditional themes one associates with hunting magic—big game animals, hunting equipment, or scenes of death and victory. As the hunting magic hypothesis has assumed less importance in Paleolithic rock art studies with Leroi-Gourhan's discovery that the art portrays a conceptual universe, so the rock art in California which has been previously ascribed to hunters should be re-evaluated.

A classic example of apparent hunting magic are the petroglyphs of the Coso Range, which clearly depict thousands of examples of a big game animal, mountain sheep, as well as hunters, bows, and perhaps atlatls (Grant 1968: 29). The question, however, is whether the art's function was merely to insure good luck in hunting. Perhaps the canyons of the Coso Range were places men went to envision
and acquire their hereditary songs—the Mountain Sheep Song described by Laird (1976:10): "... a man's song constituted an oral map of his territory ... and along with the character and 'feel' of the land it conveyed a poignant sympathy for the animal hunted and a sense of the relationship between the hunter and the hunted."

Thus even a work of art portraying game animals and hunting scenes cannot be called simply "hunting magic"; they also passed on the way a man felt about his land, his life, and his interdependence upon other living beings for food. In fact the mythologies of California all reflect a preoccupation with the necessity of death for some beings so that others, and especially man at the top of a pyramidal food chain, may live. "Then they laid down arrows already made with flint points fastened to them; so then ... [Deer] gave up. ... And they killed other animals besides the deer. They killed acorns,—they were people then,—and killed all that they now have to eat" (Luiseño; Du Bois 1908:136-137).

The main panel at Painted Rock is clearly not for the purpose of hunting magic, yet it can be argued that the right side of the painting with Sun, Bear and Rattlesnake, all agents of death, reflects a society which killed to live, and which recognized the relationship between the cycles of life and death.
ASTRONOMY

Although no evidence has yet been discovered to indicate that Painted Rock served as an astronomical observatory, the possible theme of peon for the main panel may suggest that the rock could have functioned as a place for holding Winter Solstice ceremonies. Certainly many of the motifs in the panel appear to represent celestial beings such as Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Milky Way. More importantly, these Sky People are not just portrayed randomly but in patterns that may reflect the detailed astronomical knowledge and beliefs of the aboriginal population of California. The Milky Way crosses the earth/universe circle, connecting powerful beings of the night (moon and stars) but not quite touching Sun, and all together they may form a diagram in a "scientific" textbook, as well as a symbol of man's inner concepts of opposition and unity.

FERTILITY AND WEATHER MAGIC

Rock art throughout the world exhibits man's preoccupation with fertility, with the precarious dance of life and death. Vulva forms and phallic symbols are classic representations of this concept, and nowhere in the main panel at Painted Rock are such motifs depicted. Cupules, whether as "rain rocks" or "baby rocks," also represent the male act (a pestle) of penetrating a female depression (a
cupule or mortar) and the subsequent creation of life, whether in the form of rain or a baby; although there are cupules near other rock art panels at Painted Rock, none have been fashioned near the main panel.

There are many ways of conceiving of fertility, however, and vulva forms and cupules may simply be the most basic of these ways. If the main panel does indeed represent the celestial peon game, the coming together of male/death and female/life forces resulting in the creation of a new year or world, then fertility is one of the panel's main themes. The difference between this and a vulva form is complexity, an evolution of thought that led not only to elaborate art styles but to the concepts of duality and unity—that a vulva form means nothing without a phallic symbol, a pestle is useless without a mortar, that Sun is only Life-Giver when combined with Rain upon the Earth.
rock was like a womb, and that a person entering the amphitheatre inside the rock feels like they are entering the earth-mother, becoming part of the ancient soil and rocks. Chester King (1982) believes that *Coouchup* may have been the Chumash name for Painted Rock, possibly meaning "Earth-Pet." A place of creation, a womb of earth, perhaps a "special house" or "place where they only play peon"—certainly the rock was recognized as a place of power and mystery long before paintings decorated its walls.

Inside the rock, the painted "pets," the dream helpers, the First People who now live only in fading glimpses of red, black, and white, also have their place at the great rock standing alone on the Carrizo Plains. Perhaps this was where they were born, "their house before the flood" (Hudson and Underhay 1978:59). The First People ultimately represent man, and their presence at Painted Rock ties man symbolically to earth and all her creatures.

