

9

Religious Aspects of the Material Remains from San Clemente Island

Ellen T. Hardy

Introduction

This study examines the religious-ritual implications of the finds from Ledge, Eel Point, Nursery, and Big Dog Cave sites. Interpretation of the mortuary remains must be approached within the context of the religious belief system shared by the prehistoric inhabitants of San Clemente Island. It is only through an understanding of that system and our knowledge of ritual activities that we may understand the human and dog burials, associated grave offerings, and various cache offerings.

No written records or other direct evidence documenting religious life, mythologies, and other sacred oral traditions exist for the prehistoric islanders; but archaeologists can obtain information in this area from ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogy. Although it has been said that one cannot excavate a belief system, one can through analogy, attribute esthetic, religious, or magical ideas to identifiable objects (such as quartz crystals). The same may be said for customs associated with funeral ritual, which, by definition, is religious behavior. Religious activities comprise part of the information process of human societies, the information conveyed through ritual. The function of religion may be seen as a culturally integrating and binding device which provides order in a confusing and often frightening world. Religion also promotes,

legitimizes, and perpetuates a social hierarchy based on knowledge and power (Maddox 1923).

The problems and limitations associated with the use of analogy and ethnographic materials make questionable the validity of applying data gathered from groups removed temporally or spatially from the inhabitants of Eel Point and Ledge. The cultural identity of the residents of Eel is unknown, as is their association with the later occupants at Ledge. It cannot be said for certain that the residents of Eel are the biological and/or cultural ancestors of Ledge or Big Dog Cave people. An attempt will be made, however, to show they all shared similar religious beliefs and practices as evidenced by their mortuary customs. The style or particular way of doing things, highly embedded in the cognitive and cultural matrix of makers and users, allows the enactment and elaboration of daily life.

The data analyzed here were derived from 42 features and artifacts from the Ledge Site; 16 features, four articulated burials, and a cremation at Eel Point; and three human burials, a cremation, and three animal burials in Big Dog Cave. The mortuary remains and other data will be considered as they relate to the overall religious belief system of the inhabitants, but no attempt will be made to analyze other implications of the various artifacts since that will be done by other

authors in these issues who will be referred to as necessary. Ethnographic sources include the Hokan-speaking Chumash; the Shoshonean-speaking Gabrielino, Luiseño, and Juaneño; as well as the Yuman-speaking Diegueño, who are in the Takic subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan language stock and represent western migrations from the southwest sometime during prehistory. Although spatially separated, the Yuman sources are important for they portray a culture that shares similar shamanic beliefs and continuous lifestyles into historic times and they, quite possibly, are more representative of the islanders than the intensive social organization found among the Chumash and Gabrielino at contact.

In writing a study such as this, one difficulty is to synthesize and incorporate the diverse data comprising shamanic concepts, Chumash and Gabrielino ethnographies, and archaeological remains. Such information, albeit cursory and at times confusing, is pertinent and provides the necessary background for understanding the material remains of San Clemente Island.

San Clemente Island: Its Cultural Affiliations

Practically nothing is known of the ethnography of the people who lived on San Clemente Island and no ethnographic reports of Indians living on the island exist. The Gabrielino Indians have long been credited with inhabiting this Island and its neighbor Santa Catalina, along with the coastal areas of Los Angeles and Orange Counties, while the Chumash Indians occupied the other Channel Islands to the north as well as the Santa Barbara and Malibu regions (Kroeber 1925, Bean and Shippek 1978). This supposition was based on linguistic evidence that San Clemente Island's name was "Kinkipar" as well as on several cultural practices shared with the mainland Gabrielino and generally attributed to Shoshonean migrations from the Southwest (e.g. cremation). It has been suggested that the southern Channel Islanders spoke a Canaliño or Nicoleño dialect but these have all

likewise been assigned to Shoshonean stock (Kroeber 1925:633). Prior to the historic era, the island's Shoshonean peoples followed Chumash customs more than those of the Shoshonean mainlanders of Los Angeles (Orr 1952:211).

Missionaries recorded Indian life at the missions over 200 years after European contact, and mission records mentioning religious activities exist for the area concerned in this study from Santa Barbara to San Diego. In the time between contact and the first missionary records, drastic changes had already occurred among the California Indians. Decimation of island, coastal, and inland Indian populations resulted in the loss of cultural traditions of entire tribes, thus severely limiting the records and what has been described is fragmentary at best. The lack of ethnographic knowledge about San Clemente Islanders reflects this loss.

Unfortunately, most Gabrielinos were dead long before systematic ethnographic studies began. Early ethnographies detailing Indian culture were recorded for Juaneño (Boscana as per Harrington 1934), Gabrielino (Hugo Reid's Letters, Heizer 1968), Luiseño (Kroeber 1908a,b; DuBois 1908a; Sparkman 1908; Dougan 1964); and Diegueño (Waterman 1908).

Several ethnographic accounts from inland areas referring to inhabitants of San Clemente Island have been provided for the southern groups by DuBois (1908a:75), Sparkman (1908), Waterman (1908:274), Kroeber (1925), and Harrington (1934). They refer to San Clemente Island as the origin of the *Chungichnish* cult. Northern Chumash sources provided by Harrington likewise refer to San Clemente Island (Heizer 1968; Johnston 1962, and Hudson 1978b), and describe the island's inhabitants as a mixture of Gabrielino and Fernandefio. Harrington's informant (Fernando Librado Kitsepawit) told him that San Clemente Island, according to Martin Violin's father and uncle (inhabitants of Santa Catalina Island), was

inhabited by a mixture of Gabrielinos and Fernandinos. The people of San Nicolas Island came originally from Santa Catalina Island, and they spoke the language of the Gabrielinos (Hudson 1978b, 1981:187).

Regarding Nicoleño ethnography, virtually all that is known is based on the little information provided by the last survivor removed from the island in 1853 (Meighan and Eberhart 1953:110). The “lone woman” of San Nicolas Island reportedly spoke a Shoshonean dialect (based on four words recorded), although it is unknown whether this was Gabrielino or Luiseño or something else. She was taken to Santa Barbara (non-Shoshonean Chumash territory) where no one could understand her (Kroeber 1908b:153). There is conflicting testimony as to her ability to understand Fernandino (Hudson 1980:110-111).

Baptismal records for Mission San Gabriel record 125 people (27 men, 36 women, 62 children) from “Guinguina, ranchería of the island” (variants: *Guiguipat*; *Guinquipat*, on the island; island of *Guiguina*) which can be identified with San Clemente Island, called *Kinkipar*. Heizer concludes (as did Kroeber and DuBois), that the *Guitamear* speech at San Gabriel was probably the one used by neophytes brought there from San Clemente (Heizer 1968:106).

The Indians themselves believed they came from the north, the common tradition of Southern California Indians, except the Mojave, who derive their origin from the west (Kroeber 1908a:5). The Indians of Lower California believe that they too came from the north (Kroeber 1908a:6); but the Diegueño believe they originally came from the east (Waterman 1908).

