

Kuta Teachings

KUTA TEACHINGS

**Reincarnation Theology
and the Chumash
Path of the Dead**



John M. Anderson

John M. Anderson has published numerous books on native American history, mythology, and theology, from tribes in the western United States. A number of these books were about the Chumash Indians of Southern California. This text focuses on their beliefs about the soul's resurrection and its movements on the earth before descending into the nether world.

Part One:

*Death, Burial, Separation of the Soul
from the Body, Point Humqaq Ascent.*

Part Two:

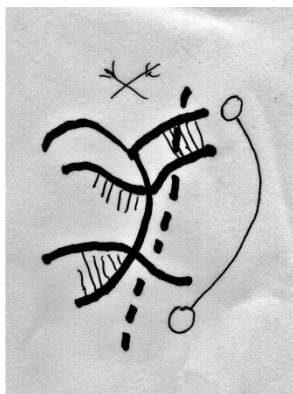
*Perilous Flight over the Pacific, Lure of Venus,
Descent through the Sanddollar Portal of the Setting Sun.*

Native American: Chumash, Native American theology, Reincarnation, Burial, Path of the Dead, Soul, Recapitulation, Point Conception, Western Gate, Supernatural Thresholds, Jumping-off Place, Mourning Ceremony.

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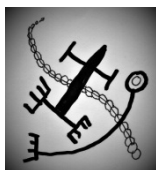
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** This manuscript presents the author's views on Traditional Chumash religion, based on fragmented anthropological records, including the field notes of John Harrington. It does not necessarily reflect the views of other individuals or groups, including those of contemporary Chumash people.*

** Illustrations are not exact copies of Chumash rock art. They are inspired by this esthetic tradition and are intended to honor the rock artists, who were the ancestors of present native Americans.*



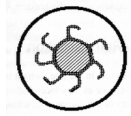


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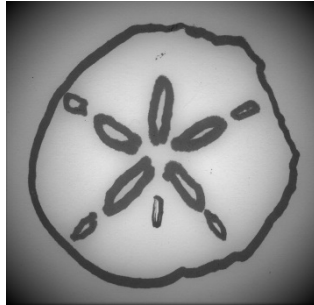
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(**Note:** As of March, 2021, we are still formatting Part II from old software. It will be added soon, please continue to check the Anderson Library Website for the update.)

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Introduction

From the November 1998 first edition

Native American Beliefs about Reincarnation.

This text focuses on the religious teachings of the Chumash Indians of Southern California, whose ancient homeland is located just north of Los Angeles. It features the author's commentary on traditional Chumash beliefs about death, burial, and the separation of the soul from the body as it begins its first wanderings over the earth in preparation for entering the heavens.

“A great deal of information about Chumash beliefs regarding death and reincarnation has been recorded in the last two centuries. But the field of Chumash Studies is currently in a state of turmoil. Scholars in the humanities have stayed relatively aloof from the increasingly contentious social scientists who have fascinated the public with their protracted laundering of academic grievances with charges of incompetence, spreading of misinformation, gross oversimplification in building models, and abandonment of academic principles for monetary gains.

The status of Point Conception, an ancient Chumash religious complex located west of Santa Barbara, has become one focus of heated exchanges recently published in the journal of Current Anthropology.¹ But expression of grievances does not always lead to resolution of 'family' problems, and the social scientists still lack a consensual opinion on the importance of Point Conception to Chumash theology.

In the fall of 1998, I entered the disputation by publishing an article in *Earth Island Journal* which reported on Traditionalist Chumash opposition to development of a large commercial spaceport near Point Conception. I concluded that the aerospace industry, in alliance with the Air Force and many influential business interests in California, had intruded into an important native American spiritual area. The placement of a commercial spaceport so near Point Conception, I cautioned, presented a serious threat to Chumash Traditionalists who believed that the souls of their dead used this point as an ascending place into the heavens. Following a period of spiritual preparation and immersion in a sacred pool of water, these souls ascended into the night sky and began their celestial journey to paradise. The launching of large numbers of rockets in the nearby hills was surely incompatible with such spiritual undertakings.

When native American religious rights conflict with commercial development of spaceports, a lot of people can get mad. Private property rights do not easily accommodate religious rights, especially those claimed by someone with different religious beliefs from the owner. It is in this querulous atmosphere that I prepared *Kuta Teachings* for publication. *Kut'a* means to rise up, or awaken, in Chumash, and I used it in the text to refer to the full body of beliefs about the death of a person, their burial, the soul's awakening and separation from the body, its rising up from the grave to travel on the surface of the earth, its rising from the earth into the heavens, and its heavenly journey to a paradise where it is nurtured and prepared for its descent back to the earth to be reincarnated.

The Chumash teachings about the ascension of the soul provide a message of hope to the dying and their relatives. These attestations comforted the living who believed that their deceased loved one will live again! They provide a reassuring guide to all Traditional Chumash, encouraging them to study their ancestral beliefs about death and the path of the soul to reincarnation. But success is never guaranteed in this life, nor in the hereafter. There are many dangers awaiting the soul, after it rises up from the grave.²

The first danger begins immediately, as the disoriented and newly awakened soul has to understand its disembodied status and reorient itself so it can begin moving purposefully. It needs to recognize that it is no longer in its body but in a graveyard. It is looking at worldly events from a radically new perspective.

1 *Gestalt* is a German word, used in psychology to refer to patterns of experience which cannot be derived from the elements of the whole experience. Because of persistent religious persecution of native Californians by Christian church and government officials, only fragmentary pieces of a much greater body of Chumash theological teachings have been passed down to non-native academics in the form of written documentation. What is missing from these records is the *gestalt* (the sense of the whole).

Some contemporary scholars claim that this gestalt died earlier in the century, and charge that all contemporary Chumash are an "invented" culture, one rebuilt from the fragments preserved in (non-native) government records, libraries, museums, etc. I do not claim to know the full answer to this issue of "inventiveness" and will leave the task of trying to prove or disprove it to the social scientists. My interest and academic training is in philosophy, and my purpose in this text is to explore interesting theological issues associated with Chumash beliefs about death and reincarnation.

2 The souls of the newly dead will not be fully safe until they enter *Similaqsa*, the Chumash land of the dead.

A foolish person, or someone lacking courage or determination will often remain disoriented, failing for a variety of reasons to accept the new reality of their disembodiment. Such souls may remain by their graves or seek out their living relatives, longing for consolation. In their weakness, they act as haunting spirits, and can become a danger to their loved ones.

But the souls of persons with impeccable religious training quickly recover their composure and deliberately take their first steps on the path leading to reincarnation. The purpose of this first book of *Kuta Teachings* is to describe these early movements, and to speculate on how they eventually lead to an ascension site such as Point Conception.³

Almost two decades ago, I wrote in *Autumn Equinox* (Anderson) about the lack of consensus among American scholars on traditional Chumash theology:

“To this date, no consensus has emerged among American academics writing about Chumash theology. In the early part of the twentieth century, Christian bias, and a heavy reliance on Catholic mission archival materials, led to a pandemic denigration of Chumash traditionalism. When the field notes of John Harrington became available in the second half of the century, however, a vast amount of new data stimulated an academic reassessment of Chumash theology. But Harrington’s field notes were not self-explanatory. Exegesis of his vast Chumash data continues, therefore, and a consensus remains an elusive goal because so many statements made by Chumash working with Harrington led to the publication of commentary presenting contradictory or at times enigmatic models of interpretation.”⁴

No consensus has yet been achieved. As one trained in philosophy and interested in native American mysticism, I have attempted to reach out to anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, and historians in the field of Chumash studies. But few have expressed interest in philosophical speculation. Perhaps, this revised text will contribute in some ways to the next generation of scholars who will be grappling with the rich legacy of Chumash reincarnation theology.

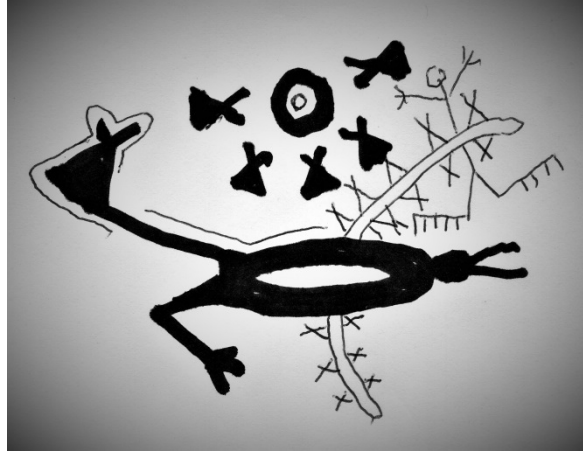
3 Due to the fragmentary and partial documentation on Chumash theological beliefs (recorded by white government agencies and academics in the past) and the understandable reluctance of many Traditional Chumash families to share their beliefs with white academics today, scholarly speculation and model building remains a necessity.

Too often, however, I have found California anthropologists and archaeologists unwilling to fully acknowledge the guesswork which is inevitable in their occupation and trade and the deep cultural bias which they inevitably bring with them in making so-called scientific judgments. Many speak of objective facts and established theories, and discourage a wide spectrum of views from the humanities and from the Chumash themselves.

This older and relatively closed system of academic discourse is breaking down, partly through the challenge of post-modernists in the social sciences, partly through the exciting changes taking place on the world wide web which is weakening barriers to information exchange, and partly through more assertiveness on the part of Chumash Indians who have been discontented with previous findings of anthropologists and archaeologists and are demanding a role in a wider dialogue on their cultural heritage.

In my four decades of Chumash research I have been privileged to correspond with numerous Chumash and a narrow spectrum of academics interested in my research finding. Dr. Greg Schaaf was my first colleague, offering decades of advice and introducing me to my first Chumash contacts including Victor Lopez and Michael Khus who proved a stimulant to my work in the 1980’s and beyond.

4 (*Autumn Equinox*, Anderson, 9).



Reincarnation

The Chumash Indians of southern California believed in the reincarnation of the soul. Like the Hindu and many other peoples of the world, they taught that death was not a tragedy for people with proper spiritual education.

Chumash traditionalists believed that death was a transition into a new life and not a cessation of being. The wise soul ascended into the heavens, to walk the soul's road until it reached a paradisiacal realm, where it resided in peace while preparing itself for its next incarnation.



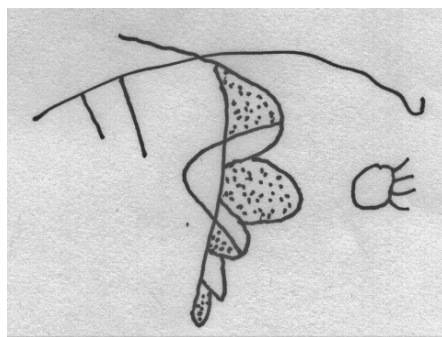
*F.L. Kitsepawit was a mythologist of Chumash island descent. In *Enememe's Friends* he told a story about Qwilmiye who died and how his friends Lizard and Coyote consoled one another about his death. This folktale is especially interesting because it tells how Chumash souls like that of Qwilmiye take their first steps on the sacred path that will lead to their rebirth as a Qaliwa relative.*

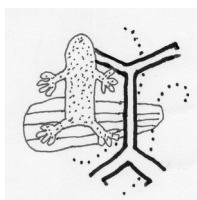
Lizard reassured Coyote that they had not really lost their friend, since Qwilmiye would soon be reborn. Their friend's reincarnating soul might be born into his same family, or perhaps into another family living nearby. Thus, they began to make plans to identify the baby and include it again in their lives; the newly born soul would be of similar thought or personality to the deceased.

Part One:

Kuta Teachings

Reincarnation Theology and the Chumash Path of the Dead



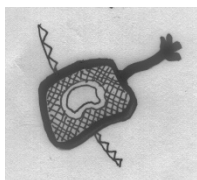


Comparisons of the Soul and the Idea

*“Tata Xuse taught that souls were created only after the existence of the Idea. And Fire was the first physical ‘element’ to be manifested.”*⁵

The Ahash Soul

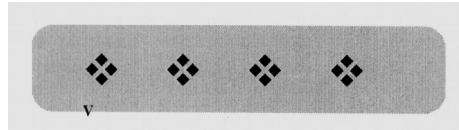
*“Kitsepawit considered the souls of all of humanity to be noble [in inclination] and immortal. He praised “the noble principles of the soul .”*⁶



⁵ (Chumash Cosmology, Anderso, 101; glossary entry under ‘Soul’).

⁶ (Chumash Psychology, Anderson, 85; glossary entry under ‘Soul: Noble’).