**THE DATURA CULT**

There are no specific motifs at the Carrizo panel which can be tied definitely to the ritual use of *Datura meteloides*. The *Datura* Cult was more than consumption of a hallucinogenic substance, however—it was a way of seeing the world without cultural blinders, a means of symbolically travelling to other worlds and to the subconscious regions of the mind, enabling a man "to see beyond surface appearances into the true nature of things" (Applegate
1975:12). Unlike modern use of drugs, *Datura* was viewed as a journey, rather than an escape. The themes within the Carrizo panel such as climbing sacred poles to the Sky World are undoubtedly related to shamanic experiences of altered states of consciousness such as that associated with use of *Datura*. As the sandpaintings of the Luiseño and Kumeyaay were an integral part of initiation and *Datura* Cult ceremonies, so the rock art of the Chumash and Yokuts region is likely to have been produced by *Datura* Cult members as a means of visualizing the universe. This may be a feature of cult or initiation ceremonies worldwide: "In some kinds of initiation . . . pictures or icons representing the journeys of the dead or the adventures of supernatural beings may be shown to the initiands" (Turner 1967:103).

**COSMOLOGY**

Above all other possible interpretations, the main panel at Painted Rock appears to be portraying a conceptual map of the cosmos. The peon theme is merely a device for understanding the dynamic operation of the forces of the universe. Paleolithic rock art has been recently shown to depict not isolated themes such as hunting magic, but the entire world as viewed by the artists. This universe may be a map of the visible world, as in the Kumeyaay ground-painting, but it may also be a map of the inner universe of the mind. Each rock art panel should be viewed as an
entity, as a cosmos within itself, and as an expression of the way man once saw the world.
Chapter 5
COMPARISONS WITH OTHER ROCK ART
INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 presented interpretations for a single rock art panel at Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plains. This chapter will compare that panel with other rock paintings in surrounding Chumash, Salinan, and Yokuts territory. The purpose is not to do an overview of rock art styles in south-central California, but rather to see if interpretations suggested for the Carrizo panel might have applicability or replicability to other paintings within the same cultural tradition.

Campbell Grant's Rock Paintings of the Chumash (1965) is the best source for published versions of Chumash rock art, conveying not only the designs but often the feel of the paintings represented, with 27 color plates of pictographs. Heizer and Clewlow's Prehistoric Rock Art of California (1973) has line drawings from 24 Chumash rock art sites (5 in San Luis Obispo County, 17 in Santa Barbara County, and 2 from the Channel Islands); 21 Salinan/Esselen/Costonoan sites from Monterey County; and 82 Southern Yokuts sites (53 Tulare County, 29 Kern County). In addition to these two major sources, a few other Chumash rock art panels
which have been published in smaller reports will be utilized (Lee 1977; Garvin 1978; Mason 1912).

Individual design elements identified from the Carrizo panel can be compared with similar motifs at other rock art panels. A major question is whether the motifs at the Carrizo panel are unique or if some or all have a wider range of occurrence. Those design elements which occur frequently in Chumash and Yokuts pictographs might have common meanings throughout that area. The association of certain elements often occurring together, such as concentric circles along with segmented poles, may indicate that an "alphabet" of symbols had been developed for rock art in southern California.

Comparison of individual motifs, or even the delineation of "style types" for different areas, however, will have limited utility in understanding the meaning of rock art symbols unless rock art is viewed holistically and with reference to the symbolic thought of the cultures that produced the art. Each rock art panel should be viewed as a whole, as hieroglyphics telling a story rather than as a jumble of isolated designs. In this chapter, a few rock art panels will be diagrammed as the Carrizo panel was in Chapter 4, where the flow of action for the entire painting was presented. Possible themes for some other panels will also be suggested.
CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

Concentric circles are common motifs in California rock art, although their specific form such as color and number of rings may differ widely. Seventeen of the plates in Grant (1965) have concentric circle designs in them, while fourteen of the Chumash sites in Heizer and Clewlow (1973) contain concentric circles. Thirteen of the Monterey County (Salinan and Costonoan) rock art sites, fifteen of those in Kern County (Yokuts), and thirty-six of the sites in Tulare County (Yokuts) have concentric circles (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). Approximately 70% of these recorded Chumash, Yokuts, and Salinan/Costonoan sites thus have concentric circle designs as part of their panels; while this sample may not be statistically valid due to irregular recording practices, it nevertheless indicates that concentric circles were an important design motif in this area.