The archaeological remains have been referred to as Canaliño, a general term based on artifact assemblages similar enough to be considered the same Channel Island culture, comprising the Chumash, Gabrielino, and Diegueño (Rogers 1929). The term Canaliño has

also been used to signify the ancestral Chumash of the Santa Barbara region (Heizer and Elsasser 1980:191).

Religious Beliefs

At contact, Southern California Indian beliefs centered around the divine being *Chungichnish* (DuBois 1908a) or *Chinigchinich* (Harrington 1934). The transmission of the *Chungichnish* religion or cult is discernible from ethnographic sources. According to Luiseño informant Lucario Cuevish, the *Chungichnish* belief, with its ceremonies, rituals, songs, and dances, came originally from the north and was brought from there to the islands of Santa Catalina and San Clemente. From these islands it was brought to San Juan Capistrano, from Capistrano to San Luis Rey, and down to the Diegueños. The Diegueños of Mesa Grande, having no songs of their own for certain rituals, sing the Luiseño songs in such religious ceremonies as the eagle dance and the dance with the eagle feather skirt. These were taught to them as part of the *Chungichnish* ceremony, together with the new style of dancing which came to the mountains from the coast (Harrington 1934).

One of the best accounts of Luiseño and Juaneño culture may be found in the works of Boscana (Harrington 1934). Probably writing in 1822, he provides many insights into Indian life during the Mission period and details the Toloache cult centered on the powerful deity *Chungichnish*, whose elaborate initiation rituals involve sand painting, ordeals, and the use of the hallucinogenic jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*, *D. stramonium*). The religious importance of jimson weed among the Indians of Southern California may be judged from the fact that almost all of their public rituals are either mourning ceremonies or puberty initiation ceremonies that make heavy use of the hallucinogenic plant; its widespread use speaks for its antiquity.

Boscana tells us that the Indians passed on all knowledge by tradition; sacred beliefs were preserved in songs and dance and displayed in their ceremonial activities. The oral tradition was used to harangue and induce fear, obedience, and social conformity. The dances were important because they recalled the memory of God *Chinigchinich* who danced off into heaven.

These songs and ceremonies in general, telling of their religion, beliefs, usages, and customs, were not permitted at the missions. Repression by the missionaries was to prohibit the passing on of knowledge so important in oral traditions, thus easing the assimilation process of the Indians (Hudson and Underhay 1978). Hugo Reid, a Scot who settled on a ranch near Mission San Gabriel after marrying a Gabrielino Indian (Victoria) in 1837, detailed much of Gabrielino life; he wrote that shamans in particular or those believed to be wizards were severely persecuted. Many became runaways and fugitives from the Mission system (Heizer 1968). Dancing and songs continued and, under the eyes of the missionaries, developed what is considered a genuine missionary movement in a primitive Indian religion (see Kroeber 1908b, DuBois 1908a, Sparkman 1908, Waterman 1908, Harrington 1934).

Its success was due to the fact that the religion of *Chungichnish* had every requisite of a conquering faith. It had a distinct and difficult rule of life requiring obedience, fasting, and self-sacrifice. It had the sanction of fear. Christian and Mohammedan invoked hell-fire, the worshiper of *Chungichnish* invoked the avenger of the hill, the stinging weeds, the rattlesnake and the bear, who injure by bodily harm those disobedient to the faith. It had imposing and picturesque ritual. And above all it had the seal of inviolable secrecy, so alluring at all times to the human mind. Most important was the

toloache ceremony, as initiatory to the rest (DuBois 1908a:76).

Kroeber (1925:622) likewise attributes the origin of the *Chungichnish* cult to Santa Catalina or San Clemente Island. Regardless of its origin, this cult and its corresponding belief system was most likely based on an even older yet unknown religion whose ritual behavior was manifest in the Eel Point cemetery and later fused and blended with whatever sort already existed in both Luiseño and Diegueño tribes. Tribal migrations in general must be viewed as contributing to their own groups as well as absorbing from the groups with which they are in association (Moriarty 1969:6).

The Belief System

Early man, having no notion of natural causation, believed his misfortunes were due to agencies and ascribed his bad luck to the ghosts and spirits known to exist in dreams (Maddox 1923). Through dreams another world was represented, a separate world which duplicated the known world. Belief in this world, as an act of faith, implies the origin of religion. When awake, the demons and spirits disappeared, only to return in later dreams. Therefore (in early man's reasoning), the souls of the dead must still be alive, nearby, and venting their spite on the living residents. They would have to be propitiated and manipulated to ensure all went well in everyday life. To control the relationship between the two worlds requires a specialist, a powerful, knowledgeable person capable of ensuring protection from drought, storm, disease, death, and spirits. Hence, the necessity and evolution of the shaman (Maddox 1923:21).

California Indians, having no written language, passed all knowledge on by oral tradition; sacred beliefs were preserved in songs and dance, and displayed during ceremonies. This ritual knowledge was not held equally by everyone in the community; it was known

in detail only by the culture bearers: shamans and other knowledgeable people. Music, dancing, and smoking were not merely recreational activities, as they are in the modern world, but rather fulfilled a far more significant need involving rituals geared toward manipulating the world and maintaining balance and control. Especially powerful was ritual knowledge, for one was able to supplicate the dead as well as foresee and manipulate the future. Those with the most power were usually shamans as they were the leaders in religious ceremonies. They were the most respected and most feared members of the community. These concepts underlie virtually every aspect of the belief system. The imagery of Ledge and Eel Point remains may only be understood in terms of these concepts.

Shamanic concepts and tools originated in the Old World and were carried to the New World by Paleo-Asiatic peoples migrating across the Bering Strait land bridge many millennia ago. The dates are highly debatable, but what is important is that these people brought with them a shamanic belief system which quite easily adapted to varying ecological conditions in the New World (La Barre 1970).

Basic Shamanic Principles

The early inhabitants of San Clemente Island, like all California Indians, were governed by shamanic principles. This belief system is very complex and is based on the concept of power. Power is knowledge, having the correct understanding of the ways of the world, and the belief that one must behave in a certain way to maintain that power. Power is acquired, usually through dreams and or visions induced by deprivation or psychotropic plants (Furst 1976). Power is individualized, not transferable, and dangerous to give to others not able to control it, much the same way as giving a power saw to a child might be dangerous (Meighan, personal communication). Everyone sharing in this belief system receives and loses power; the goal is to maintain equilibrium. Without power one

is helpless, but, with restraint and the intelligent use of power, one is successful.

In this belief system anything sacred, mysterious, or wonderfully powerful or efficacious, is called "medicine." "Medicine" in the shaman's sense includes clairvoyance, ecstasism, spiritism, divination, demonology, prophecy, necromancy, and all things incomprehensible (Maddox 1923:24-25).

Shamanism usually involves the notion of a divine call, often by trance, ecstasy, or dreams, possibly induced by psychotropic plants. Many times there is something peculiar in the physical and/or mental appearance of the shaman. The abnormalities must have been difficult to understand; they were seen as spirit possessions or marks of distinctions which set that person apart from the rest of the group (Maddox 1923).