Chapter 1



Chumash Beliefs About Death

The Chumash peoples of California followed a tradition of mysticism that celebrated the reincarnation of the soul.⁷ Like most of their neighbors, the Chumash feared death, because it initiated what could become a dangerous time of trial when the soul is forced to abandon its physical body. Reincarnation was not guaranteed to everyone. Salvation came only to those who were properly educated in theology, and who had the courage to pursue their goals in spite of persistent opposition.⁸

The Soul

Kitsepawit taught that peoples throughout the world have souls with the same "noble principles."⁹ Though it is clear from related commentary that Kitsepawit considered the soul to be rarified and wondrous, interviewers failed to ask him specifically about the number of souls assigned to each individual.

7 Kroeber used the phrase "soul mysticism" to describe the religion of the Chumash islanders and their Uto-Aztec neighbors in the Los Angeles area. In the pre-invasion era (which he classifies as the fourth period, when historic California cultures were consummated) Kroeber credited the Chumash for developing "a special technological expertise." But he does not attribute the Chumash mainlanders with an "interest in mysticism" (Heizer/Whipple, Source, 116). This is a very curious claim, and it is certainly in contradiction to Harrington's field studies in the early 1900's when mysticism was clearly practiced by mainlanders.

One could argue that mysticism was brought to the mainland only after the Spanish invasion of California and the subsequent removal of islanders onto the mainland. This seems a contrived theory, however. It is more plausible that mysticism was an ancient theological tradition among all the Chumash.

8 See **Salvation** in the glossary for further discussion.

9 Kitsepawit told the ethnographer John Harrington that his grandfather [presumably X.R. Timi] used to tell him that "although the color and language of Whites and Indians are different, the noble principles of the soul are the same" (Breath, 73).

A Drowned Person

Kuta Teachings serves as a companion book to *The Swordfish Race*, an earlier publication which explains that unless rescued, a Chumash person who dies by drowning is cut off forever from the celestial Path of the Dead. The waters of the sea neutralize the fire of the soul, keeping it from awakening from the sleep of death.

In *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson) Coyote dives down to the depths of the sea to rescue the drowned soul of Hawk. "Unless his soul reached the celestial paradise called *Similaqsha*, the Chumash Land of the Dead, Hawk could not be reincarnated.

Clearly, the Chumash audience listened in awe as the narrator described Coyote's descent into the depth of the ocean. Who else but Coyote would have had such compassion and such confidence in his own powers, to risk the dreary fate of the permanent ocean dwellers- cut off forever from the light of the Sun" (Anderson, 1997).

Most Chumash don't die from drowning, however. They die from sickness, accident, or old age. Their souls naturally awake after burial without assistance, to begin their journey towards the stars. Part two of this text, called Perilous Flight, features the dangers for the 'Antik soul as it flies over the Pacific waters and encounters ocean storms which threaten to force it into the turbulent waves where it will drown.

Two distinct terms are used by the Chumash to refer to the soul. We know, for example, that the Chumash used the term 'Antikich to mean that something is alive.¹⁰ The root of this term is 'Antik referring to the soul when it is free of its physical body as in dreams or after death of the body.¹¹ This invigorating soul is associated with fire and the air of the heavens.

The Chumash use a second term for the soul, which is *Ahash*.¹² In this text, *Ahash* is used to describe the phase of the soul when it is attached to a human body. And 'Antik is used to describe the phase encountered after the death of the body.¹³ Both terms have associations with organs of humans and animals.¹⁴ The Chumash, for example, recognized the heart as the 'seat' of souls as suggested by their use of both terms to refer to the body's animating blood pump. The beating heart is the last of the physical organs of the body to die, and it was venerated by the Chumash and

other native Americans for its amazing resilience.

10 See **Life** in the glossary for discussion.

11 When a person dreams and when it frees itself from its physical body after death, the soul moves into its 'Antik phase. See **Soul** in the glossary for discussion.

12 When the soul is attached to its physical body it is called *Ahash*. See **Ahash** in the glossary for discussion. Note that this is the term used throughout *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) for the soul of a human living a routine life in its community.

13 See Appendix D for a discussion of the two terms ('Antik and *Ahash*) used by the Chumash for **Soul**.

14 Many native American religions believe in the existence of two or more human souls.

Death

Nowon means to stop doing, to cease movement.¹⁵ At death, the lungs stop breathing, the heart stops beating and all physical movement ceases.¹⁶ This is not a state of pain, but rather one of quietude and peace.¹⁷ It is a time in which the body/soul enjoys the blessedness of the North Star (non-motion) and thus absence of pain or corruption. The Chumash refer to it as a type of sleeping.

The body stops because it has reached its limits of endurance. *Kuhiwash* is a related Chumash term *Ku* means a person, and the suffix *-iwash* means something that is worn out, as is the case with a dead body.¹⁸ A bone soul, or some other unrecorded soul, may stay with the Chumash body after it is buried.¹⁹ Souls of this type are often called bone souls because the bones are the last parts of the body to be destroyed by decay while in the ground. In contrast, the *Antik* soul releases from the body and is not associated with decay.²⁰ This is the reincarnating soul, which is the focus of the four book series which begins with *Kuta Teachings*.



15 *Nowon* means 'to stop doing' (Tsmuwich, 20). It has the connotation of standing still (Samala). Thus *Yntonowon* means 'to be standing erect' (42).

16 See **Disappear** in the glossary for discussion.

17 Immediately after death, the Chumash soul is probably in a shocked state similar to sleeping, rather than a state of agony. This is suggested in various Chumash folk tales of resurrection, where the rejuvenated person says that he had only been sleeping and expresses no prior pain.

It is only after awakening that the soul can experience emotions again. We know that the (disembodied) Chumash soul experiences emotions through stories about the soul's adventures on the Path of the Dead. As it crosses the Bridge of the Dead, for example, it can be startled (frightened) and fall off the bridge. Clearly, if the soul was without emotions it could not be frightened by anything!

Chumash folk tales include humorous incidents about the dead. This is typical of native American folk lore. Erdoes and Ortiz cite an interesting Bule Sioux narrative, for example, which features humor about ghost suffering. It opens with four ghosts sitting together, talking, and smoking and "having a good time, as far as it's possible for ghosts to have a good time" (American, 435: Lame Deer). A Sioux hero takes one of the ghost's leg bones and uses it to drive the ghost's skull ahead of him like a hockey ball. The ghost protests, saying he was being hurt and the hero accused him of lying. "Ghosts can't feel pain," the hero answers. Is this humor or a serious claim that souls don't feel pain?

18 *Kuhiwash* means 'a corpse' (Tsmuwich, 14). *Ku* means 'a person' (14) and the suffix *-Iwash* presumably means 'something that is worn out or withered', as in the term *Puhiwash* which means 'a withered hand' (23; *Pu* means 'hand').

19 A number of Chumash folk tales describe skeletons which come back to life. See Anderson (Fox Jumps, 17, footnote 32) for further discussion; also see Blackburn (December, 267; Kitsepawit).

See Eliade for an interesting description of Asian beliefs about the "soul" which resides in the bones (Shamanism, 159). Eliade speaks of "rebirth from the bones" (160), "resurrection from bones" (162). In related passage called "Contemplating One's Own Skeleton" Eliade discusses the symbolism of the skeleton in Asian and north American mysticism. On both continents the mystic divests his body of its flesh and blood "so that nothing remains but his bones." He does this through vision, after arduous preparation. The symbolic "reduction to the skeleton indicates a passing beyond the profane human condition and, hence, a deliverance from it" (Shamanism, 62). See **Earth** and **Point Humqaaq** in the glossary for further discussion.

20 "The soul departs permanently from the body; thus the phrase "to be dead" means literally that an earthly body has no *Antik* soul" (Anderson, Fox Jumps, 19).



Does The Soul Suffer?

Many Chumash folk tales feature the mental state of the soul after the death of the body, depicting it as a kind of sleeping. In *The Swordfish Race*, for example, a Chumash fisherman (named Hawk) was saved from drowning and was asked by his curious relatives living at the Santa Barbara Harbor about life under the ocean. He described his drowned consciousness as like a state of "sleeping." In *The Fox Jumps* the Yakima Coyote denies, upon being resurrected by Fox, that he ever wanted to die (Anderson, 1994). Instead he only wanted to take a "little sleep". The Chumash Coyote, repeatedly resurrected from death, also proclaims that he had only been sleeping. In each of these cases, the narration features the resurrection of a seemingly dead person from the sleep of death. But in *Kuta Teachings* the focus is on the behavior of the soul which is NOT resurrected but instead awakes from the sleep trance after death and must prepare itself for reincarnation. The body dies but the soul is presumably only minimally attached to it and does not suffer. In time, the soul separates completely from the body and begins a long journey which ends with reincarnation, i.e. a rebirth in a new body.

Grieving About Death

In the Traditional Chumash community, grieving was done more for the survivors than for the dying person.²¹ Death was not belabored with guilt and fear of punishment, as in many Christian traditions, but instead was perceived as a positive element in the cosmic balance of powers.²² It was instituted by the gods so as to avoid overpopulation of the earth.²³ The soul(s) of the dead person was not suffering, but rather was in a sleep-like state.²⁴ If the person dies a painful or violent death, as in war,

21 See **Mourning Ceremony** in the glossary for further discussion.

22 This is a common theme in religions found throughout the world, but wise readers will recognize how few people really live up to the admonition to calmly accept the death of a loved one. This can be seen among Christian American families, which grieve at funerals when according to their church doctrine they should celebrate the release of their loved ones from the suffering of earthly life.

Kitsepawit confirms in his story about Qwilmiye and Lizard that Chumash also fell into lamenting the death of a friend. See chapter three of *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson, 1997) for Kitsepawit's fascinating story about grieving and how one overcomes it through a deeper understanding of the soul and reincarnation.

23 Death was instituted on the earth because "the earth will get too full of people and there will be no room to stand" (Blackburn, December, "The Origin of Death", 96; S. Pamaskimait).

24 See **Suffering** in the glossary for related commentary.

In 1994 I wrote: "Normally, the soul continued on its celestial path and reached the Land of the Dead, where it remained in a state of incubation (a sleep state) until its reincarnation" (Anderson, *Fox Jumps*, 18). In the context of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) this statement needs to be elaborated on to be accurate. Some Chumash myths describe the souls in the celestial paradise as sleeping only when humans on earth were active in the day. At night, they awoke from their sleep and carried out activities. These activities were bizarre, opposite behavior, compared to the lives of humans on earth. The heavenly dwelling souls disappear during the day, and are typically ephemeral and puzzling in behavior. The general pattern of life after death is thus not comprehensible to the souls of human visitors (whose bodies are still alive back on earth).

their bodily pains cease. The animating heat of the soul leaves the body, which grows cold and loses its suppleness.

Feeding the Soul of the Dead

At the moment of death, the Chumash remained quiet to show respect for the living soul of the dead and so as not to disturb it. Kitsepawit explained: "The Indians did absolutely nothing at the moment of death."²⁵ Later, in the quiet of the evening, they respectfully placed ritual food offerings next to the body, to help the soul understand that it was still alive and needed nourishment to undertake its great journey to the Land of Reincarnation.²⁶

Lying In Rest

During the Mexican period, the colonial priests forbade the Chumash to keep their newly dead in their homes where they could be surrounded by their family and shown traditional respect. F.L. Kitsepawit complained in *Breath of the Sun*, for example, how the Catholic priest at the Mitskanaka mission sent four men to the homes of grieving Chumash families.²⁷ Such seizures of the newly dead meant that Traditionalist families were cut off from administering to the spiritual welfare of their kin.

Instead of lying in rest in the simple and familiar surroundings of their homes, the bodies of these newly dead Chumash were placed in the Catholic church with two candles burning. After a day in the church, these confiscated Chumash bodies were sung over and removed for burial in a church-controlled cemetery.

The priest then charged the family an exorbitant price for these rituals.²⁸ Instead of the graceful long mortuary poles of Chumash tradition, these Christianized graves were either unmarked or were permitted to be embellished only by short stone or wooden grave markers. The church's refusal to permit traditional grave poles was part of a general repression of Chumash culture by the Spanish and Mexican governments. It signaled the colonial priest's ideological opposition to popular beliefs about the Chumash paradise and its associations with reincarnation.²⁹

25 (Blackburn, December, 97; Kitsepawit).

26 "They believed that the soul stayed around the old living place, for five days after death, and that is why they fed it every night" (Blackburn, December, 97; Kitsepawit). Kitsepawit confirmed the existence of this feeding ritual (of the dead soul) in a separate citation involving a Chumash man who died in Ventura, California. Kitsepawit described how all of the mourners came to the home of the deceased with food offerings. His widow ritually scattered the food, "taking it from her left and throwing it" in the four directions (Hudson, Breath, 76; Kitsepawit).