Concentric circles are not signs standing clearly for a certain thing, but symbols that may contain a wealth of meaning. They may represent the universe, the earth, the path of the stars, a comet, or a turtle, at different times. The clue to their common meaning may be in the circular principles of containment, of female nature, of concepts separate and yet connected.
SEGMENTED POLES

Segmented pole or "ladder" motifs with individual round segments, though less common than concentric circles, are found in four plates in Grant, and five in Heizer and Clewlow for Chumash territory. One Salinan site in Monterey County has segmented poles, two of the Kern County sites have them, and seven sites in Tulare County contain this motif (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). Ladder motifs with short horizontal lines as segments are also common in Chumash and Yokuts areas and may represent similar concepts.

The association of other elements with segmented poles may be significant. There are usually two or more of the poles, always with animistic/anthropomorphic figures between or beside the poles which may be holding them or climbing them. Designs resembling turtles are next to the poles at the Carrizo panel, another site in the Cuyama region, and at the "Cueva Pintada" in Salinan territory (Grant 1965:Plates 4, 6; Mason 1912:Plates 29, 30, 37). A site in Kern County shows large bear-like figures and rayed sunbursts between two poles (Heizer and Clewlow 1973: Figure 80). Concentric circles are shown around segmented poles in all four Chumash sites in Grant (1965:Plates 4, 6, 25, 27), often toward the top like those at Burro Flats interpreted by Edberg (n.d.) as representing comets as the souls of dead chiefs.
Turtles, bears, and concentric circles may be thus associated with segmented poles in other sites besides the Carrizo panel. These motifs may symbolically relate to concepts associated with the Land of the Dead, with the poles representing Spirit Ladders to the other world. Many of the small figures between the poles may depict, as suggested by Romani et al. (n.d.), the shaman Coyote or his apprentice Centipede climbing the pole to the sky. One panel on the back of Painted Rock (shown in Heizer and Clewlow 1973:Figure 257c) even shows two segmented poles next to the bottom half of a figure with exactly the same bowed legs as Coyote in the main Carrizo panel.

ZIGZAGS

Zigzag lines that look like lightning bolts are found in eleven sites in Grant, and nine Chumash sites in Heizer and Clewlow. The zigzags are less common in Yokuts and Salinan territory, although they occur in a few of the recorded panels. Although the zigzags are sometimes found as isolated elements, the most distinctive or diagnostic feature of the zigzags is that they form connectors between other elements. Sometimes the zigzags connect abstract designs like pinwheels or concentric circles, but usually they connect to animistic or anthropomorphic figures. As in the Carrizo panel, the zigzags sometimes come from a figure's head region like a headdress, sometimes from the eyes, and even emanate from below the arms like those of
The zigzags in other panels thus appear to function in a manner similar to those in the Carrizo painting, as lines of power or lightning that connect supernatural creatures to each other, possibly as communication lines, as indicators of power and influence, or as extrasensory appendages. In some cases the zigzags appear almost as "trails" left by movement of a creature or as indicators of energy or "power spots" on a person's body, such as might have been seen in a mind-altered state or drug-induced vision.

**PINWHEELS**

Pinwheel motifs are found in eleven panels in Grant and five Chumash panels in Heizer and Clewlow. Conversely, pinwheels are rare in the recorded Yokuts and Salinan pictographs. In many cases, the pinwheels in Chumash panels are connected by lines to the heads of anthropomorphic figures. In others, the pinwheels are arranged on either side of other designs, similar to the two on the Carrizo "feathered serpent," appearing as decorations or enhancements to larger motifs. These associations lend support to the hypothesis that many pinwheel motifs could be representations of sacred feather bunches, which form part of a ceremony depicted in paint or serve to lend power to an anthropomorphic or animistic figure.

The motif in the Carrizo panel suggested to be the Sun/Fire stolen by Coyote and Roadrunner is an elaborate
version of the pinwheel design; radiating feathered bundles might have functioned in some rituals to represent Eagle and Sun, so that all these meanings might be contained in the pinwheel motif. Most pinwheels are simple curved lines which form small bunches. An hypothesis was originally made that the pinwheels look like the *Datura* flower as it curls up when closing for the night. While it might still be reasonable to look for representations of *Datura* in rock art, the pinwheels in almost all the panels curve to the right, whereas the points of the *Datura* flower curl to the left.