In addition to mental and physical peculiarities, real or feigned, the shaman knows how to emphasize dissimilarities between himself and his fellow-men that strengthen the esteem in which he is held by the people, thus confirming and fortifying his position. The shaman's faith is generally real and cannot be shaken for he believes that he has spoken to the gods face to face, has heard their voice, and felt their presence (Maddox 1923:108). The special regard and fear aroused by the shaman unite in making a unique place for him in the social group. It has been said that such persons are buried with great haste by night, or in the evening, and the places where they are buried are always to be carefully avoided (Maddox 1923:124). "No single factor has more potently influenced the culture and shaped the destiny of society than the shaman" (Maddox 1923:291).

...in consideration of the social control which he has exercised, and in consideration of the fact that art, education, history, and science have their incipency in the class to which he and his fellows belong, whether consciously

or unconsciously, the shaman has rendered a social service, the beneficial results of which are incalculable (Maddox 1923:292).

The shaman's power is so great that he has been referred to as "the most influential man of primitive times" (Maddox 1923:130).

Everything in the shamanic world is animate, so part of shamanic belief system includes "power objects" which may actually contain living beings (Levi 1978). Through ethnographic analogy, these power objects have been identified as quartz crystals, pipes, cloud blowers, musical instruments, effigies, and enigmatic stones (Meighan 1976). These objects, usually manipulated in some manner, ensured the individual's well-being.

Crystals And Sun Sticks As Power Objects

The use of charmstones is an integral feature of shamanic practices and beliefs throughout the world. The practice is widespread and ancient as evidenced by archaeological remains. They are commonly found in sites dating back eight thousand years and are frequently excavated in association with burial complexes. The term "charmstone" has been applied to effigies, plummets and sinkers, and enigmatic objects in general. Although detailed descriptions of power objects are scant in the ethnographic literature, sources are available for both the Diegueño and Chumash areas.

Among the Indians it was considered highly improper, indeed sacrilegious, to discuss such esoteric topics in ordinary conversation. People remained cautious on the topic but accounts were obtained for several reasons; for example, the informant recognized the demise of his people or was himself near death and wanted these beliefs known, such as informant Cinon Duro (Hokoyel Mutawir), the last hereditary chief of the Diegueños (DuBois 1901, 1908b); or the infor-

mant was acculturated enough not to believe in the stories of his old people; or there were those, such as the informants of DuBois (1901, 1905, 1906a and b, 1908a, b) and Levi (1975), who remained cautious but still divulged their beliefs on power objects. An educated girl who still shared the feelings of her people wept when it was suggested her grandfather show DuBois one of the Diegueño burial jars. It was represented to her that the observation was to be used for the benefit of science and not to satisfy idle curiosity; she was very happy when the search proved futile (Dubois 1907:484).

The linguistic terms for the crystal is *wii'ipay*, in Paipai, *wii'ipatt* in Kumeyaay and *Ko'at*, and *xwa'kwipay* in Kiliwa. All mean "living rock" or "live rock." The Diegueño classify crystal charmstones as *?ui?pat*, the same word as the Kumeyaay and *Ko'at* forms (Levi 1975). "Wii'ipay" can be either quartz or tourmaline crystals, hexagonal, sometimes irregular, and usually finger length or less in size and occur in clear and darkened varieties (Levi 1975:43). Referring to the Southern Diegueño, Hohenthal noted, "...if they are colored with lithia in tourmaline formations they are particularly esteemed by shamans..." Among the Luiseño, tourmaline crystals were sacred objects used to cure a sick man punished by Chungichnish. It was rubbed on his body; but if anyone unauthorized touched it, he was punished (DuBois 1908a:98).

Among the Luiseño and Diegueño, quartz crystals were believed to have been born of the Earth, not man-made but an original creation, more powerful than the hardest material. They were sometimes mounted on a stick but also carried unmounted (Alliot 1915).

Crystals are male or female depending on their color and the sex of the individual "who appears inside of the crystal when one peers inside" (Levi 1975:46). Black indicates male and reddish veins indicate female. This color-sex association of male/black, female/red is replicated in other realms of culture as

well (Kroeber 1925, Levi 1975). Of the figures that are used in the commemorative image ceremony among the Diegueño, Kroeber (1925:716) says that the “faces of those (images) representing men are painted black, of women, red.” Black crystals are considered most dangerous. Hence, color indicates whether a crystal is live or dead, male or female, exclusively evil or potentially good (Levi 1975:46-47). In belief systems of the Southwest, Barnett reports that rock crystals frequently symbolize fire, light, and, as a consequence, truth (Levi 1975:50).

The power is neither intrinsically good nor evil. It is the prerogative of the shaman to channel this power towards either beneficent or malevolent ends. Power is always dangerous, but it can be manipulated (Levi 1975:44). In 1929, Guillermo, an informant from Northern Baja said: “Some shamans had a *Wipat*, a long stone, like a crystal, red in the center. The *wipat* was said to be people. Shamans cured people with them, and could make them sick too” (Meigs 1972:40).

Regarded as one of the most potent and distinctive objects in the shamans’ paraphernalia, “the crystal’s unique vitality, efficacy for individual gain, and potency in malevolent magic all make it a paranormal force regarded with utmost fear” (Levi 1975:48). Only in the hands of the properly trained can the unpredictable power of *wii’ipay* be manipulated for specific goals and then only if special precautions have been taken. To the untrained individual the *wii’ipay* remains an object of danger and malice. Levi was constantly reminded the *wii’ipay* were not “children’s toys” but powerful things of the *hechiceros* (shamans).

Acquiring live rock crystals involves a dream-quest in which the person sees a spirit who says he or she is to be a shaman and indicates where their *wii’ipay* will be found and how to extract it from the matrix. Such dreams, perceived to be windows into another world, require attention and commitment; failure to do so

results in illness and possibly death. The quest is dangerous. The initiate often has a master shaman to guide and help him through his dreams and quest for power and teach him how to control it through the medium of his spirit-induced dreams (Levi 1975:48).

The initiate makes “an unequivocal psychological commitment to the alternate and intensely-structured lifestyle of a shaman” (Levi 1975). He enters into a personal relationship with the crystal, a reciprocal relationship whereby each party operates to ensure the social and spiritual survival of the other.

As Levi summarizes, paradoxically the possession of a *wii’ipay* constrains the possessor’s behavior yet gives the shaman power—power in both the spiritual and social realms. He can influence spirits in the paranormal dimensions of reality, coerce people in social situations of everyday life, and manipulate social and religious sanctions to achieve his own ends.