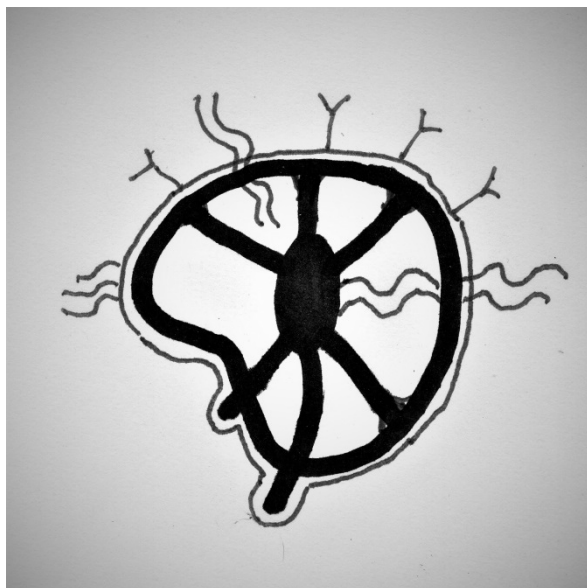
27 (Hudson, Breath, 73; Kitsepawit). "Father Rosales [serving in the Ventura Catholic church in the 1840's] forbade the Indians from keeping the body of a dead person in their home. He would send four men to bring the body on a stretcher to the church, where it would lie in state with two candles burning."

28 Kitsepawit reported that the priest at the Ventura mission charged \$12 for the burial of a Chumash or other native person. "He said that Our Lady of Los Angeles demanded that. In the days of much gold in California, a mass for the dead was worth as much as \$50.00" (Hudson, Breath, 74).

29 (Hudson, Breath, 74; Kitsepawit).

"The next day they would sing a song for the dead in the church and remove the body for burial. .. When they went to the grave, they would take a stone or a [short, wooden] post with them and erect it when the grave was filled."

I am unaware of any Catholic records from the Chumash missions that explains why the colonial priests refused to allow the Chumash to mark their family graves with the traditional and graceful long



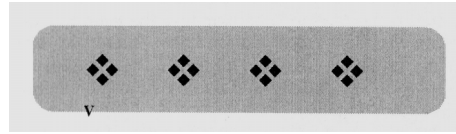
The Spirit World

“The Chumash spirit world called Ulkuw cannot be visited by souls permanently attached to their physical bodies. It is a spiritual realm, occupied by souls free of physical body.”³⁰

poles. These poles symbolized the 'climbing' of the soul of the dead into the heavens on the celestial tree, the Milky Way. This concept of the soul rising upward into the heavens is not fundamentally in conflict with Catholic doctrine, so the long poles were presumably banned as part of a general Catholic church avoidance of traditional Chumash heritage.

³⁰ (Hewelege, Anderson, 151; glossary term 'Supernatural').

Chapter 2



The Burial

Many peoples of California did not bury their dead but instead cremated them, as was the practice among the Tongva and other native peoples living to the south of the Chumash. Dr. Kroeber of the University of California at Berkeley confirmed, however, that the Chumash were part of a distinctive multicultural area where internment was practiced. This internment area stretched from the Chumash islands to the mainland and eastward across the southern Sierra mountains into the Great Basin region. Thus many of the Penutian and even Uto-Aztecan neighbors of the Chumash shared a common burial tradition. This "curious" grouping included the Chumash, Southern Yokut, Tubatulabal, Eastern Mono, and Chemehuevi.³¹

Pedro Fages, an early governor of California, recorded events at a traditional Chumash burial in the 1770's. Fages was a Spanish soldier and overtly hostile to Chumash theology, but his account is interesting in that it confirms the antiquity of many elements of a Chumash funeral that were witnessed in later times. Fages described how four morticians attended the body, carrying it to a local place of worship where a religious ceremony was performed. These special morticians were called in to handle the dead, since dead bodies could be carriers of diseases.³² One of their most important duties at this point in the burial procession was to blow smoke upon the body, according to prescribed traditions. The purpose of the smoke was to remind the soul of its insubstantial physical body and of its proper destiny, which was to rise up into the air like smoke.³³



31 Kroeber described this multicultural burial region as a "curious assemblage" which does not "correspond to any primary cultural stratum" (Heizer/Whipple, Source, 38).

32 Kroeber argued that the dead "were feared more for their physical contacts than as spirits" in ancient California (Heizer/Whipple, Source, 110). This can be a very misleading statement, unless it is qualified by a time frame. It is true that physical contact with the dead body was avoided by ordinary people. The reason for this fear was very straightforward; the people who handled the bodies of the dead were susceptible to spreading of disease.

But we know from many surviving Chumash narratives about haunting spirits that the Chumash definitely feared the disembodied spirit after the body was buried. Time is critical to understanding this relationship. Kroeber was mistaken in discounting the spiritual dangers associated with the dead. And it is odd that he would take this position, since he reported a number of taboos about the dead spirits, such as in his statement that: "Their names were not uttered." This taboo against using the names of the dead clearly signals fear of spirits in native Californian societies. The dread of the dead body lasted only a day or so until its burial; the dread of spirits lasted until the soul was believed to be reincarnated. This could be many years.

33 See **Smoke** and **Disappear** in the glossary for further discussion.

Memorial Shrines Were Located Near Many Chumash Towns

Memorial shrines were routinely cleaned and renovated by Chumash townspeople. Personal possessions of the newly dead were reverently placed at these sites which were visited by grieving relatives of the dead. Unlike the special places that served as "gateways" into the heavens, I believe that these shrines functioned as 'traps' to keep the souls of the dead from entering nearby Chumash towns.

The purpose of such hallowed places was to distract souls [during recapitulation] away from their living relatives in nearby towns. When these 'soul traps' worked, newly dead souls briefly visited their homes but were quickly alienated because the surviving relatives no longer carried out their habitual patterns of life. The visiting souls could find none of their familiar belongings because all but a few had been burned. Their family members did not appear to see them, nor would they respond to the soul's pleading voice. Eventually, as the disoriented souls wandered further and further from the town, they came upon their personal possessions at the memorial shrines. Suddenly, they were relieved to find something familiar! The souls of the dead lingered at these shrines with their comforting objects, and they accordingly had little motivation to return to the homes of their living relatives.

Kitsepawit described one such [soul orienting] shrine near Ventura, which he visited in 1912. This shrine was located on a hill overlooking the ocean west of the old downtown Ventura. It was called [like many other sacred sites] *Iwayiki*, meaning a place of mystery. Thirty "stations" were located along the trail leading up to the shrine. Each was marked with a prayer wand, decorated with feathers.

When mourners paying homage reached the top of the trail, they came upon a twelve-foot cleared circle, with a decorated pole in the center. This pole was of holly wood and was called the *Spon Kakunpmawa* meaning 'a pole of the Sun'. It was painted a vermilion color and adorned with many feathers, including two long condor feathers which pointed east and west.

Personal possessions of the Chumash dead had been scattered all around this pole, by family members living in Ventura. Kitsepawit reported dolls, old shoes, jewelry, and cooking implements like grinding stones. The presence of the rapidly decaying dolls and shoes indicates that this shrine had been in use not that many years earlier.

A number of close family members gathered around a large bonfire which was fueled all night as they watched respectfully over the body.³⁴ At daybreak, the rest of the mourners gathered to accompany the body from the church to a cemetery which was typically located a short distance away from the town.³⁵ Here it was buried along with small personal items, and a long brightly colored pole was erected over the grave.³⁶ Fages reported that: "At the foot of this rod are left a few relics, which naturally represent the

34 The bonfire kept the demons of the night away from the soul of the dead, which was temporarily disoriented and vulnerable.

35 Some native Americans buried their dead in or immediately next to the town.

The fact that the Chumash cemeteries were typically located away from the town site indicates a desire on the part of the Chumash to separate the newly awakened soul from its living family. This isolation was presumably designed to help the soul understand that its proper destiny was not back in the town, but on the Path of the Dead. Isolation of cemeteries thus protected the surviving family members from being haunted (ghost sickness).

36 The symbolism of the various bands of color on the poles placed by the Chumash over their graves is not fully understood. Strong reports, however, that similar color-banded poles were placed over the graves of the Cahuilla who lived east of the Chumash. The different colors on the grave poles "were supposed to represent the parts of the body" (Aboriginal, 307). Perhaps they symbolized, as in Asia, the rising of the air soul upwards from its seat (heart or lungs) into the head and eventually escaping the body through the mouth or the skull suture?

ability and kind of occupation which the man had while he was living. If the deceased is a woman, they leave strung on the rod some of the boxes and baskets which she was accustomed to weave."³⁷

The educated Chumash did not weep at funerals for the dead, because they knew that death was not a tragedy for most souls.³⁸ They wept instead in their personal grief at losing a loved one. In some cases, they also cried in fear that the soul of the newly dead would not be successful in finding the path of the dead and would therefore wander the earth as a dangerous ghost (angry soul of the dead).³⁹ Such mourners feared that the soul of the dead would succeed in finding the path of the dead, but would be discontented in the Land of the Dead and come back to take one or more members of the family with them so they would no longer be lonely in the Land of the Dead. Thus the term *Taq'alamish* meaning 'to be afraid of ghosts', also has the connotation of fear of being killed.⁴⁰ This is not an ordinary mental state of fearing physical harm, which the Chumash refer to as *'Itiminish*.⁴¹

The Disappearance of the Body

The Sun and Eagle played key roles in Chumash theology as cleansers of the earth and as destroyers of human bodies. Their contribution to Chumash death and burial practices is discussed in *The Chumash House of Fate*, where Eagle and the Sun are described as "not demons but rather deities characterized by highly purified souls." The Sun's heat is especially significant to Chumash burial practices, because it forced the Chumash to quickly bury their dead during the hot months. By placing earth over the body, they shielded it from the heat of the sun's rays and thus slowed its decay.⁴²

Shup is an important cosmological concept associated with burial prescriptions of traditional Chumash.⁴³ After creating the stars of the heavens the Creator began to manifest *Itiasup*, the physical realm called earth, the Middle World, and the 'real' world (by ignorant persons). This world was affectionately called *Shup* by the Chumash, referring to the female deity Europeans call Mother Earth. She was the protector of bone souls, and was particularly complex in her personal attributes.⁴⁴ Although the highest concentration of physical matter in the cosmos was located in her massive body, she also had a soul just like stars. She was a very influential goddess with the Chumash, had a soul just like the stars. She was a very influential goddess with the Chumash, as can be seen in the fact that they used her name as a rallying cry in their wars of liberation.

37 (Heizer/Whipple, Source, 214; Pedro Fages).

38 Death was only a tragedy for the foolish and morally weak souls which could not reach the Chumash Land of the Dead. *Suxa'yiw* means 'to fear death' (Samala, 330).

39 See **Ghost** in the glossary for further discussion.

40 (Tsmuwich, 17; also means 'fear of prowlers'). See **Ghost Haunting** and **Fear** in the glossary for related discussion.

41 *'It'iminish* means 'fear' (Tsmuwich, 11). *Iti'min* means 'to be fearful' (Samala, 156).

42 Solar heat (the Sun's rays) causes decay of any dead body. Ancient man buried or burned the bodies of their relatives before they fully decayed. Clearly one reason for this practice was control of disease. Another was psychological, including repulsion to the evidence of bodily decay. But at a spiritual level, I believe that they were also concerned that some souls of the deceased would be overwhelmed by a too rapidly decaying body. These souls would release from the body prematurely, before it had proper time to adjust to the shock of its bodily death. A disoriented soul was always a threat, both to itself (it might not be reincarnated) and to its relatives who may be haunted by it. To haunt means to visit a place often or continuously. The only place a disembodied Chumash soul should haunt is *Shimilaqsa*, the celestial Land of the Dead.

43 The Chumash term *Shup* means 'the earth' (Tsmuwich, 30; *Shup-shup* means 'dust'). Compare the Christian phrase "dust to dust." See **Disappear** and **Smoke** in the glossary for further discussion of dust.

44 See **Bone Souls** in the glossary for commentary on speculative multiple souls in Chumash theology.



A Circle Within The Abyss

J. S. Naiyait believed that wealth was irrelevant to spiritual well-being. As an old man living in the impoverished Chumash working community in Ventura, California, Naiyait advised his Chumash friends not to place too much importance on their lack of adequate food, housing, and transportation. Although the American businessmen of Ventura were paying the Chumash very poorly, Naiyait urged his friends to keep their minds on higher spiritual concerns.

In the conclusion to *Within the Abyss*, I wrote: "Decay, elapsing of time, and death were the conditions of the newly established middle world. The Spanish priests who worked in California, however, failed to understand that the Chumash held similar beliefs long before European expansion. American clerics repeated this mistake, persecuting the Chumash without understanding their cosmological belief that we live, we die, we are reborn into a perpetually changing world which is only an ephemeral circle within the great Abyss."