**HEADDRESSES**

Although a great majority of animistic and anthropomorphic figures in southern California rock art have projections on top of their heads, the types of these headdresses differ widely. Many are obviously supernatural, as long zigzags, ladders, crosses, or poles which are too awkward to be representing a headdress found in real life. Some creatures have horns or antlers, and others have antennae. Many of the head decorations found in the rock art, however, closely resemble feathered headdresses traditionally worn by chiefs, shamans, dancers, and other persons in California during ceremonies. The headdress may have double tiers, may consist of radiating bunches on sticks (the "pinwheel" motif), or it may consist of rows of upright vertical feathers. Some of the "antennae"
projections in rock art may be two upright feathers. Further study might be profitably made in cataloguing and comparing all the different types of headdresses in rock art of this area. Correlations might be made between the depictions of headdresses and the various types known to have been utilized by the local groups. Double-tiered headdresses, for instance, might indicate a certain elevated status for a type of ceremonial official or dancer. Numbers and colors of feathers in a headdress may be diagnostic of particular status or function. An example is the headdresses of the Seven Dancers in the Carrizo panel which closely resemble the red and white feathered headdresses of two figures in the Burro Flats Chumash panel (Grant 1965:Plate 25) which have been suggested to be Eagle or Condor Dancers (Romani et al. n.d.).

PLATFORMS

The Four Dancing Charmstones in the Carrizo panel appear to be dancing atop a long horizontal motif that might be called a platform. Coyote and Centipede are also standing on top of a white horizontal pole, and even the Carrizo Twin figures have below them a long motif. Other rock art panels, including several at Painted Rock itself, also have figures painted or dancing on top of horizontal "platforms." The forms and probably the specific functions of the platforms vary quite a bit, and could represent such diverse things as unwrapped sacred bundles, reed mats,
skirts, rain, or dance floors. The platforms may have a common symbolic meaning, however, which only further research will elucidate. They may be associated with certain ceremonial acts or officials, or perhaps the "platforms" indicate the sacred status of the individual(s) above them.

CELESTIAL BEINGS

Celestial objects such as Sun and Moon were common elements in sacred groundpaintings in southern California and the Southwest, and have been suggested to be in many rock art panels as reflecting the astronomically-based religions of the southern Californians (Grant 1965; Hudson and Underhay 1978). Chapter 4 suggested that the Carrizo panel may depict the Sun, Moon, Earth, Milky Way, and even stars in the form of a "Sky Coyote" constellation.

One problem with identifying celestial beings in art is that they mostly have general circular forms which appear as abstract motifs. Another difficulty is that planets and stars were often identified with animals in southern California mythology, such as Sky Coyote (Polaris?), Eagle (Evening Star?), and Condor (Mars?) (Hudson and Underhay 1978). Many of the animal figures in rock art could thus be representing important celestial beings in their allegorical animal form. Further research into symbolic meanings of astronomical objects and their animal correspondences could be fruitful when combined with study
of the associations of possible celestial objects and their surrounding motifs in rock art.

TWINS

The Twin figures at the Carrizo panel are perhaps the most spectacular twin images in the Chumash area, but there are other rock art motifs which may embody the same concept of duality within a basic unity. Plate 27 in Grant (1965) shows Twin figures within a circle who are remarkably similar in form to the Carrizo Twins. Many other rock art elements may portray the Twins not as equal figures but as one larger (the older, dominant, wiser one) and one smaller (the younger mischievous twin). As suggested for the Carrizo panel, twin figures may represent Thunder and Fog brothers, Sun's two daughters, or may even be the dual figures of culture-heroes Prairie-Falcon — Raven (Yokuts-Salinan), Wildcat — Coyote (Shoshonean), or Wolf — Coyote (Chemehuevi). The significance of Twin figures in myths and rock art lies not in which particular animals or beings they represent, but in the basic duality they symbolize which is found in nature (thunder/fog; winter/summer; two aspects of Venus as Morning Star and Evening Star) and in man's personality (logic versus emotion).