Sun Sticks

Another artifact class known for its powerful properties has been termed sun sticks (Hoover 1975) or shaman’s wands (DuBois 1908a). Interpretations of shamans’ wands are problematical. They were early classified as hairpins or ceremonial objects, a catch-all phrase that included punctate steatite ornaments and anything else enigmatic for that matter. In the case of the “wands”, it is possible to interpret their function by comparisons with ethnographic studies of neighboring tribes both north and south of the study area. The objects were used by the Luiseño and Diegueño (Hoover 1975:107; Thomas 1976) and they were described by DuBois (1908a:98) as the sacred stick, *Sivut paviut* of the Luiseño, or *Kotat* by the Diegueño; they were carried between villages, served as money, and exchanged for gifts of food. The sticks were painted red, black, and white, and often had a quartz crystal attached to the tip. They have also been classified as an *hechicero* (“wizard”) stick whose point

was allegedly poisoned and “could be thrown any distance to pierce the heart of [an] enemy.” It was also used for curing the sick (DuBois as cited by Thomas 1976:129). Evidence of their function is also found in Luiseño songs. Record 386 mentions how the *hechicero* stick and the singing of songs were used to hurt people (DuBois 1908a:111).

Having looked at southern uses of power objects, we now look north to the Chumash. Harrington’s notes provide evidence that the sun sticks were used in Chumash solstice ceremonies (Blackburn, personal communication to Hoover 1975:108). In addition to serving as ceremonial vehicles for economic exchange, these occasions provided shamans with the chance to use their sun sticks to correct the elevation of the sun over the horizon. Since the position of the sun did change after each solstice ceremony, the prestige of the secret religious cult (*antap*) was enhanced. The crystal tips of some of the wands symbolized the crystal house in which the Sun lived and were believed to influence that deity (Hoover 1975:108-109).

The antiquity of the special powers attributed to bone wands is evidenced by their presence in archaeological contexts. Styles vary and the wands are not specific to any single locale. On Santa Cruz Island three unusual bone wands were found; the ends were covered with asphaltum into which a quartz crystal was set. “It is clear that such wands were widely distributed throughout the Chumash area, at least in the mainland and island population centers” (Hoover 1975:105-106).

Since change in environmental adaptation leads to change in cultural adaptations as well as change in religious beliefs, the shamanic concept employed by the inhabitants of San Clemente Island must be seen as developing to adapt to maritime subsistence and the harsh, isolated environment. For example, it would be expected that some power objects and ritual activities were related to successful fishing activities. The artifact assemblages of San Clemente Island do indeed

demonstrate this. Religious adaptation will be more thoroughly discussed below under interpretations.

Ethnographic Accounts Of Shamanism

Little ethnographic data exist regarding Gabrielino shamanism. One interesting ethnographic account detailing Gabrielino shamanism concerns a woman known as “Toypurina the witch” (Temple 1958), or “Temptress” (Weber 1969:75); she is believed to be responsible for the failed Indian uprising at Mission San Gabriel. The paucity of ethnographic information regarding this aspect of culture emphasizes the importance of narratives such as that provided by an informant of Harrington concerning the evil *hechicero* brothers from Santa Catalina Island (Hudson 1979b:356,357) and many other details of Gabrielino culture. He was of Juaneño descent but was reared at San Gabriel and told of the Santa Catalina *hechiceros* who were paid to perform magic rites to kill the enemies of a San Gabriel “captain”. The magic rites included a sand painting of the world with painted infirmities and blood, dangerous animals, and twelve little figures hung downward that cause pain and all things relating to sickness.

At this time many people from the San Gabriel Mission were dying and, when the daughter of the captain died, the captain admitted his wrongdoing and implicated the “Papimaris who are of the Island” and emphasized the need to go to the island and kill them. The coastal people helped build canoes to get to the island. Upon arrival they sought the evil brothers and, having related the story to the island captain, he too acknowledged their bad deeds and “they all set out at once with their arms, objects of wizardry, and other things” (Hudson 1979b:358) to destroy the brothers. The brothers were killed and their hearts burned, as was the Gabrielino custom, to prevent them from living again. The coastal people even killed a young male assistant of the brothers even though he had

helped disassemble the dangerous earth painting, for they feared his ability to destroy things again.

Another Gabrielino myth associated with the death of large numbers of Indians at San Gabriel likewise portrays an evil shaman and his rock painting which depicted many male and female figures bleeding from the mouth and falling down (Blackburn 1975: narrative 79; Hudson 1979b:360). According to this narrative, the events described took place after the founding of San Gabriel Mission (1771) and before the removal of Indians from Santa Catalina Island (1835). Historic documents mention a series of semi-epidemics at the San Gabriel Mission during the years 1799 to 1805 (Cook 1940 as cited in Hudson 1979b:360).

According to Kroeber (1925:662-663), Luiseño and Diegueño ground paintings symbolize the world by an outer ring on the painting. Within this are depicted various elements representing islands, mountains, celestial objects, animals, and ceremonial items. The practice is also reported for the Gabrielino on Catalina Island according to Burney 1806 (Hudson 1979b), and Kroeber (1925:626). Sand paintings have not been found archaeologically, but these narratives have been provided to demonstrate the social position of the shaman and his power and influence over the other individuals. Most likely sand paintings were part of San Clemente Island shamanic practices.

Archaeological Evidence For Shamanism

Archaeologically, religious beliefs and evidence of shamanic practices are difficult to ascertain. Shamanic articles have been identified by their analogy to the ethnographic record. One shaman's cache was found in San Diego County and reported by George Heye (1927). The articles attributed to the shaman included 26 steatite tubes. Among the Diegueño these steatite tubes have been identified as "cloud blowers" and were used in curing ceremonies to suck-out the

diseased object. In Heye's (1928:33) opinion the cache consisted of the "paraphernalia of a medicine-man used in healing rites, long since hidden away and revealed only by chance."

Winterborne reports a number of objects found in caches from Goff's Island (Orange County) including "a complete set of shaman's tools" with grave material not locally available. These objects included steatite pipe fragments, a perforated stone, and a quartz crystal (Winterborne 1967). Alliot reports burials from San Nicolas Island of a female skeleton with a large lance head of black quartz which still retained asphaltum indicating that it had been hafted to a shaft (Alliot 1969:128). There were also individuals "crouched in a ball" (fetal position) each holding a quartz crystal in their hand (Alliot 1969:127).

Site Discussion

Discussion of the San Clemente Island remains will include a short description of the sites followed by a comparative analysis and then interpretations. For more detailed descriptions, see the accompanying papers in these volumes.