Naiyait shared this attitude and did not fear impoverishment or even death because he did not fear change. He truly believed he and all his friends would be reborn.

Traditional Chumash families buried their dead in Mother Earth, because in this act they were honoring the proper integration (decay) of the dead body into *Shup* (the earth). J. S. Naiyait of Ventura thus taught Kitsepawit about the importance of the concept *Ple* in Chumash theological teaching about death and burial. *Ple* means to disappear, to perish, to vanish.⁴⁵ Naiyait was an old man when he spoke to Kitsepawit and his niece one evening about ethical issues facing them as impoverished Chumash working for minimal wages in the American economy. Naiyait advised them not to despair at their poverty since spiritually knowledgeable Chumash did not place much importance on ownership of physical wealth, "for these things will someday disappear. You also are going to disappear, and so will it be with everything else and everybody else."⁴⁶

Naiyait was not making up idiosyncratic ethical teachings to console his niece and Kitsepawit. He was passing on basic traditionalist teachings about the eventual disappearance of all things both spiritual and physical in the eternally changing time/space continuum of history. Life for Naiyait and other Chumash traditionalists was a process, a circle of dynamic change that only a foolish person would try to grasp, hold back, or define with final authority.

The Mourning Ceremony

45 See *Ple* in the glossary for discussion.

46 (Hudson, Breath, 37; Naiyait). See *Fear* in the glossary for further discussion.

Most of the surviving family members believed that their newly deceased relative would eventually be reincarnated and thus rejoin them on earth.⁴⁷ But in the immediate aftermath of death, they did their best to drive the soul away from them. The survivors thus cut their hair short, tore their clothes, and put tar on their faces to make themselves unappealing to the soul of the dead, to ensure that the dead would not be tempted to stay near their home but instead begin their journey into the heavens.

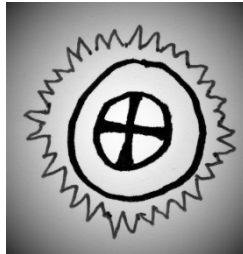
But in time, the heart-broken spouse or child needs to be released from their public display of grief. So the Chumash, like so many other native Californians, held periodic religious holidays to honor the recently dead and to bring official closure to the family's grieving. Until that time, however, many strict taboos were observed, including restrictions against rich foods, general social interaction, and sexual activity. All of these traditions were designed to make the life of the living less attractive to the dead soul, and thus discourage its return to the household.

The Celestial Path Used By Souls of Children

The Chumash believed that the souls of young children did not have to travel on the same celestial path of their parents. Lacking training in theology, it was impossible for the souls of young children to avoid the many pitfalls along the arduous path of adults.

Unfortunately, no surviving Chumash ethnological record has preserved specific details about the celestial journeys of the souls of newly born and young children. But it is possible that the Chumash believed that such souls were not lost but resided instead in a paradise in the lower heavens. Such a heaven would be similar to the Latin Catholic Limbo. Barrett records a belief among the Pomo of northern California, which assumed such a fortunate heavenly destination. The souls of dead Pomo children, he reported, traveled on a different trail from adults. If a living woman traveled on this celestial trail [in her sleep, or vision] then she would automatically conceive and bear a child, thus assuring reincarnation for this child's soul. See the glossary citation **Path of the Dead** for further commentary.

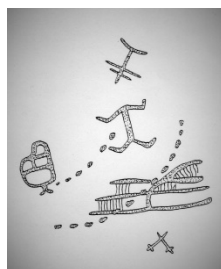
⁴⁷ The exception to this tradition of reincarnation was the extremely rare saintly soul which was destined to escape the cycle of reincarnation. These blessed souls were relatively sinless and more capable of rising up into the uppermost heavens to become immortal as a star. See **Sin** in the glossary for related commentary.



The Mourning Ceremony

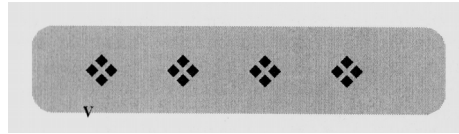
*The Mourning Ceremony honored those who have recently died.
It is called the Shihuch, which means 'big fire.'*

One root is Sixut which means 'to make a fire.'”⁴⁸



48 (Hewelege, Anderson, 133, glossary term 'Mourning Ceremony').

Chapter 3



Awakening of the Air Soul

Immediately after the death of the body, the air (Antik) soul enters a state of stupor caused by the shock from the sudden stopping of bodily functions.⁴⁹ But as the body begins to decay, the air soul awakes from its lethargy and begins to separate itself from the body in preparation for the first stage of its reincarnation.

Since the state of the soul has been one similar to sleeping, many Chumash terms used to describe the awakening of the soul are akin to those used to describe a person awakening from sleep.⁵⁰ The Chumash describe the Antik soul as a fire, and presumably it has been in a state of dormancy like coals awaiting to be stirred up again. Thus I prefer use of the term *Sapixi*, meaning 'to kindle a fire', in discussions about the first stirrings of the *Antik* soul after death.⁵¹

The Shanan Phase

After the soul awakes, it becomes restless. The body's decay is progressing, and the soul comes to the realization of the inevitability of this decline. This process forces the soul to abandon all hopes of

49 *Utipse'* means 'to faint' in Tsmuwich (36; also means 'to fall faint', with the connotation of falling down); thus *Wisutipshe* means 'to knock out', 36).

50 *Yix-kkit* means 'to be awake' in Tsmuwich (42). Thus *Walayixkkit* which means 'to wake up suddenly' (42), which is a condition avoided by the Chumash who feared that the soul which wanders in sleep can become cut off permanently from the sleeping body. And the Chumash also avoided awakening the 'sleeping' soul emerging from the grave, preferring a slow and peaceful awakening so as not to disorient the soul as it begins to adjust to a disembodied state.

51 *Sapixi* means 'to kindle a fire' (Tsmuwich, 25). One root is *Ixi* meaning 'sparks'. *Sapiyiw* is a related term meaning 'a red hot coal' (25), which is a suitable description of the soul just before it awakens and releases from the body. *Aqtip* also means 'to kindle' (25).

staying with the body.⁵² *Sha'nan* means 'to move around' in Chumash, and it aptly describes this early restless phase of the *Antik* soul's awakening consciousness.⁵³

See "Coyote and The Beetle" for a particularly interesting Chumash folk tale about the consequences of living persons foolishly mistaking the quieted heart beat and breathing of a rival who appeared to be dead but suddenly sprang into life.⁵⁴

L. Nutu, a Chumash mythologist, humorously described this **frantic** phase of the newly awakened soul in her folk tale about the miracle child called the *Tupnek*. Coyote and the wondrous child had gone on a grand adventure, she explained, when they unexpectedly came upon a skull lying on the ground. This skull delighted them by answering when they shouted a greeting at it. "The skull was that of another coyote who had died there, and Coyote knew him." So Coyote and the hero quickly gathered up the nearby bones of the rest of the skeleton, and used their magic to bring Old Man Coyote back to life.

The naive listener of Nutu's tale might think that the revived Coyote would want a long rest to recover from his ordeal. But the opposite proved the case. Old Man Coyote told his rescuers that he was well rested, and immediately proposed to join them in traveling all around the world! Thus, the newly awakened soul of Old Man Coyote began to explore vast areas of the earth at supernatural speeds similar to the behavior of Chumash souls.⁵⁵ Nutu's story is an example of resurrection, rather than reincarnation, since Old Man Coyote was renewed from his withered body and bones.⁵⁶ He had not been buried and his soul did not get a new 'incarnation' but rather a reinvigorated (but still the same) body. But Old Man Coyote did mirror the recapitulation behavior of a soul awakening after death. He was full of agitation and could not be constrained.

52 The Chumash believed that the stench of decaying bodies, such as is encountered by hunters who routinely come upon dead deer carcasses, is a positive phenomenon. Its purpose is to drive the soul of the dead from its decaying body, and thus speed it on its way toward reincarnation. *Uqsh* means 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 83). It is the root of *Yuluqsh*, meaning 'to smell' (81) and *Noxsh* meaning 'a nose' (72; as in *Alch'anoxsh*, meaning 'one who has a good sense of smell', 81).

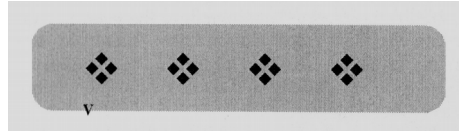
53 See **Shanan Phase** in the glossary for discussion.

54 (December, 231, Tumyalaste).

55 (December, 152; Nutu). For further discussion of this narrative see Tales For the Christmas Season, Anderson, 14).⁷

56 For a classic Chumash narrative featuring bones and death, see Kitsepawit's enigmatic story called "Coyote's Dream." Kitsepawit advised three men who are busy with money-making, remember that when death comes "we have to leave our bones right here in this earth" (Blackburn, December, 225). This appears to be a morality tale, similar in purpose to that of Naiyait's (chapter 2) warning against making material possessions the focus of our lives. Note that Death is depicted in this story as living in the west. Presumably this is a reference to *Similaqsa*, the Chumash Land of the Dead whose ruler is the Sun.

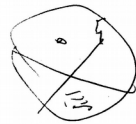
Chapter 4



Separation From The Body

Final Separation

When final separation is achieved detach itself fully from the body and begin driven from its previous home by the



after the fourth day, the soul is able to move independently. It is released and is acceleration of the body's decay.⁵⁷

Qiliqutayiwit reinforces this four-day count in her statements that the final separation of the soul from the body takes place three days after the day of burial. "Three days after a person has been buried the soul comes up out of the grave in the evening."⁵⁸ Since the burial took place the day after death the final release of the soul comes on the fourth day.⁵⁹

57 See **Pen** in the glossary for related discussion.

58 (Blackburn, December, 98; Qiliqutayiwit). The emergence of the human soul from the underground is paralleled by the Sand Cricket's emergence from its underground existence in the insect world. Note that the Sand Cricket is associated with decayed materials such as a rotted carcass. See Appendix G for related commentary on the Sand Cricket and death.

59 The Chumash count for soul separation was apparently at four days. The soul left the body on the fourth day after death, but remained on the earth for a fifth day of 'recapitulation.' Kitsepawit confirmed this five day count when he reported that the Chumash "believed that the soul stayed around the old living place for five days after death" (Blackburn, December, 97).

A four- to- five day count (for the final separation of the soul) is widespread among native peoples of the Americas. It is my belief that this count is not based on physiological decay of a dead body or some other earthly phenomenon. It is based, if I am correct, on the four to five day (apparent) non-movement of the sun on the horizon during the solstices.

Depending on the eyesight of the most influential native astronomers, the position of the Sun on the horizon changed after either four or five days. For ancient theologians, this twice-yearly immobilized behavior of the Sun took place at the two solstices. We know that the Chumash believed that the Sun was reincarnated during the winter solstice. It is very probable, but not definitely known, that they considered the Sun as being rejuvenated during the summer solstice (rather than reincarnated).

Sihuch Ceremony

The Chumash observed periodic memorial services, designed to honor the recently dead and to psychologically release their relatives from further mourning obligations. These memorial services were characterized by a huge bonfire, in which richly decorated ritual objects specially crafted to honor the dead were burned. W. Strong confirmed that this practice of destroying the personal belongings of the dead was not unique to the Chumash but was widespread throughout ancient California (Strong, Aboriginal, 32).

The Chumash called the burned objects *Supei 'Isaqshanuch* meaning Flowers of the Dead. "They made them for the dead who had died during the year and in remote ages, for themselves who were to die, and for others who were not yet born and were to die" (Hudson, Breath, 62).

The commemoration ceremony began with a solemn ritual procession of the 'flowers of the dead' held aloft by marchers. At the front of the procession were young boys who held carved and beautifully painted wooden plaques, inlaid with abalone. These plaques were called *Tsaqwitii Loka Penhis*, which means Images of the Removed Ones" (Hudson Eye, 48).

Kumelpi means 'to be separate' in Chumash, as in the term *Kumelshtash* meaning 'a state of separation'.⁶⁰ The *Kumelpi* phase normally lasts only a short period, but it is critical to the soul's successful ascension.