THE HORNED SHAMAN

Anthropomorphic figures with antlers or horns on their heads may represent shamans wearing deer, antelope, or
mountain sheep headdresses, or men actually transforming themselves into those animals. Three sites in the Cuyama Chumash area show similar anthropomorphic figures with upward curving horns that may have a particular significance (a type of shaman or cult?) for the area. Plates 8 and 15 in Grant (1965) each show a "horned shaman" with a nearby figure resembling Coyote with long snouts or bug-eyes. A third Horned Shaman in red, which has not been published, stands alone, painted on the rock face above the main panel at Painted Rock. This Horned Man is not part of the main panel but appears to overlook and almost dominate it. Whatever the meaning of the Horned Shaman is, it appears as a very powerful symbol.

BEAR

Depictions of bears may be one of the most common portrayals in Chumash rock art. Six plates in Grant and three in Heizer and Clewlow contain large bulky figures that look like bears. Grant (1965:Plate 17), Lee (1977:Figure 13), and Lee and Horne (1978:Figure 6) have all suggested certain Chumash motifs as representing bears. Bear paws or tracks are also common rock art motifs. "In the Cuyama region, there [is] . . . one remarkable cave where forty-nine bear tracks are . . . carved into the rock" (Grant 1965:87). It is likely that Bear Shamans were responsible for making many of these designs, perhaps as part of a ritual for gaining Bear as a dream helper. It may even be
that some of the motifs described as "pelts" (Grant 1965: 80) could be depictions of the magic bear skin suits worn by Bear Shamans.

The Bear Shaman at the Carrizo panel is somewhat unique, however, as most of the other bear designs do not portray men inside them. There is one figure in Grant (1965: Plate 19) which shows a small anthropomorph inside a larger figure. The significance of Bears in rock art, however, is not just to show Bear Shamans, but may be found in their associations with other motifs, especially if found in opposition to other figures such as Coyote. The Bear-like being in Grant's Plate 8 (who has a sun-pinwheel on his head, zigzag power lines under his arms, and possibly even the "cords" of his bear "suit" shown on his body) has a smaller Coyote-like figure with long snout superimposed over his foot. Below and to the right of the main panel at Painted Rock are two associated figures (shown badly drawn in Heizer and Clewlow, Figure 248d) which Georgia Lee (1980) has suggested look like Yokuts depictions of Bear (with a squarish bulky body and a bear paw petroglyph beneath him) and Coyote (with long snout). Thus the opposition of Bear and Coyote in the main Carrizo panel, which mirrors the Chumash myths, may be found elsewhere in rock art of the area.
COYOTE

Coyote the shaman, administrator of Datura, and hero of trickster stories throughout America, should certainly be represented in rock art as one of the most important First People. Lee (1977:Figure 9, from Painted Rock below the main panel) and Lee and Horne (1978:Figure 7) show possible coyote figures with long snouts and sometimes a long tail or penis. Romani et al. (n.d.) believe Coyote may be represented by a white figure with a long nose who is climbing two Spirit Ladders in the Burro Flats panel.

The Coyote in the Carrizo panel is somewhat unique, although a partial figure near a Spirit Ladder motif on the back side of Painted Rock (Heizer and Clewlow 1973:Figure 257c) has exactly the same bowed legs and body shape. Lee (1977:Figure 3) thought that the Carrizo Coyote might represent Sky Coyote. Hudson and Underhay (1978:102) postulated that the Yokuts painting Latta (1977:199) referred to as the "supernatural spirit Sok-so-uh" might be Sky Coyote holding the Sun in his mouth.

There are many figures in Chumash and Yokuts rock art with long noses, tails, bowed legs, black ears, and/or bug-eyes which may thus represent Coyote. A Coyote figure by himself may have little meaning, however, so the association of other motifs with Coyotes (especially in opposition to Bear, or conjunction with Spirit Ladders, Lizard, and other dream helpers that are his friends in
myths) should be examined for determining the full significance of depicting Coyote in rock art.

CENTIPEDE

The Centipede in the Carrizo panel is shown in a profile view, but there have been other Centipede figures suggested for various rock art panels which are shown in a bird's-eye view with many legs radiating from both sides. Lee (1981:117) depicts a rock painted with red Centipedes that may have symbolized death, and asphaltum poured over the Centipedes that may have been an effort to "kill the centipede death image." Romani et al. (n.d.) postulated that there were three Centipedes at the Burro Flats panel, one superimposed over the concentric "universe" symbol, one climbing poles to the sky above Coyote, and another riding the wings of Eagle back to Earth as in the "Coyote and Centipede" myth (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 30). Thus the Centipede at the Carrizo Plains who climbs a white pole beneath Coyote may be an image of shamanistic apprenticeship and symbolic death that is also found in other rock art panels.