Ledge Site

Ledge Site is relatively shallow, 30-40cm, and includes a number of pits. Some of these pits are animal burials; others are caches containing abalone shells and seeds, beads, bones, broken artifacts and other cultural material suggesting the site's important location for periodic mourning ceremonies. Other pits appear to be post holes. Although the positioning of these holes is confusing, some type of structure of a circular nature occupied the site, with the exact dimensions obscured by possible rebuilding and pothunter digging (Fig. 9.1). The cache pits, emphasizing offerings and ritual activities, provide a unique

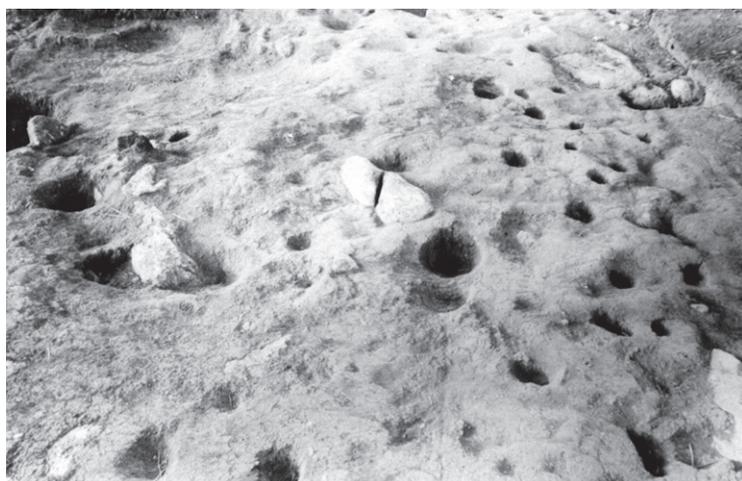


Fig. 9.1. Post holes and other pits at Ledge Site. Pit diameters are 15 to 25 cm.

and rich assemblage pertaining to mortuary offerings and their associated religious beliefs.

Eel Point C Site

The Eel Point C burials were interred into midden rich in fish and mammal bones, shells, artifacts, and debitage. These primary burials, all adults placed in variations of flexed and seated positions, were associated with a number of grave offerings. Many were covered with whale, dolphin, and other sea mammal bone as well as swordfish. Sand dune shifting and cemetery disturbance, as evidenced by indigenous mortuary practices including reburial and digging by animals, have displaced burials and grave offerings making it difficult to assign exact associations. Where this has occurred, the offerings were considered as part of the total cemetery and not associated with a particular burial. In 1984, members of the field crew buried a dead island fox at a depth of approximately 50 cm; the remains were quickly dug up by other foxes. This demonstrates the intrusive qualities of dogs and foxes and their possible effect upon the Eel Point cemetery.

Four articulated adults were excavated and the remains of approximately 20 individuals have been identified from secondary and semi-articulated remains found throughout the Eel Point cemetery. Additionally, fox and dog burials (including some without skulls) and a number of offertory caches were uncovered.

Burial 4 was somewhat disturbed; a disarticulated skull (Burial 2) was placed at its feet. This skull contained a quartz crystal which had been pushed inside through one of

the eye sockets. The hyoid bone was found in place, thus indicating the skull was partially covered with skin and muscle tissue at the time of its reinterment with Burial 4. Burial 4's upper torso had been twisted and its head placed upside down on top of the spinal column. The rest of the body was in an anatomically correct position. The entire burial was covered with whale bone, while red ochre covered some of the grave offerings including a composite bone and shell enigmatic object (Fig. 9.2), a whalebone paddle, a bird bone flute, two steatite effigies, two pipes, a tourmaline crystal, a mortar, and worked shell and stones. Four obsidian knives were placed with Burial 3 as well as a basket and shell pendant.

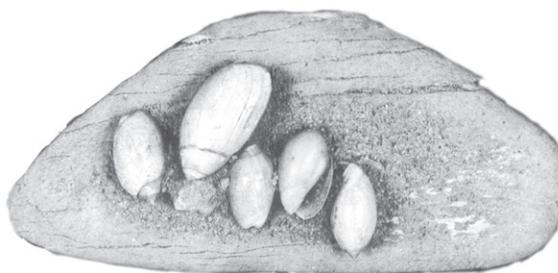


Fig. 9.2. Bone with attached *Olivella* shells from Eel Point C site. Bone is 10 cm at widest point.

Burial 5b was covered by whalebone and other sea mammal bone and was closely associated with the secondary remains of Burial 5a. Three obsidian blades had been placed at the head of Burial 5b, a whalebone shovel covered the legs, a mortar was in the burial fill, and some of the grave offerings were covered with red ochre. Secondary Burial 5a contained the remains of at least three adults, and infants. One chert point fragment, steatite effigies, quartz fragments and a serpentine pipe fragment were found in association with the 5a burials.

There were three burials of semiarticulated remains. Burial 8 included an articulated right leg associated with a number of quartz crystal fragments and cloud blower fragments (Fig. 9.3, lower). Burial 9 included articulated hands. Burial 10 included an articulated left arm and leg associated with two whalebone abalone prys; abalone shells with asphaltum plugs

(Fig. 9.4) plus one filled with asphaltum; and fish-hooks.

Burial 7, a cremation, was covered with whale bone and associated with a steatite cloud blower (Fig. 9.3, upper), pestle fragments, beads, and red ochre.

The dog burials were often associated with shell beads and sometimes included more powerful objects. One quartz crystal was associated with Feature M; an enigmatic stone and one steatite effigy were associated with Feature H. At least one dog was sacrificed (Titus, personal communication) and several other dog burials were encountered without skulls. Two were partially overlaid by an associated rock cluster, and three upright rocks (Feature 12) were encountered nearby.

Significant artifacts which could not be assigned to a particular burial include a bone “wand,” pestle, whale



Fig. 9.3. Steatite cloud-blowers from Eel Point C site (scale in centimeters).

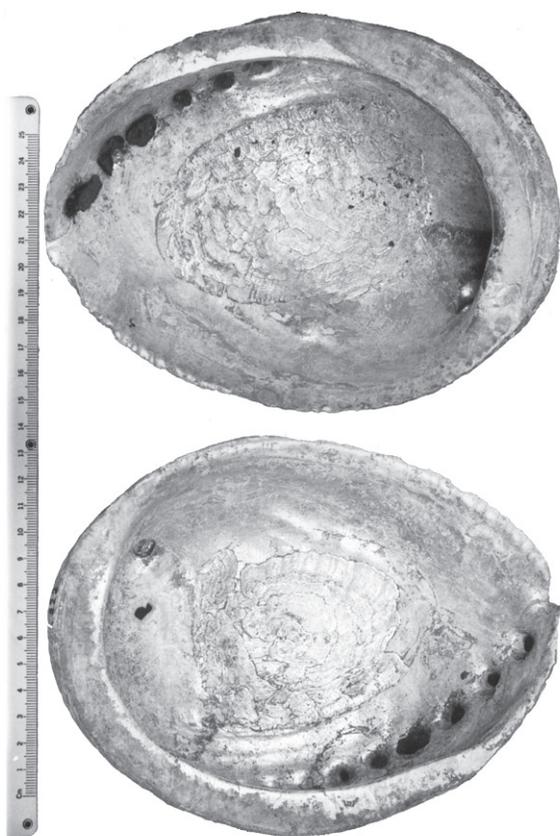


Fig. 9.4. Abalone shells plugged with asphaltum from Eel Point C site (scale in centimeters).

effigy, and several smaller steatite effigies, fish gorges and fishhooks, a labret, and shell objects.