The Soul Slowly Orients Itself

The greatest danger is that the soul will immediately return home to its familiar surroundings. This would be a tragedy not only for the family which would be terrified by its appearance, but also for the soul which no longer has a material body and cannot return to its previous life. It is for this reason that when the newly emerged soul listens for the sounds of its family and its personal name being called out, it hears nothing. Protocol dictates that the family maintain a somber household, with quiet voices and no unnecessary noises. Laughter and lighthearted stories are no longer present in the house, and people conduct themselves in a moderate manner. No one in the community will utter the soul's name, since this might draw it away from its proper destiny in the heavens.⁶¹

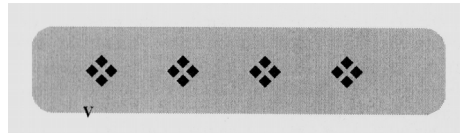
60 See *Kumelpi* in the glossary for related discussion.

61 The Chumash, like other California natives, refrained from uttering the personal names of the dead. They followed this tradition because they believed that the souls of the dead should stay in the Land of the Dead (the womb of reincarnation) and not return back to the earth until its proper time.

If someone called out the soul's name, it might be drawn back to its earthly family prematurely. Not only would this be a tragedy for the living family, but it also threatened the soul's ultimate ability to achieve reincarnation. A spiteful rival in the community might thus try to lure the dead back by calling out its name over and over, not only reintroducing a disease into a family (the disease traveled with the Chumash soul of the dead, as a small accompanying ball of *Atishwinic* fire) but also threatening the possible rebirth of a rival family's honored ancestor.

American anthropologists have recorded numerous examples of naming taboos among native Californians. Kroeber, for example, reported that the Yuki people avoided the names of the dead resolutely. Mentioning a dead person's name was considered an "unspeakable offense" and would only be understood as an act of "deliberate and hateful intent" (Handbook, 181). Compare **Reincarnation**.

Chapter 5



Earthly Travels of Newly Released Souls

The Chumash believed that living humans can see the soul of a dead person; it appears as a ball of light. When the soul separates from the dead body, it rises from the grave as a fiery presence and begins to travel around the earth in preparation for its journey on the celestial path of the dead.⁶² Such souls do not have legs for walking, but glide above the surface of the earth on paths and other well-traveled areas. *Axna'n* is the Chumash term for such motion.⁶³

Spiritually Balanced Souls

The soul of a person who has been properly educated about the process of death and the path of the dead, is contented. It appreciates the fact that it has been released from the burden of its physical body, and is ready to begin the first tentative steps of its journey into the heavens.

The prospects of immediately flying into the heavens, and taking the first steps on the path of the dead, are very intimidating to the soul so soon after breaking away from the physical body. The soul has a whole lifetime of habits based on its physical body, and it needs some time to get its bearings. As soon as the soul becomes more confident, it begins its journey into reincarnation by retracing the steps of its last lifetime on the Middle Earth. The Chumash believe that the souls of the newly dead, therefore, revisit every earthly place they traveled in their lives as embodied personalities. This is a recapitulation, a deliberate reenactment of all of its earthly movements, so as to reorient itself to the cosmic directions.⁶⁴

M.S. Qiliqutayiwit explained the Samala Chumash beliefs about recapitulation. The soul finally separates from the body on the third day after burial, when it begins a two day journey. "Between the third and fifth day it wanders about the world visiting the places it used to frequent in life."⁶⁵ The soul

62 Reminder: At this stage, the soul separated from its dead body is called '*Antik*, and the same soul which earlier was attached to its body is called *Ahash*. This is a convention adopted for convenience by Anderson for convenience of conversation. See **Soul** in the glossary for commentary.

63 See **Shanan** in the glossary for discussion.

64 See **Recapitulation of Life** in the glossary for further discussion.

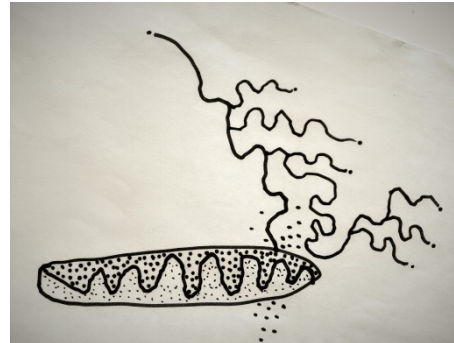
65 (December, 99; Qiliqutayiwit). Compare "Seeing People Who Aren't There" for a related story of a soul wandering from a sick body which is near death (Blackburn, December, 298; *Qiliku-tayiwit*).

"shone like a light, and it left a blue trail behind it. The disease from which the person had died was seen as a fiery ball at its side." ⁶⁶

Unhappy Souls: Ghosts

The term **Ghost** has an Indo-European root meaning something fearsome.⁶⁷ But the souls of the dead are only feared by living Chumash if these newly released souls are afraid and thus agitated as they begin to wander about the world.

The Chumash term *Tiwananan* means 'to go wandering about'.⁶⁸ Most properly educated souls quickly gain their composure, and thus are less fearsome, as they encounter familiar places and situations they knew during their previous lives.⁶⁹ If come upon a living person in their travels, most well educated souls move around the surprised human and continue on their deliberate way to reincarnation. living no longer have a fascination for them. But the are of particular interest to the uneducated or cowardly Humans who come in contact with these bewildered naturally are, themselves, gripped by fear. The living from such souls, who are incapable of regaining their bearings. Lacking what educated Chumash call a *Nespi* (a coherent and ultimately redeeming way of life) they lose their way during recapitulation and continue to wander in bewilderment.⁷⁰ Eventually, these unredeemed souls become like Coyote, dwellers in the wilderness. Human encounters with such lost and dangerous souls perpetuate ghost legends from generation to generation. *Sinaxkun* is a related term meaning 'to haunt', suggesting the terrorizing of the living by lost souls. These disoriented spirits are persistent, appearing to the living through both their night dreams and day dreams.⁷¹



they
traveler
The
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soul.
souls
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66 (December, 99, Qiliqutayiwit; "The disease from which the person had died was seen as a fiery ball at its side").

67 (Clairborne, Roots, 109: the root of the term **Ghost** is Heis- meaning fearsome, to fear; hence Ghastly, and Aghast).

68 See **Shanan Phase** and **Recapitulation** in the glossary for further discussion.

69 The foremost influence on Chumash epistemology is their religious belief in reincarnation. The primary purpose of higher education is to prepare the soul for its journey into the heavens so it can be reincarnated.

70 See **Nespi** in the glossary for discussion.

71 See **Ghost-Haunting** in the glossary for more information.

A

Making the Living Undesirable

One of the primary ritual obligations of surviving family members across the world is to make themselves and their immediate surroundings unattractive in the aftermath of a death.

Christian Americans observe similar taboos when they wear black at funerals, cover the widow's face with a black veil, and remain somber after a death. Such practices have their roots in the wearing of Biblical sackcloth clothing, with ashes sprinkled on the head. Light-hearted conversation in the home is considered inappropriate for months after a funeral, as is attendance at fun-filled public events where neighbors might see family members enjoying themselves.

Δ Δ Δ

The Chumash observed similar taboos, and they observed them with careful forethought. A primary goal of Chumash funereal practices, for example, has always been to drive the soul of the dead away from its (habitual) earthly residence so it will ascend into the heavens where it belongs.

Anaqipn'as means to be beautiful in Chumash. Surviving Chumash family members did not want to be beautiful to the newly dead soul, and tried instead to be ugly. They also wore abnormal clothing, and chopped off their hair, to disguise themselves, so the soul would not recognize them. *Xinch'i* means to be ugly in Chumash and probably has the same root as *C'i* meaning to be sharp.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that Christian critics of native California theology have persistently misrepresented the theologically sophisticated funereal practices of the Chumash as barbaric, heathen, and uncivilized - not recognizing parallel practices among Euro-Christian populations in contemporary California."

second type of encounter with a Chumash ghost may involve a bone soul, which stays with the body instead of moving about like the air [*Antik*] soul.⁷² If this is correct, then the bone soul's 'ghost' would not be seen near or in the homes of surviving relatives but near the graveyard where the bodies of the dead were buried.

But there is at least a third type of encounter with the souls of the dead which appears in the narratives of the traditional Chumash. These stories are not about haunting ghosts but rather the souls of recently deceased relatives who call an individual to join them in heaven. J.S. Naiyait, a Ventura area traditionalist, told F. L. Kitsepawit that when he was growing weak from old age he heard such voices every day when he went down to the beach to gather firewood. Naiyait made it clear to Kitsepawit that these were not ghostly voices of this world, but rather the souls of his relatives calling him to die and join them in "that other land."⁷³ Such incidents were not rare among traditionalist families. An interesting case is cited by M.S. Qiliqutayiwit of Santa Inez, who reported seeing the soul of her father R.S. Samuyatuas wandering from his sick body just before he died. He was being called by his deceased relatives, and his soul soon followed them into the sky.⁷⁴

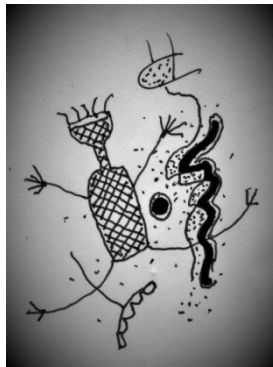
72 See **Bone Soul** in the glossary for further discussion.

73 (Hudson, Breath, 38; Kitsepawit quotes the Chumash traditionalist Jose S. Naiyait of Ventura. Naiyait's granddaughter was Kitsepawit's friend Petra).

74 F.L. Kitsepawit described the sudden death of R.S. Samuyatuas (who used the colonial name Raphael Solares) in 1890. Samuyatuas was consulting with Bowers at this time, when he was spoken to by "dead Indians" (Hudson,

The Burning of Personal Property of the Dead

Qiliqutayiwit explained: "On the fifth day after death the soul returns to the grave to oversee the destruction of its property before leaving for Similaqsa."⁷⁵ The ritual she was describing was a private affair and included numerous other mourning traditions whose purpose was to protect the surviving family members. Everyone feared that unless they destroyed the belongings of the dead, they would either hang around as a ghost or return to take other family members' souls with them because they are lonely. Thus, grieving relatives cut their hair short, blackened their faces with tar, and endured other defacement in order to become a less appealing companion for their disembodied relatives.

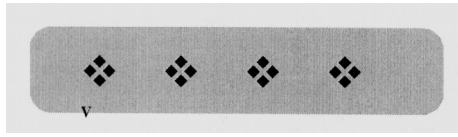


Breath, 75). M. S. Qiliqutayiwit tells her own version of these events when she saw Samuyatuas' soul moving outside the house several nights in a row. Harrington wrote: "Maria is sure that it was Rafael's soul. He lived a few days longer and then died" (Blackburn, December, 297). It is interesting that Qiliqutayiwit described this disembodied spirit of her relative as *'Ahasis*. See **Soul** and **Ghost** in the glossary for related discussions.

Christian lore is filled with examples of the dead appearing in visions or directly in front of a group of people. They often are relatives or recently deceased friends who give advice to the living and then disappear. Such communications with the dead do not have the same roots as **Necromancy** which is the practice of foretelling the future by cutting open sacrificial animals and looking at their internal organs for signs. One root of **Necromancy** is *Necro*, a Greek term meaning 'a dead body', as in a corpse. This is not at all what is happening in the Chumash narratives cited above [which are closer to the Shakespeare play called *Hamlet*, where the hero Hamlet is advised by his dead relative].

⁷⁵ (Blackburn, December, 99; Qiliqutayiwit). See **Burn: Things of Recently Deceased** for related discussion.

Chapter 6



The Western Gate

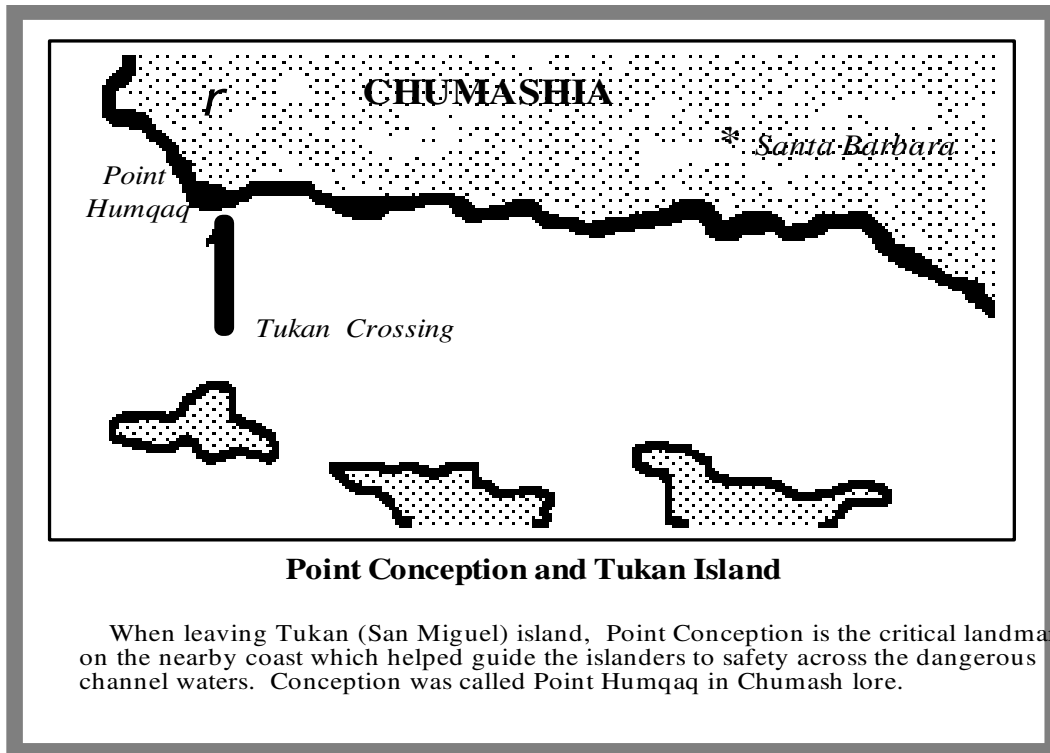
If you look at a map of California, you can follow highway 101 as it leads west from Los Angeles. After you leave Ventura and Santa Barbara, the freeway runs along the coast and gives you a spectacular view of the Chumash offshore islands. The scenery is so lovely you don't want it to stop looking at it, but suddenly the freeway turns north through the Gaviota pass.