FROGS AND TURTLES

Frogs and turtles appear to be common Chumash design elements in rock art, both as round-bodied creatures associated with water. Frog may symbolize springs, and also the opposition of rainy winter months to summer
droughts. Garvin (1978:71) suggests that thirteen Frog figures at one Ventureño Chumash rock shelter may have symbolic meanings associated with death or with shamanic activities.

Turtle's symbolism is more complex, as he is known variously as Earth-Diver, Chief of the Land of the Dead, and Keeper of the Sun in California mythologies (see Chapter 4). The Turtle at the Carrizo panel is shown on the side of death, between two Spirit Ladders and holding the Sun in his mouth. Similar Concentric Circle/Earth/Turtle symbols are shown in Grant's Plate 6 next to a Spirit Ladder, and in Plate 7 as being held up by two serpents. The two Earth/Turtles in Plate 7 also have small "helpers" below them looking exactly like the one found below the Carrizo Turtle. Thus the motifs found associated with Turtle in the Carrizo panel (Sun, Spirit Ladders, and small dream helpers) are replicated in other rock art panels.

LIZARD

The Lizard or "Lizard-Man" figure is common in California rock art, usually shown with long body and tail. Lee (1977:Figure 8) suggests Lizard's significance in Chumash rock art may relate to the myth (Blackburn 1975:95) where Lizard's ten fingers, instead of Coyote's paw, sets the pattern for man's hand. Lee (1980) believes that a depiction at Painted Rock not far to the right of the main panel portrays this myth with a superimposition of a
Lizard on top of the hand of Coyote. Thus myths involving Coyote and Lizard may be depicted in other places besides the main Carrizo panel.

**RATTLESNAKE**

Serpents may be depicted in rock art either as abstract diamond, cross-hatched, or wavy lines, or as naturalistic figures. The two Rattlesnakes in the Carrizo panel are shown in two different styles, one with cross-hatching of a diamondback rattler, and the other with distinct rattles on the end of his tail. There are four plates in Grant (besides the Carrizo panel) which show snakes, one with rattles, and two with diamonds. Serpents were commonly portrayed in southern California groundpaintings (Waterman 1910), and may serve the same symbolic functions in Chumash and Yokuts rock art. The snakes may represent spy/avengers for Sun or Tihpiknite, or as Lee (1977:Figure 4) has suggested, the two snakes who hold up the world in mythology (Blackburn 1975:91).

**THE FLOW OF ACTION IN ROCK ART PANELS**

The diagram of the flow of action for the characters in the Carrizo panel (Chapter 4) showed the duality of the painting's structure which led to its interpretation of the game of peon played by opposing celestial (Sun and Sky Coyote) and earthly (Coyote and Bear) forces. This diagram method was employed by Laming (1959:Figure 29) to show the
deliberate composition of the Paleolithic paintings in the Lascaux cave. It is suggested here that each panel should be looked at as a whole, with recognition that even superimposition of elements was done not haphazardly but as part of the rest of the panel. Following are some diagrams and suggested themes for the Chumash pictographs shown in Grant (1965:Plates 1 to 27).

An example of a panel that may tell a story when viewed holistically is Plate 26, a Ventureño painting which shows European horsemen and a variety of anthropomorphic and bird-like figures. Reinhardt (1981) broke the 196 separate elements of the main panel (including equestrians, "crested" anthropomorphs, deer, aviforms, lizards, floriforms, dots, and lines) into twelve "scenes" or groupings, each possibly suggesting a certain ritual activity (a Harvest Festival Dance, Seaweed Dance, or Kuksu representation). While this individual analysis of the elements was very necessary and informative, Reinhardt did not "put the scene back together again" and view it as a whole, which clearly suggests that the group of European horsemen on the right are being met by a delegation of the Chumash headed by a large "Deer Shaman." The panel might be titled: "CONTACT" The People Greet Strangers on Horseback."
Other paintings in Grant may have mythological, shamanistic, or astronomical themes. Plate 1 shows aquatic creatures swimming from a spiked sun-like symbol on the left toward a concentric "earth-universe" circle on the right, almost as if they were carrying the rays of the Sun to fertilize Earth. The largest creature in the center, holding a rayed object in his hand, suggests the myth of "Coyote and Lizard" (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 21) with Lizard returning from the island of Santa Cruz carrying the "light of the world" as a poppy flower to the mainland.
The concept of duality so evident in the flow of action at the Carrizo panel may thus be expressed in rock art panels such as the one above with connections (the aquatic creatures) flowing between two important beings (Sun and Earth), even though the directional flow (inwards toward the center in the Carrizo panel) may differ. Plate 7 in Grant, with the two snakes Lee (1977:Figure 4) suggested as holding up the world, has a flow of action towards the center. The snakes may be symbolically fertilizing the Earth/Turtle as well as holding it up. The Turtles and Snakes may also suggest that this panel represents figures from the Underworld or the Land of the Dead.