Several features encountered in the cemetery suggest offertory gestures and are not directly associated with any particular burial. In addition to human burials, there are four types of features including fire pits; rock clusters or concentrations of stones; animal burials; and artifact caches. The caches clearly demonstrate the increasing influence of maritime activities on San Clemente Island approximately 3000 years ago (see Goldberg et al. Chap. 4).

Feature 8 is a cache consisting of two stone bowls, both filled with roundish, smooth pebbles. An abalone shell dish is nested in one bowl and covered with another abalone shell (Fig. 9.5). The other bowl has an

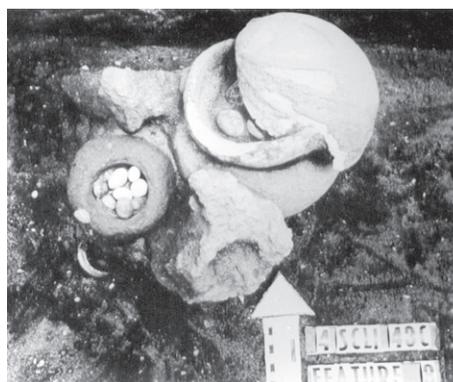


Fig. 9.5. A cache of two stone bowls from Feature 8, Eel Point C site (scale in centimeters).



Fig. 9.6. Repaired stone bowl from Feature 8, Eel Point C site.

abalone disk affixed with asphaltum (Fig. 9.6) to repair a hole worn through the center (or ceremonially “killed”). Its association in mortuary contexts supports the hypothesis of DuBois (1906a:52-53) that these bowls are actually special ceremonial implements called *Tam’-yush* or *Tamish*, the name for sacred bowls used to grind *toloache* and incorrectly called mortars.

As mentioned previously, *toloache* or jimson-weed (*Datura metaloides*, *D. stramonium*) known to the Diegueño as *kur-scha’* and the Luiseño as *nak’-ta-*

mush (DuBois 1905:622) was used in practically all religious ceremonies including puberty rites and mourning ceremonies. The *Tam'-yush*, stone pipes, eagle feathers, tobacco, and other sacred objects were used in connection with the worship of *Chungichnish* (DuBois 1906a:54). When not in use, the sacred bowls were carefully buried from sight in places known only to the religious leaders.

Eel Point B Site

For excavation description see Aycock, Chapter 20. The burials found here are much older than Eel C, dating roughly 5000 years ago. One sees the difference in artifact assemblages. Compare the projectile points of Eel B with those of Eel C; there is also far more elaboration of maritime influences seen in the shell pendant assemblage of Eel C than Eel B (Hardy 1986). Burial 3,f, a female, was covered with small

abalone pendants which may have been sewn to her shirt (Fig. 9.7). A number of projectile points were found in the excavations including two of quartz and some shell pendants.

Nursery Site

Data from the 1984 excavations include three burials, caches, a pit house, and an elaborate fishing technology. Subsequent excavations added considerably to this roster but are not included here.

Big Dog Cave

Excavation of Big Dog Cave on the southeastern end of the island revealed a mortuary complex of the historic period (Woodward 1941:284-285). The remains include three adult flexed burials (one reburial



Fig. 9.7. Abalone shell pendants from Eel Point B site (scale in centimeters).

McKusick and Warren 1959:172), a large dog, a rooster, and a hen. A single cremation was also encountered, as well as two planks from a canoe. The male adult burial, as well as the dog and rooster, had been wrapped in sea otter fur prior to interment. The females, on the other hand, were wrapped in mission cloth. The presence of historic items such as the mission cloth and the hen and rooster securely date these burials to the historic period.

Mortuary Practices

Typically the Chumash buried their dead while the Gabrielino practiced cremation. The Diegueños learned their ceremonial religion from the Luiseño, but must have brought their habit of urn-burial from somewhere else for no traces of these jars are found among the Luiseños. Both tribes burned and then buried their dead, but with the Luiseño it became the custom to dig a shallow grave, building over it a funeral pyre. When the remains were consumed the ashes were buried in the same spot. The Diegueños collected the ashes with the unconsumed bones, placed them in pottery jars, and buried them in secret places known only to a few (DuBois 1908:486).

Mortuary practices changed dramatically after European contact. In Baja California, cremation continued among the Kiliwa until 1860 (Uriarte de Lang 1977:40), whereas in the Mission districts, missionaries forbade Indian cremation and much of what they considered pagan ceremony. Furious dancing, a tradition in Chungichnish religion, became a “monotonous action of the foot on the ground” (Heizer 1968:30). Hugo Reid described the deceased wrapped in cloth when decay set in, buried, and deposited with seeds. If the deceased were a head of a family, or a favorite son, the hut in which he died was burned, as likewise all his personal effects, reserving only some lock of hair to use later in a feast for the deceased, generally after the first harvest of seeds and berries (Heizer 1968:31). Mourning ceremonies

consisted of burning effigies of the dead relatives (Heizer 1968:41-42).

By the 20th century the dead were no longer burned as they were in pre-Catholic times, but seeds were still placed with the burial (Kroeber 1908a:13):

When an unconverted Indian dies, they make a deep hole for him. Into this they put a pot, a basket, an otter skin, and some two or three pesos worth of beads, above these the dead body, and this they cover with earth. Then they immediately give notice to all the villages of the district, that all, old, young, and children, are to paint for a general feast. In this feast every kind of seeds and meat is served, and the chief commands all most rigorously never to name the deceased, in order that he may not come weeping. At the end they burn the house and everything that the deceased possessed” (Kroeber 1908a:13).

Mourning Ceremonies

The annual mourning ceremony has been referred to as one of the most typical elements of California culture (Kroeber 1922). The greatest development of mourning ceremonies, in terms of the number of distinct forms, appear among the Gabrielino, Diegueño, and Luiseño. There were also special mourning rites for religious initiates and the Eagle Dance was also a funerary ceremony. A southern origin is suggested by the predominance of the rites in the southern area and by the special ceremonial enclosure or wamkish, in which the rites are performed, the only universal religious structure in southern California. The origin was probably from the people that shaped the toloache cult, the Gabrielinos or one of their neighbors.

Among the Luiseño, Juaneño, and Diegueño people, the memorial services for the dead were held “to honor the departed but mostly to sever any possible

ties they might have yet binding them to the mortal world and respectfully send them on their way” (de Williams and de Griva 1978:29). In the commemorative ceremony, images were made and dressed as to resemble the deceased, adorned with eagle feathers, and later burned along with the specially constructed ceremonial structure. According to Kroeber’s informant Lucario Cuevish, the mourning for the dead, cutting the hair and so on, continues for a year or so, until the chief decides to have the eagle ceremony. This ends the period of mourning. The eagle is killed amid universal lamentations. He is one of the representatives of the spirit world and is connected with the spirits of the dead (Kroeber 1908b:113). With what tribe the manufacture of images made to represent the dead person originated remains a matter of speculation (Kroeber 1908b:100).