If you do not drive up the Gaviota pass, but instead leave your car at a rest stop or a nearby state park and begin walking overland, you will eventually come to Point Conception. This point is one of the most important religious sites of the western Chumash. American ethnohistorians have long been puzzled by its importance to the Chumash, since it is not the westernmost point of land in Chumashia; that is Point Arguelo. Why has Point Conception and not Point Arguelo been identified by the Chumash Indians as the sacred Place of Ascension?

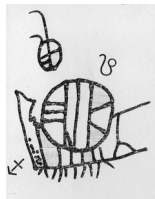
Qiliqutayiwit Talks About Point Conception

An old woman living among the Samala Chumash in the 1910's, M.S. Qiliqutayiwit, explained to John Harrington from the Smithsonian Institution the traditional funerary teachings that were handed down to her by her elders. She told Harrington that after death: "The soul goes first to Point Conception, which is a wild and stormy place. It was called *Humqaq*, and there was no village there. In ancient times no one ever went near *Humqaq*. They only went near there to make sacrifices at a great *Sawil*. There is a place at *Humqaq* below the cliff that can only be reached by rope, and there is a pool of water there like a basin into which fresh water continually drips. And there in the stone can be seen the footprints of women and children. There the spirit of the dead bathes itself. Then it sees a light to the westward and goes toward it through the air, and thus reaches the land of *Similaqsa*." ⁷⁶

76 (Blackburn, December, 98). Kitsepawit also used the direction west in his discussions of the soul. He said, for example, that: "The dead are born again. The souls of the dead go to the west" (Hudson, Breath, 73).



Qiliqutayiwit used the term **Gate** in association with Humqaq. She explained that a short time after the people from the town called Quemada saw a soul pass by on the coastal trail they heard a loud noise and believed that it was "the sound of the closing of the gate of Similaqsa as the soul entered." ⁷⁷



⁷⁷ (Blackburn, December, 99). Qiliqutayiwit's "closing of the gate" language reflects her Catholic training in which the entrance into the Christian heaven is protected by a golden gate. Traditional Chumash did not believe that there was literally a gate at Point Humqaq. It was instead known as a place of

ascension, which in some literature is called a Jumping-off Place. The soul leaps from the cliff at Point Humqaq to leave the surface of the earth in a flight which takes it to the portal of the setting sun.

For over two decades American scholars have debated whether there was a Western Gate in the Point Humqaq area. Haley/Wilcoxin's highly controversial 1997 article "Anthropology and the Making of Tradition" led the denial faction. Unfortunately, leading anthropological publications persisted in featuring scholarly debates over a 'gate' at this site when its role as a traditional Jumping-off Place was indisputable. It appeared that the Vandenberg Air Force base's concerns with keeping open space around its nuclear launching pads overshadowed scholarly defense of Chumash religious freedom.



Was Point Conception Familiar to the Newly Released Soul ?

Residents of towns on the Chumash Channel would sometimes see the eerie lights of souls, moving along nearby coastal trails in the evening. Normally, traditional Chumash avoided contact with these souls so as to not interfere with their progress to Point Humqaq.

Living townspeople were warned, however, that not all these apparitions were souls of the dead! Thus they had a moral obligation to sometimes block the souls' paths! Chumash Traditionalists took such extraordinary actions only when they believed that the souls they saw were desperately sick individuals [near to death] who still had a chance to recover.

A narrative by M.S. Qiliqutayiwit described, for example, how the residents of the coastal town of Suschuch (Quemada) sometimes recognized the soul of a sick person moving along a path near their town. Believing that this soul was not destined to die, they tried to frighten it back to its body by clapping their hands and making a general commotion. "Sometimes the soul would respond and turn back, and other times it would simply swerve a little from its course and continue on to *Similaqsa*.. When the soul turned back, as it sometimes did, anyone who might have recognized it would hurry to the village where the man whose soul it was lived, and if the sick man then drank a lot of tolache (datura) he might recover and not die."

Suschuch was a seaport located west of Santa Barbara, just before highway 101 turns up *Onomoyo* (Gaviota) pass. It was named *Quemada* by the Spanish, meaning a place of burning fire. Some historians attribute this Spanish name to the town and/or canyon having been burned when the first Spanish visited it. It is also possible that *Quemada* is a translation of the native place name (*Suschuch*) which has the root *Sixut* meaning to burn (Tsmuwich, 26).

When a Chumash person was near dying, their soul often wandered as in Qiliqutayiwit's narrative. Thus these souls may have previously visited the region near Point Humqaq, either in this life or in a previous incarnation. Some may have gotten as far as Shishulop (old Cojo) or even to the Humqaq shrine itself, before returning to their sick bodies. The whole coast near Humqaq may therefore have been familiar to them long before their final visit."

Sacrificing at the Shrine

The exact location of the Humqaq shrine (*Sawil*) mentioned by Qiliqutayiwit has not been determined, nor the specific nature of the sacrifices brought there to honor the dead. Food offerings and prayer feathers would be appropriate oblations, symbolizing the flight of the soul and the well wishes of the living for the nourishment of relatives still residing in the celestial heaven in preparation for reincarnation.⁷⁸ The Chumash called the person who made such sacrifices a *Hulalalusaqsi*.⁷⁹

The Western Gate And The Heavenly Pathway

Nomenclature appropriated from the Chumash Indians by the commercial aerospace industry.

The Western Commercial Space Center (WCS) was built on the Chumash coast at the Vandenberg Air Force Base, near the ancient Chumash town of Lompoc.

Point Humqaq is located only thirteen miles south of this newly constructed commercial spaceport facility. WCS promoted itself as the original California Spaceport Authority and described itself as "the gateway to commercial space operations on the west coast," i.e. commercial aerospace's Western Gate.

Chumash Traditionalists identified the Point Humqaq religious complex as their spiritual Western Gate long before the commercial spaceport was built. But the Chumash have recently been criticized by some scholars for using the phrase Western Gate.

This was, indeed, an ironic situation. I would consider it bordering on cynicism when the commercial aerospace industry not only continued to use the Chumash terminology of the **Western Gate**, but has also appropriated native American 'path' (way, highway) nomenclature for its commercial purposes. One of the California Spaceport's promotional releases, for example, stated: "The objective of the Western Commercial Space Center is to integrate the statewide infrastructure supporting the industry into a Highway to Space" (Space Center's webpage, June 1998).

78 The exact location of the Humqaq Shrine has not been determined by American scholars. There is good reason to believe, however, that the shrine (a *Sawil*) described by Qiliqutayiwit was not in the immediate vicinity of Point Humqaq but is located in a larger Humqaq religious complex. Wilcoxon and Haley surprisingly reinforce this argument when they reported that an archaeological survey by Glassow (1978) "found no evidence of a shrine, though there are a dozen prehistorical archaeological sites on the Coast Guard property" (Anthropology, 773; footnote 18).

The key here is, of course, Haley & Wilcoxon's restriction of their search to the Coast Guard Property. Others (including traditional Chumash familiar with the area) could look at Glassow's findings and conclude that the shrine was located farther from Point Humqaq, i.e. that the area of the religious complex was greater than Haley and Wilcoxon have acknowledged.

79 *Hul'a'alus'aqsi* is a Chumash term for 'a sacrificer' (Blackburn, December, 205). The suffix *Aqsi* is probably a variant of *Axksh*, meaning 'to give' (Tsmuwich, 5). *Aks* means 'to give' (Samala, 519). See Appendix F for a critique of Haley and Wilcoxon's commentary on the Point Humqaq shrine.

Preparation at Humqaq Pool

Qiliqutayiwit described the souls of the dead cleansing themselves at the Humqaq Pool, which was fed by a nearby fresh water spring.⁸⁰ The emphasis of this water purification, as opposed to the smoke purification described earlier, is the final cleansing away of physical body from the soul.⁸¹

Once purified by water, it is interesting to consider what the soul did next to prepare itself to move through the threshold, or portal, which led into the Upper World.

Kitsepawit provided a provocative hint, when he recorded a reincarnation narrative taught to him by Pamaskimait, a Chumash philosopher. This narrative appears in the last chapter of *Enememe's Friends* where two mourners console one another after the death of a friend. One of the mourners advises the other

go and look into the Mirror of the Sea. "The clear light of the sun on the sea is a mirror that enables you to see with clarity all that is within you. That is all. When you enter that ocean you go to the last resting place. That is the end. One person dies, and another resurrects to take his place. We are here in this world looking at the mirror of the sun."⁸² Kitsepawit makes no further commentary on the Mirror of the Sea, but any reader who is familiar with trance-inducing techniques knows that the sparkling of light on water helps a meditating person enter into a deep trance. It is very probable that the soul of the Chumash dead at Humqaq used this technique to prepare itself for its flight into the Upper World.

Newspaper Coverage About the Western Gate

Mainstream newspapers in the Chumash area of Southern California have a questionable track record for coverage of minority issues. A 1997 article called "Point of Contention" provides a particularly interesting example of what I consider biased coverage of the Chumash by the *Santa Barbara News Press*. A story by Melinda Burns concluded that a newly released paper by archaeologist L. Wilcoxon and anthropologist B. Haley "casts doubt" about the authenticity of Point Conception as a traditional Chumash shrine of the dead. The reader was led to believe that the sacredness of Point Conception was made up by unscrupulous whites. "Wilcoxon and Haley said the story of the Western Gate snowballed with the help of anthropologists, the media, followers of New Age religions, and authors of books..."

Haley and Wilcoxon are quoted as claiming that the Western Gate at Point Conception "is not a Chumash concept. It wasn't coined by the Chumash." This is a very puzzling denial, since the Smithsonian Institution ethnographer John Harrington cited M. Qiliqutayiwit as explicitly describing "the gate" which shut behind the Chumash souls of the dead after they left Humqaq and ascended into the heavens.

Anyone familiar with the theology of native Californians would immediately recognize the authenticity of Qiliqutayiwit's 'gate' phraseology. It is a Euro-Christian variant of the innumerable native American spiritual tales and songs which refer to a doorway, a portal, which leads into the supernatural realm.

See *Western Gate* in the glossary For related commentary

80 See *Humqaq Pool* in the glossary for a related discussion.

81 Smoke was used by the Chumash to cleanse away spiritual corruption (an ephemeral substance). Water was used to cleanse the physical body (a dense material substance) and to neutralize the power of the soul (i.e. water puts out fire).

82 (Anderson, *Enememe's Friends*, 15).

Point Humqaq Controversy

In 1997, the *Journal of Current Anthropology* published an article which caused consternation in traditional native Chumash circles, because it was perceived as an academic challenge to the sacredness of the area around Point Humqaq. The authors classified Humqaq as a religious shrine of importance only to the local Chumash, and implicitly denied that the area around the point was deserving of federal protection as an ancient pan-Chumash gateway into the supernatural.⁸³ A number of Chumash traditionalists commented negatively on this publication and associated it with advocacy for continued development of a spaceport near Humqaq.⁸⁴

Point Conception, as a gateway into the heavens, lies outside of my previous research interests which focused on creeks and rivers as the 'standard' paths used by ancient Chumash souls on their way to the ocean.⁸⁵ But like many other ethno-historians, I have been curious about the special status of Point Humqaq, which was not located in a major river delta. Perhaps this site gained special historical and sociological significance as a result of the relationship of the Chumash islanders to Humqaq. It is known,

83 Haley & Wilcoxon argued that the shrine at Point Humqaq was only of local significance.

84 Mike Khus-Zarate published an article titled "Humqaq" in the Fall 1998 edition of *Native Californian*. Khus-Zarate (Coastal Band Chumash and a member of the federal Advisory Council on California Indian Policy) described the spaceport being built near Humqaq and other development projects in the area as "ongoing threats to Humqaq" (26). James Leon (Bakersfield Chumash Council) commented: "Anthropologists have no right to pass judgment on any of our people. Native people don't accept it." (26). Larry Garnica (Coastal Band Chumash) responded to the debate among anthropologists over their legal role in interpreting Chumash archaeological sites by stating: "I think the proper role for all Native peoples is to gain control over their own cultural resources" (26).