Plate 20 in Grant also shows an opposition or duality, as a large shaman with wings, antlers, and bear-like feet is condemned by eight arrows.
Many other paintings have action too complicated for diagramming without more study, but their characters and positions suggest possible themes. Grant's Plate 2, the pictographs from Santa Barbara's Painted Cave, might be called "Flight of the Shamans," with three Centipede-apprentices following two shamans to the sky. Plate 3, which Grant says might be a map, suggests the "Travels of Coyote," as a large Coyote wanders over the countryside having adventures involving figures that look like Sun, Roadrunner, Centipede, and even bear tracks. Plate 5, from the top of Painted Rock, shows a conehead person "pulling the Sun" by means of lightning power lines connected to a feathered "pinwheel" bunch.

Plate 6 does not appear as an integrated story, showing instead what might be individual Coyote, Bear, and Deer Shamans, as well as an Earth/Turtle next to a Spirit Ladder. Plate 8 looks like a "Dance of the Shamans," with small Coyote figures underneath a huge Bear Shaman and a Horned Shaman. Plate 11 contains most of the same elements found on Bear's Earth World A side of the Carrizo panel, with Bear in the center surrounded by Spirit Ladders, a snake, pinwheels, and concentric circles. Similarly, Plate 27 shows Spirit Ladders, a rattlesnake, concentric circles, and "twin" figures.

Plate 13 shows six anthropomorphs with antennae. Plate 15 is an eerie scene, with a Horned Shaman and small Coyote to the left of headless lizards and rattlesnakes,
and a bear track. Plate 16 is a Frog with antennae accompanied by two small helpers. Plate 17 is a "curious bear-like being" (Grant 1965) with small "suns" in his ears, superimposed over smaller stick figures. Plate 18 shows supernatural anthropomorphs with pinwheels, feathered headdresses and antlers on their heads, as well as skirts and extra arms, who all appear to be flying upwards toward two aquatic creatures with long tongues. Plate 19 has a spider web with three feathered "pinwheels" on a pole next to it, as well as winged "bugs," a man with a headdress twice as tall as himself, and a headless, four-armed creature with a smaller anthropomorph inside (a Bear Shaman?). Plate 21 suggests other creatures in flight, with one winged being who may represent the mythical Eagle carrying Coyote (hanging onto his right wing) and Centipede (hanging onto his left wing) down from the Sky World (Blackburn 1975:Narrative 30), as Romani et al. (n.d.) suggested for the Eagle and Centipede motifs at the Burro Flats panel (Plate 25).

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing interpretations of various Chumash pictographs are completely speculative, made by comparisons
with the motifs and themes suggested for the Carrizo panel. While none of these interpretations may ever be subject to "proof" (which would require verification from long-dead artists), there are certain observable patterns in many of the paintings which suggest possible meanings. These patterns suggest that the method of interpreting rock art used for the Carrizo panel, by viewing panels as a whole and looking for symbolic meanings of each symbol, is replicable in other cases. Many of the Chumash panels, even those with much superimposition, show evidence of deliberate composition, often with themes demonstrating shamanic flight, enactment of mythical stories, and the opposition or conjunction of earthly and supernatural forces. Elements which occurred together in the main Carrizo panel, such as Bear, Rattlesnake, Spirit Ladders, Turtle, and Concentric Circles, are also found together in quite a few other panels.