Animal Ceremonialism

Although the archaeological evidence of ritual treatment of buried animals is plentiful, some dating back 4000 years (Haag and Heizer 1953:263), the ethnographic record provides little information concerning the ceremonial animal treatment and post-mortem deposition. In Central California a number of animal skeletons have been found including bear (*Ursus americanus californiensis*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), badger (*Taxidea taxus neglecta*), beaver (*Castor canadensis*), antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), deer or tule elk (*Cervidae*), and birds (eagles, condors and hawks) (Heizer and Hewes 1940). One interesting interment from the Sacramento area consisted of seven foetal deer, their heads placed together oriented to the south. Although no artifacts were found in association with this particular burial, it is not unusual to find animal interments associated with human burials (Haag and Heizer 1953:263) and/or artifacts considered of ritual significance; in Sacramento one coyote burial was associated with mandibles of three other coyotes, an elk bone, and a quartz crystal (Heizer and Hewes 1940:590); in

Fremont Bend on the south side of the Sacramento River another coyote burial was associated with a diagonally notched spearpoint and a “charmstone” and was in close proximity to human burials; a complete deer skeleton was found associated with three plummet-shaped charmstones (Heizer and Hewes 1940). A number of possible interpretations may be given regarding animal ceremonialism. The interment of animals is one of the earliest of hunting rites. It is believed that remains were interred in order to permit its reincarnation or as a sacrifice to supernatural beings. The belief that animals can be reborn from the bones is an archaic religious idea; the religious character of sacrifice to supernatural beings goes back to the Upper Paleolithic (Eliade 1976:16).

Heizer and Hewes (1940:602) concluded these archaeological evidences of animal burials reflect a generic ceremonial attitude toward many different animals and not necessarily the existence of special cults. The animal burials are in all probability reflections of special status of one sort or another. It is possible that an emphasis on certain animals in the moiety system and as eponyms of the lineages might have led to their requiring, under particular conditions or circumstances, mortuary treatment resembling that accorded humans.

Eagle ceremonies have been reported from Central California (Heizer and Hewes 1940), Gabrielino territory (Heizer 1968:20; Johnston 1962) Fernandeano, Juaneño and Diegueño (Boscana 1846) and the Yumans of Baja California (Williams and Griva 1978). In Mission times several missions report bird ceremonies. “At San Juan Capistrano they adore a large bird which they raise with the greatest care from the time it is young” (Kroeber 1908a:11). In San Diego the ceremony begins with a bird hunt, then they nourish it and when it is grown they kill it, and for its funeral they burn it (Kroeber 1908a:4). While on the bonfire “...those who have assembled offer to it seeds, beads, and whatever they esteem most. The following year

they search for another 'vulture,' and do the same with it. The ceremony is an annual one, common to most of the mission Indians of Southern California, and held in memory of the dead."

They had knowledge that the first Indians came from the north led by a great chief "...who they say still exists on an island, and they make him without beginning or end." This one distributed to each tribe its own territory. The great chief is no doubt the equivalent of the Juaneño and Luiseño deity Quiot or Wiyot, who according to tradition led the people from the north and divided them into tribes. Venegas, quoting Torquemada, describes the following:

...in the island of Saint Catherine (Santa Catalina) an Indian 'temple', a large level court, and in it was a large circular space with an inclosure of feathers of several birds of different colors, which I understood were those of birds they sacrificed in great numbers. Within the circle was an image strangely bedaubed with a variety of colors...holding in its hand a figure of the sun and the moon. Two trained ravens were within the circle; and when the soldiers killed them the Indians fell into an agony of fear (DuBois 1908a:98-99).

DuBois suggests that this is evidence of a form of Chungichnish worship on one of the islands from which it originally came. The raven is the sacred Chungichnish bird, his messenger and spy. He is thought to see the whole world and to bring good fortune if one obeys him, but to cause death of those who do not obey ceremonial instructions or who refuse to enter ceremonies (Kroeber 1908b:178). The raven's veneration is further evidenced by its continued importance in the belief system of later Diegueño. According to Diegueño informants; "When the Raven flies overhead he caws 'I will kill you.' Then the medicine-men would smoke their stone pipes, and

blow the smoke in invocation three times upward saying 'Please don't kill us'" (DuBois 1908a: 99).

Having looked at southern beliefs which may have influenced life on San Clemente Island, we now look northward to the other Channel Islands and the Chumash sphere of influence to see any parallels or other information which may aid interpretations of the data. It was mentioned previously that swordfish remains were found at Eel Point C. Among the Chumash the swordfish was held in highest regard, was considered the chief of all other fish, and thought to be endowed with considerable supernatural power (Blackburn 1975: Narratives 4,14, and 27). Porpoises were believed to watch the world, circling around to see that it was safe and in good order (Blackburn 1975:624). Regarding their attitude toward whales and swordfish a Chumash informant tells us: "They worshiped the sun, the crow, and the swordfish. The sun they worshipped morning and evening, and as the source of light and heat. The swordfish they worshipped because it brought them the whale, and they were numerous, and united with the 'orca' or killer (whale), in killing or driving these monsters ashore" (according to Bowers 1878:318-319, as cited in Heizer 1974:27).

In historic times, a swordfish song called *papumarata* was performed by the Fernandeano singers at Chumash rituals during the winter solstice (Hudson et al. 1978:61,105, and note 61). These beings figured prominently in Chumash mythology and ceremony (Hudson and Blackburn 1978:234). In certain ceremonies it is believed that shamans would impersonate the powerful swordfish deity and perform a dance to drive a prized whale ashore (Andersen 1964:7).

It has been suggested that the name *Papimaris* (Santa Catalina Island) may in some way be connected with *Papamas*, the supernatural Swordfish Brothers who were so important in Gabrielino, Fernandeano, and Chumash ritual and mythology (Hudson and

Blackburn 1978:234; Hudson 1979b:360). The term *papamas* was also applied by the Kitanemuk to the Swordfish Brothers, and most likely by the coastal and island Gabrielino as well.

The archaeological evidence suggests these activities were integral elements of the belief system. On Santa Rosa Island, Rogers recorded swordfish beaks located near the head of male skeletons. He suggests that the man impersonated the half-man half-beast swordfish deity and performed a dance to drive the prized whale ashore (Mohr and Sample 1955). The archaeological remains further suggest the importance of other animals in the belief system such as the whale, sea lion, porpoise, and swordfish. Swordfish remains have been identified among the Eel Point burials (Titus, personal communication).

Archaeological Comparisons

In comparison to other California cemeteries, none of the Eel Point burials are accorded anything out of the ordinary, with the exception of enigmatic objects common to most sites, and its assemblages could be duplicated from any number of Channel Island sites (see Meighan and Eberhart 1953; Winterborne 1967; Alliot 1915).