In their reply to their critics in *Current Anthropology* (Aug-Oct 1998) Haley and Wilcoxon quoted Elaine Schneider, spokesperson for the Santa Ynez Chumash reservation's Elders' Council, as locating the commercial spaceport facility 13 miles from Point Humqaq as "within the Western Gate". She was one of several people, according to Haley and Wilcoxon, who made similar statements (506).

85 If the souls of the Chumash dead flowed downstream, like water, then they eventually ended up at the delta of the river drainage in which they were buried. Major Chumash river deltas include the junction of the Cuyama and Sisquoc (Santa Maria river mouth near Guadalupe), Santa Ynez (Vandenberg Air Force Base: see Lompoc), Santa Clara (between Oxnard and Ventura), Malibu and Hueneme (mouth of an underground river).

Each of these deltas, according to this model, would deserve special consideration as important native American religious sites. They may have served as ascension places (see *Kasunalmu* in the glossary for further discussion) for prehistoric Chumash souls entering the heavens. This flowing soul model would suggest the presence of ascension shrines at or near the mouths of major river deltas. *Wasna* Peak, an important gateway into the heavens, is a well-known example.

But this model (soul-flowing-like-water and delta *Kasunalmu* status) does not necessarily repudiate Point Conception as a singular western 'gate.' It is conceivable that by historic times, Point Humqaq's veneration had increased sufficiently that it became the only *Kasunalmu* for disembodied Chumash souls. Under this model, the soul may leave the various river deltas and move along the coast until it reaches Point Conception.

According to both of these models the souls of some of the most northerly relocated Chumash in the later Mexican and early American colonial periods may not have ascended into the heavens from Point Conception. The souls of some Tejon Reservation Chumash, buried in the San Joaquin river drainage for example, may have followed the San Joaquin river to the mouth of San Francisco bay after recapitulation. Following the same logic, the souls of some Stishni Chumash, who were intermarried with families living in the Salinas river basin may have followed this riverine path far to the north to its mouth near Monterey. This model may partially explain why a significant number of Chumash cowboys who drove cattle herds to Monterey, stayed there and settled down among non-Chumash native communities (i.e. their dead shared a common river delta with their new neighbors, from which they ascended into the heavens).

for example, that the islanders typically did not navigate directly to the mainland from their home islands but instead navigated east or west until they could cross from either Tukan or Anacapa island.

Travelers heading to seaports on the eastern Chumash coast crossed from Anacapa island, and those visiting western seaports crossed from Tukan island. Since we are not interested in the eastern crossing in this debate over Humqaq Point, I suggested that my Chumash colleagues carefully examine the idiosyncrasies of the Tukan crossing. First of all, it is important to know that this area of the channel



is exposed to severe ocean storms and high wave conditions; it is even less protected than the Anacapa crossing. Thus the island boatmen risked potential drowning if they misjudged the ocean conditions at this crossing and got lost in a storm. This was especially true if the sailors strayed westward toward Point Arguelo, which was dreaded for its dangerous weather conditions caused by exposure to the colder waters of the northern Chumash coastline. By staying east of Point Conception, however,

Chumash sailors would reach a safe and predictable haven.⁸⁶

And, of course, a reversal of this rule of navigation applied when they crossed in the opposite direction to return home to the islands. I propose that in time, this customary use of Humqaq as an earthly point of embarkation to the islands was overlaid onto their spiritual beliefs.

Point Humqaq was surely venerated by the Chumash islanders, according to this theory, for hundreds if not thousands of years before Qiliqutayiwit's commentary to Harrington.⁸⁷ And it would not be surprising if western Chumash seaports (under Tukan island's socio-political influence) recognized Humqaq as their primary shrine for the soul's crossing over the waters. The soul did not ascend directly upward to the Land of the Dead, for such a flight was too vigorous for the recently dead soul. Instead it took a circuitous but safer route. It entered the Sanddollar portal, located where the Sun set. Afterward it followed the Sun in its subterranean journey east where it emerged at the portal of the Rising Sun. From this position, it ascended again and began a journey on the Milky Way, which was the soul's primary route to the Land of the Dead.

This tradition of a western shrine from which the soul flew over the ocean to a portal associated with the setting Sun, was undoubtedly wide-spread among the Chumash. And Humqaq's sanctimony surely did not decline after the islanders were caught up in the intrigues of Spanish and Mexican colonialism. This was the period of the California Holocaust when they were eventually forced to work in the missions on the mainland.

When the islanders were integrated into the mainland populations, they continued to serve as leaders of the Chumash underground dedicated to the preservation of their Chumash culture. More than ever before, their religious beliefs about Point Conception became universalized among the Chumash living in the missions. We do not know to what degree this island reverence for Point Conception spread among the Mountain Chumash, but it would not be surprising if it was widely venerated among inland groups even beyond the Chumash. This would have been especially true of the Kitanemuk, Tataviem, and Yokut allies of the Chumash who signed the Tejon treaty of 1851. All of these groups were in contact with Chumash islanders, who intermarried and fought for the mountain bands against the Mexicans.⁸⁸

86 Compare this use of Point Humqaq by modern sailors to its use by the souls of the Chumash who jumped from the Humqaq cliffs in pursuit of the safe haven of Similaqsa, the Chumash land of the dead.

87 Dr. John Johnson, anthropologist at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, dates Chumash occupation of their ancestral territory to ten thousand years. The use of Point Conception as a 'Jumping-off point' for ocean trips from the mainland to Tukan island would surely date back to the beginning of island occupation.

88 This model of the veneration of Point Conception (and its hypothetical spread throughout the Chumash populations) is based on socio-political influences rather than strictly spiritual mechanisms.

It is also possible that in very ancient times, other sites along the northern Chumash coast may have served a similar function as a jumping-off place for the souls of the dead. Speculation on this point is especially interesting for *Wasna*, which apparently served as the Chumash ritual Mountain of the West.

Into The Supernatural

I often use the terms 'door', 'doorway', or 'opening' to describe the spiritual portals or gates which provided Chumash religious leaders entrance into the mythic realm (the Other World). Joseph Campbell speaks of these openings into the supernatural as protected by "threshold guardians." If you are not familiar with Campbell's books, I recommend them as an insightful introduction to world mythology. Campbell's concept of the threshold guardian is a valuable ethnological model for readers interested in understanding the ritual role played by the Raven on the path of the dead.

In the part of the path of the dead called the Ravine, the newly dead soul continues to be cleansed of physical corruption by the Raven, serving as a threshold guardian. Later this venerable spirit would continue to assist the soul as it traveled in the lower levels of the Path of the Dead, helping them exchange their earthly eyes (organs for seeing during life on earth) for supernatural eyes (organs for seeing in the Other World, symbolized by the poppy flower which was placed on the eyes of the Chumash dead). See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson, 1997) for further discussion of poppy symbolism in Chumash folk lore.

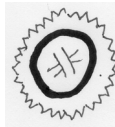
Pomo cosmology, from northern California, provides many interesting examples of portals or thresholds which lead into the supernatural realm. S.A. Barrett, like Qiliqutayiwit, uses the term "gate" in describing a hole in the sky which led into the "Upper World". Barrett recorded a number of myths describing the snakes which guarded these doorways, as in a myth about the House of the Sun whose doorway was guarded by rattlesnakes. The beneficial role of such supernatural portals is clearly evident in Pomo myths about the Closing Tree which is described as a grandfather. The grandfather was a helping figure in Pomo culture, sympathetic and non-threatening.

For the Pomo, the Pacific ocean served as a "water boundary" in the west. Chumash cosmology was based on a similar model of the world, in which the soul seeking to reach an abode in the western sky had to cross the ocean waves. Timi taught Kitsepawit that the soul followed the setting sun, entering a portal, symbolized by a Sanddollar. Thus Qiliqutayiwit described the soul as traveling as far west as possible on the mainland, then leaping from a cliff and soaring above the watery barrier of the ocean to rise (*Kut'a*) upward to begin its journey on the celestial path of the dead."

It should also be remembered that exiled Tongva islanders lived among the Tejon Chumash bands. Unfortunately no specific Tejon depositions spoke to the Point Humqaq issue. It is possible that a San Pedro landmark served a similar function for the Tongva, but nothing to this effect has been preserved in any records I have seen. It is also possible that the Humaliwu Chumash recognized a Jumping-off place somewhere on the Malibu coast. That would not be the case, however, if Humaliwu and Tongva souls traveled west to Point Conception to ascend from the mainland. Such pan-tribal movement along the coast to Point Humqaq is not inconsistent with the religious logic of the Point Conception shrine.

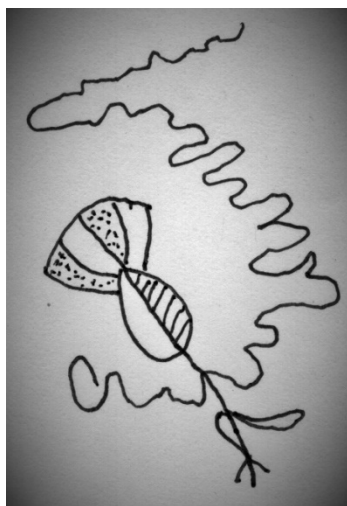
See *The Yokut Shield* (Anderson, 1995) for further information on Chumash and other native fighting forces, who resisted the holocaust conditions in coastal California.

Hypothesis: *Humqaq* Point was a site of major geopolitical importance to the Chumash islanders and to their trading partners on the Chumash mainland. After generations of use as a strategic ocean crossing, *Humqaq* came to symbolize the mythological 'crossing' of the soul seeking reincarnation. Qiliqutayiwit's description of Point Conception as a sacred "gate" was, in accordance with this thesis, an attempt by her, in her talks with the ethnographer John Harrington, to Europeanize its traditional role as a "doorway" for the soul's journey into the afterlife.⁸⁹



89 My focus in this text is on Point *Humqaq*, but the reader should be aware that the eastern crossing from Anacapa island to Hueneme was also rich in cultural heritage.

The fresh water river which surfaced at Hueneme and flowed far into the salt waters of the ocean presents a fascinating source of mythological speculation. Though we lack hard ethnographic data about this very unusual ocean-river, I remain interested in the possibility that this eastern crossing was a mirror image of the *Tukan* island to *Humqaq* crossing in the west. If this ritually inverted model is correct, then the Anacapa-to-Hueneme crossing may have been associated with the east, birthing, and theological symbolism linked to the breaking of the water sack (out flowing of waters; as in the outflowing of the underground Hueneme river).

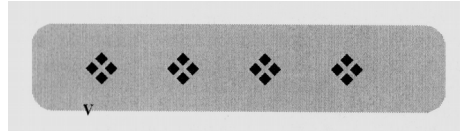


Humqag As a Portal into the Other World

*“The Jumping-off Place on the Humqag cliffs
serves as a portal into the supernatural.”⁹⁰*

⁹⁰ (Cosmology, Anderson, 97; glossary term ‘Portal’; *Mitip’in* means ‘a doorway’ [a portal] (Tsmuwich,8). *Mitipi’n* (Samala, 223). *Swey* means ‘an opening’ (Tsmuwich, , 72; the root is *Wey* meaning ‘to be open’).

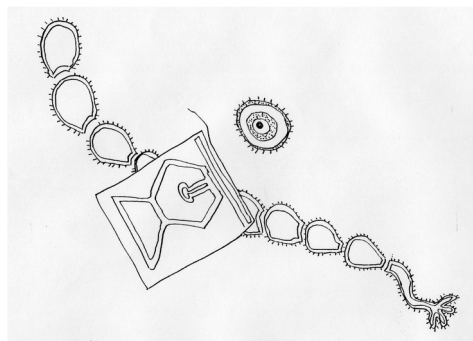
Chapter 7



Footprints, Water Bathing, and Reincarnation

Point Humqaq was named after the *Qaq*, the Ravens. These birds, and their close relatives the crows, are honored in folk lore throughout the world in association with death and decay.⁹¹

Qiliqutayiwit does not explain in any detail why Point Humqaq is named after the raven. But she does reveal later in her narrative that Chumash souls meet two Ravens on the path of the dead. Presumably, the name *Humqaq* was given in honor of these celestial Ravens. The mystical role of these birds is considered in detail in a later text in this series. In this commentary, the reader learns how the Raven's seemingly cruel behavior actually proves to be beneficial to the soul. But for now let us focus on matters closer to hand - the footprints and the fresh water spring located at the shrine.