The repetition of individual motifs and of themes in rock paintings throughout the Chumash area suggests that the symbols may have formed an "alphabet" that could be "read" by certain people, possibly members of the 'Antap Cult if not by everyone in Chumash society. Communication of abstract ideas, especially in permanent "written" form, is a dynamic aspect of societal change and stability. Symbols can interpret the world, can unify large numbers of people by establishing common beliefs. The use of symbols —a cross, swastika, peace sign, eagle, stars and stripes,
a bible—has guided the course of history. The Chumash and their neighbors have played but a small part in the world's history, yet the understanding of their culture through symbols and beliefs may help in understanding not only the past, but the present and the future as well.
Chapter 6
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The truth, when it comes in words, is always a matter of interpretation.

Watkins 1978:23

The Chumash, Salinan, and Yokuts people of south-central California had complex societies organized by means of dual and hierarchical divisions for social, political, religious, and economic facets of life. Their societal organization was reflected in cosmological and mythological beliefs concerning balancing forces of nature, sun versus rain, winter versus summer, man versus woman, life versus death. Rock art functioned to portray man's search for these meanings behind the order of the universe, and the main panel at the "Place Where They Only Play Peon" on the Carrizo Plains may show the results of this search expressed as a game in which celestial beings, First People, and man gamble for power and the resources of the earth.

Man's reaching for the stars is also a search for his inner self. As Sun and Sky Coyote fight the battle of the seasons in the sky, so man battles himself. A single man is a duality, two halves of body and brain split down the middle, logic fighting emotion, the spiritual battling the
physical. The Coyote and Bear of the Carrizo panel symbolize not only Chumash/Yokuts social organization and their concepts of nature's balancing forces, but also the factions warring within man. The duality ultimately leads to a unity, however, "the thing in the middle," the mountain at the axis of the world or a heart at the center of a man. "You can never separate that which is born of your soul (your mind and your emotions)," said the Chumash grandfather of Fernando Librado Kitsepawit (Hudson et al. 1977:36). For every thesis there is an antithesis, but only the two together may create life, all the forces together in a dance of growth and change, of continuing cycles, summer giving way to winter, life to death, and death nourishing life.

The analysis presented in these pages has moved in many directions, on many levels, from astronomy to psychological processes of the human mind. Understanding rock art and mythology must be done as though one is "peeling the layers of an onion" (Laird 1982), exposing one idea only to find another waiting below, and at the center, perhaps discovering more about one's self than the original object of study. "It is only with the heart that one can see rightly; what is essential is invisible to the eye" (Saint Exupery 1943:87). The Carrizo painting is only a path, a journey towards knowledge with no beginning or end, no goal of Absolute Truth but only a continuing process. The Dream Helpers painted on caves and mountains once
functioned as a medium through which a man might touch other worlds. If anthropologists truly open their minds to worlds and cultures other than their own, they might be able to "not just look, but see" (Blackburn 1977:93).

CONCLUSION

Wild beings sweeping on cities—spirits and ghosts—
cougar, eagle, grizzly bear, coyote, hummingbird
intelligences
directing destructing instructing; us all
as through music:
songs filling the sky . . .

Drinking clear water together
together turning and dancing
speaking new words
the first time, for

Air, fire, water, and
Earth is our dancing place now.

Gary Snyder

The world of man today is populated by other men, by rivers bounded by concrete and trees fashioned into shopping centers, by music erupting from electronic boxes instead of the mouths of birds and men. It is no wonder if the universe portrayed in rock art is unintelligible to man today. A visitor to Painted Rock last year was discovered, beer in hand, attempting to chip away the ancient paintings (Lee 1980)—was he going to sell the fragment for money to buy a rifle or dune buggy, or perhaps mount the design on his fireplace as an exhibition of his trips to the "wilds"? The "civilized vandals" Kroeber spoke of (1925:938) may not be merely thoughtless vagrants, however—the paintings on
old rocks in California speak of an alien world, of a sun and moon now de-mystified, of bears which no longer roam the hills. Only the coyote and rattlesnake remain, to howl and hiss a warning that the earth has other life besides man. The vandals are surely erasing the representations of that old world, as their predecessors erased the cultures that painted them. The hope for the future is that modern man may come to read the old "words" left on rocks and caves, to have respect for other people's ways of life, and to value the earth and her creatures as did the people who lived first in the New World.

"Strange monsters used to inhabit this earth," says Coyote to Bear, who asks, "What became of them?" And Coyote can only answer, "It is said they found a path to the other world while fleeing the wrath of the Eagle. They can still be seen today, no longer people but small stars in the sky. . . ."
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