The archaeological record testifies to the antiquity and prevalence of caching objects throughout all of California, particularly in this study area. Diegueño and Shoshonean caching practices are evidenced in Orange County at Goff's Island where whalebone, men, women, children, and dogs are buried in the same cemeteries. Grave offerings include steatite pipe fragments, perforated stones, and quartz crystals. Winterborne (1968:48) concludes that the material culture and craniological studies indicate "progenitors of Shoshonean people" who had inhabited the site around 2000 years ago, descendants of Uto-Aztecan people who migrated to the Pacific Coast..."for several hundred years the group lived slowly changing,

adapting customs and cultural material from the Chumash to the north, and the Yuma to the south." Caches are also reported from the Griset Site (Costa Mesa) and a Palos Verdes cache contained stone carved "charmstones" placed inside an abalone shell (Wallace and Wallace 1974).

From the Chumash region, Heye (1926:193) reports a cache of seven archaic baskets and two *Haliotis* drinking cups. The James Abel cache, Cuyama Valley, contained the only ceremonial eagle-feathered skirt to be recovered in Chumash territory (Grant 1964:6) and a basketry "tool kit" (Grant 1964:10). Other caches reported from Chumash area include Bowers Cave (Elsasser and Heizer 1963) and a ritual cave in Topanga (Meighan 1969).

Interpretation

The Gabrielino of the mainland, who adapted to different ecological conditions and food-getting activities, saw something sinister in the isolation of their fellows on the islands, separated by the rough waters of the channel. According to Johnston (1962:97), the people of the mainland learned of the religious ways of the people of Catalina and had adopted from them the elements of the vigorous Chungichnish cult. "It was whispered that while the shamans of the mainland might kill their enemies with poison, those of the islands were fierce wizards who used wolves to carry out their lethal designs."

There are, of course, no wolves known in southern California, and certainly not on the channel islands, so this reference may refer to a mythical animal. Dogs, however, were important on all the channel islands and were the largest land animal (other than humans) on the island aboriginally. Dogs were certainly introduced to the islands by the Indians. Sites such as Goff's Island (Orange County) and the Encino Village Site (Los Angeles County) included dog burials associated with offerings (Winterborne 1967;

Langenwalter 1986). Dogs are also believed to have been included as part of an extensive exchange network in prehistoric times (Davis 1961; Moratto 1984). When the “lost woman” of San Nicolas Island was finally found, it was reported “...there were wild dogs all around her (Hudson 1981).” She later claimed that her baby had been eaten by wild dogs.

Although scant records exist, the Indians living on San Clemente Island at contact were no doubt removed to missions on the mainland. Those who did remain on the Island, or managed to return to it, eventually died out as seen in the extensive early historic evidence from Big Dog Cave, Ledge, Old Air Field, and other sites on the island. Mortuary behavior in the historic period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Cremations, which are characteristic of the adjacent mainland at this time, are not significantly known from the islands. In fairly recent times, within the past thousand years, the custom was flexed burial as shown at Nursery, Eel Point C, and even historic sites such as Ledge and Old Air Field.

Evidence for mourning ceremonies, in the form of artifact caches associated with mortuary remains, is better evidenced from San Clemente than anywhere else in California. The caches generally contain broken or burned artifacts and beads, some of which were probably the possessions of the deceased, although most appear to be offerings of mourners.

The prevalence of stone effigies and steatite “plaques,” both of which are known in much higher frequency from San Clemente than anywhere else, suggests the possibility of craft guilds which manufactured such specialized objects. These probably functioned similarly to the later guilds of the Chumash, such as the Brotherhood-of-the-Canoe, who were associated with cormorant, boat, and fish effigies. The effigies and plaques of San Clemente may well have been associated with beliefs like those of the Chumash, in which an individual may have had several different

kinds of animal, or “dream” helpers (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:156). Boscana mentions that when Juaneño males were 6 or 7 years old they were given a kind of “god” as a protector and it was this animal in which they should put all their faith in times of need. It would defend them in all dangers, especially in war against their enemies (Harrington 1934:16). Various stone “talismans” such as fish effigies would be the material objects representing such spiritual powers.

The finds at Eel Point likewise suggest elaborate rituals and imply various beliefs were in effect. The most obvious belief apparently centered around canines. Dogs associated with human burials are not uncommon in California (Kroeber 1925:545; Bean and Shippek 1978), but the inclusion of numerous dogs and foxes in a human cemetery demonstrates a special relationship with man on the island. Although some dogs were apparently sacrificed at Eel Point, it is not evident that this was a general practice.

The numerous cache pits, first found at Ledge and subsequently at other sites in the middle of the island, can be explained by analogy to ethnographic accounts of mourning ceremonies and observances. For example, the pattern of post-holes at the Ledge Site may represent a *wamkish* or ritual structure. According to Harrington (1934), Boscana report a Feast of the Bird or “*Pames*” which was celebrated every year: “...then they buried it, the body of the pames in a hole which they had made inside the Vanquez...throwing into it seeds, pinole and whatever food they had.”

Such a hole would be very similar in size and contents to the many cache pits found at Ledge; indeed one such pit in the middle of the posthole pattern contained the burial of a domestic chicken obtained from the Spanish and perhaps treated as a ritual bird in place of the eagles used on the mainland (there being no eagles on San Clemente in historic times). Many of

the cache pits also contained seeds, which was perhaps a universal offering, but such remains are preserved archaeologically only when they have been burned. The whole context of the historic period at Ledge suggests a revivalistic cultural pattern in which mission runaways were attempting to return to aboriginal ways and reject their mission teachings. [Note that domestic hens and roosters were also wrapped and carefully buried in Big Dog Cave, another instance of special treatment for these birds.]

Status

It has been demonstrated that in California, social rank and status are sometimes inferable from the evidence of differential mortuary treatment (L. King 1969, T. King 1970). One status may be reflected in the Eel Point C cemetery: probable shamans accompanied by cloud blowers, quartz crystals, bone wands, toloache mortars, and enigmatic objects (Burials 2,4,5,7, and Feature 8).

It is interesting to find cremations and inhumations in the same cemetery at Eel Point C. This difference in mortuary treatment may be a status distinction, a reflection of cultural tradition, or perhaps even a shortage of fuel which would make cremations very difficult on treeless San Clemente. The cremation also

implies a specialist was required for maintaining the fire and moving the ashes so that the body burned properly. This would have been an important role for the mediator of the death ritual, someone powerful enough to withstand the impurities of death and the burning body. Among the native Diegueños of Baja California, the most distinguished members of the group were those who were involved in the funeral rites (Uriarte de Lang 1977:41).

Conclusion

It seems clear that the early inhabitants of San Clemente Island shared with all other California Indians a shamanic belief system in which power was sought and controlled. Everything was animate and purposeful, but could be manipulated by knowledgeable individuals who knew the proper rituals. The mortuary remains from Ledge and Eel Point sites reflect mourning ceremonies typical of such beliefs. The dog and fox burials, as well as the presence of whale and sea mammal bone within the human cemetery, reflect a special man-animal relationship and belief system adapted to the island fauna. The general pattern is evident from at least 3000 years ago, and this belief system was the forerunner of the later Chungichnish religion known from the ethnohistoric period.