91 Compare **Crone** which means 'a withered old woman'. It has a French root meaning 'carrion' or 'crow'. **Carrion** has a Latin root, meaning 'carcass' and thus referring to a decaying body.

The Footprints

Next to the pool of water where the soul cleanses itself at Humqaq is a rock where the footprints of women and children can be seen.⁹² The exact location of this pool and its associated 'prints' have not been revealed by Chumash Traditionalists, but the footprints presumably assure the soul that it is on the right track. It should continue to look for other footprints after it ascends into the heavens, and becomes a celestial tracker, an '*A'laltishikshnash*, to survive in the difficult journey ahead.⁹³

Washing the Soul in Fresh Water

92 "And there in the stone can be seen the footprints of women and children" (Blackburn, December, 98; Qiliqutayiwit).

93 '*Alaltishikshnash* means 'a tracker' (Tsmuwich, 33). *Tishik* is a root term meaning 'to track', as in footprints and animal tracks (Tsmuwich, 33; thus *Tisik'* in Samala, meaning 'to recognize', 566, 'to know a person'). *'Il* means 'foot' (62); as in the demonic phrase *Paka Asil* which refers to a one footed devil. Compare *Si'yi* meaning 'to miss the mark' as in shooting an arrow. It probably has the same root as *Wi'wi* which means 'to lose one's way' (39).

The soul does not serve as a tracker as it flies up from Point Humqaq, for the other souls preceding it were also flying through the air. They found their way not by footprints but by the brilliant light of the setting sun in the west.

As mentioned earlier, Qiliqutayiwit described the Humqaq pool as being located below a cliff which kept ordinary humans from gaining access to the sacred waters.⁹⁴ And it was in this pool of water, called a *Kepmu'*, that the soul bathes itself for the last time before ascending into the heavens.⁹⁵

Water is a purifying agent in native American mythology. *Liyo* means 'a deep pool of water', as in the place name *Mashliyo*.⁹⁶ Such pools are womb symbols, representing the female principle.⁹⁷ Thus the Chumash soul, which is reborn out of the pool at *Humqaq* is 'water born' like all newborn humans entering the physical world from the womb of their mother. The soul is refreshed after its bath and tidying up.⁹⁸ In Jungian terms the soul is on the threshold of transformative experience, one that leads upward into the realm of the collective psyche, the supernatural.

94 Qiliqutayiwit confirmed that access to the Humqaq Pool was made impossible for living humans, except by a rope (Blackburn, December, 98; Qiliqutayiwit; it was baptismal pool "that can only be reached by a rope"). She also reported to John Harrington that: "The soul goes first to Point Conception... it was called humqaq, and there was no village there. In ancient times no one ever went near humqaq. They only went near there to make sacrifices at a great sawil" (98).

These comments by Qiliqutayiwit, as written down in Harrington's field notes, demonstrate the great difficulties facing anyone trying to interpret surviving documentation on the Chumash. Harrington's field notes, which are a treasure trove of information on the Chumash, are not objective data but rather partial and frustratingly subjective in interpretation.

Did Qiliqutayiwit mean to imply, for example, that there was no "village" at Point Humqaq, or at the Humqaq Pool, or at the Humqaq Cliff, or at the Humqaq Shrine, or anywhere in the Greater Humqaq Religious Complex? From the context of the comment, it appears that she meant simply that there was no village at Point Conception, which is consistent with the archaeological record. But we do know that there was a very large seaport called *Upop* (also *Xexo*, *Cojo*) just three miles to the east on the coast. It would not be surprising if Qiliqutayiwit knew of this historically famous seaport, since many Chumash islanders and mainland people from the area of *Upop* were enrolled at the Santa Ynez mission, where Qiliqutayiwit's family resided. It is conceivable therefore that she not only knew of the socio-political importance of *Upop* but may also have known of this town's presumed spiritual relationship to the Greater Humqaq religious complex.

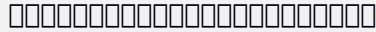
But Harrington's field notes do not record whether Qiliqutayiwit said anything about this more complex subject of the relationships of the Chumash towns in this region to the *Humqaq* area shrines. It is admittedly possible that she did not know much about the existence of *Upop* or any other town in the region except *Sushuch* (*Sisac'i'i*) which she mentions explicitly in her commentary on *Humqaq*. But this is very unlikely.

We simply don't know her motivations, the amount of trust she put in Harrington, the context of this specific discussion with Harrington, etc. Yet the absence of further commentary has been used by Wilcoxon and Haley in their publications to argue that the religious complex (shrine, cliff, spring, pool, footprints, etc.) was only of importance to local Chumash and was restricted to the immediate Point Conception area protected by the Lighthouse designation as a Historic Preservation Site (Santa Barbara County). Wilcoxon and Haley argue, for example, that Qiliqutayiwit did not avoid visiting Point Humqaq, but went to the lighthouse facility to help a woman birth a child. They cite another visit in which Maria bathed with other women in tidal pools and put her foot in the rock 'footprints' of the dead (Anthropology, 772; footnote 15; see Harrington's field notes 0506-0514).

Each of these stories is incomplete and filled with subjects of speculation rather than proof of Qiliqutayiwit's insincerity toward her ancestor's beliefs about *Humqaq*. An obvious example is why Qiliqutayiwit and other women would lower themselves down a cliff by ropes to bathe in Humqaq pool, if it was indeed located in a precipitous area. Were they instead in more easily accessible pools, looking for holes in the nearby rocks that looked like footprints? Would Qiliqutayiwit avoid the sacred pool? I don't know the answers, but I do think it is clear that no one else knows either because the Harrington notes are simply too cryptic for specific analysis.

Haley and Wilcoxon often presume that the absence of information written down by Harrington meant that the Chumash using Harrington as a consultant was ignorant of further facts. This is strictly a speculation on their part. Similar explanations have been used inappropriately by scholars who have dismissed contemporary Traditionalism as an "invented" culture. But their line of reasoning lacks an appreciation of the subjectivity of anthropological data. Perhaps, for example, Qiliqutayiwit went to *Humqaq* primarily to pray and make supplication at the *Humqaq* shrine.

The Deer and the Matavenado



Kitsepawit told John Harrington that an insect called the *Matavenado* in Spanish, introduced death and reincarnation instead of eternal life. This insect argued that the earth would become overcrowded unless animals died. Thus, the *Matavenado* saved the world from overpopulation, but was nevertheless punished by the Chumash who killed one when they could. Blackburn identified Kitsepawit's *Matavenado* as the Sand Cricket, which is a secretive nocturnal animal that does not make any noise. The Chumash call them *Qs'inin*.

The deer (a mammal living on the surface of the earth) was the primary source of protein for the Chumash, especially away from the coast where deer hunting is most important. And special hunting prayers of appeasement were spoken over the bodies of dead deer in hopes of persuading their reincarnated souls to return to the same hunting grounds.

European mythology is also filled with narratives which feature the deer and death. In some Celtic narratives, for example, the Deer is the guardian spirit which leads the souls of the dead to the other world. The Celtic goddess *Flidass* rides a chariot drawn by deer, as does the Nordic Santa Claus who flies through the air during the winter solstice in a sled drawn by magically flying deer. The Nordic solstice, and the derivative Christian Christmas, are holidays celebrating the rebirth or renewal of the solar child who is the new year.

White Deer canyon flows into the ocean at Pedernales Point located on the Pacific coast north of Point Humqaq, where the souls of humans ascend into the heavens. The canyon was called *Rinconado de Venado Blanco* by the Mexicans, perhaps after an ordinary deer or perhaps after the Deer of myth. It is possible, therefore, that this canyon's name has a theological connotation associated with death and that it is part of the greater Point Humqaq complex. This is also suggested by the presence of Tranquility (Tranquillon) mountain which is a sacred peak located in the canyon's upper reaches.

Kitsepawit made this canyon well known to students of Chumash history with his stories of raising sheep in and near this remote drainage. But the canyon is now called Honda by the Americans, referring to the deep cut made in the surrounding hills by this strong flow of water. The California Spaceport facility has been built in the lower reaches of this drainage, some thirteen miles north of Point Humqaq.

upward from Humqaq, it crossed over a threshold into the supernatural. See **Supernatural**.

Sumalku'y means 'a womb' (Samala, 207; one root is *Kuy* meaning 'to contain'). See **Womb**.

98 *Kep'* means 'to bathe' (Tsmuwich, 13; also means 'to wash'). As in the place-name *Kaskep* meaning 'a bathing place' (Harrington field notes). Compare *Soxyop* which means 'to wash' (Tsmuwich, 27); it probably has the same root as *Sto'yok* meaning 'soap' (27), presumably related to *Su'nuk* meaning 'the soap plant' (28). Compare *Suqi'lam* meaning 'to soak' (28).

Yee/Whistler do not list any terms meaning 'to refresh' ('to renew') in the Tsmuwich dictionary. *Axtawayan* means 'to refresh one's self' (Samala, 95, also means 'for water to be cool', 'to refresh oneself in the shade').

The final preparatory and symbolic act of the soul may have been to paint appropriate designs on the body. *Monus* means 'to paint' (Tsmuwich, 18; also means 'to spread on'); as in the Chumash place name *Monushmu* which means 'a place of paint'.

Cold Water as a Preparation

The reason for immersion in the waters at Humqaq Pool was not simply for cleansing, but apparently for another purpose as well. Immersion in cold water is associated with accessing power from a totem animal. If a Chumash youth had been properly educated, for example, they would learn how to seek the aid of a totem guardian by traveling into remote mountain areas where they underwent the rigors of a vision quest. They fasted and meditated by themselves, praying for help from a guardian spirit.⁹⁹ It is not known if the Chumash also took baths in freezing cold streams in the middle of the night like neighboring tribes, but this practice was widespread throughout the continent.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the cold spring at Point Humqaq also offered such a link to a guardian spirit. The Yokuts, who lived on the northern border of the Chumash, practiced immersion in cold streams during vision quests.¹⁰¹ Supplicants who could endure it took these baths in the middle of the winter!¹⁰² Such night baths were not only stimulating to the body, hardening the adolescent for the struggles that awaited them in adulthood, but they also had a religious function of making them able to bear extremes of cold when their souls had to walk on the path of the dead. This path was located high in the heavens, where a weak soul would be overcome by the cold and turn back before reaching the Land of Reincarnation. A properly hardened soul was used to the cold, and thought nothing of the temperatures of the heavens. In fact, it relished the prospect for it had been trained to appreciate this aspect of the heavens and to understand it as the natural condition of celestials.

If the Chumash observed practices similar to the neighboring Yokuts, then the soul sitting in the pool at Humqaq was preparing itself for a long journey, leaving behind its last attachment to its body warmth and the warmth of the Sun. As the darkness of night fell over Humqaq, the stars and planets appeared in the sky, luring the soul upward with their cold lights.

99 The Chumash encouraged their young to seek one or more guardian spirits during their initiatory vision quest. They called them *Qo*, a term which Yee/Whistler defined as a "pet or toy" (Tsmuwich, 24; as in the term *Qo'nush* which means 'a plaything'). But the guardian spirit is much more than a pet, for it is a being of awesome power which is anything but docile. The Samala dictionary defined *Qo* as "a clan animal" (292, 'a totem', 'a pet'); *Qoc* means 'to have a totem' (292, 'to have a pet').

Such guardian spirits were desirable allies, because they were supernaturals who could help a Chumash person overcome opposition from other supernatural forces. They are similar to Christian guardian angels (*Qilik* means 'to guard', 64). A Chumash person who wanted to become a spiritual leader would seek three or four of these celestial allies (Harrington).

Kakuya means 'a protector' and conveys many of the characteristics of the Chumash guardian spirit. *Kuy* is one root, meaning 'to hold onto', 'to grasp' (14) with the connotation that the guardian spirit held onto the protected human soul, i.e. would not abandon it for trivial cause.

100 Bathing in cold streams during vision quests is a common practice among American tribes, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

101 The Samala Chumash called the Yokuts by the name *Smilimolic* which means 'northerners'. But this term also applied to other northern neighbors of the Samala who were not Yokuts.

102 Applegate provided an interesting introduction to the role of the guardian spirit among the Chumash neighbors, especially the Yokuts ('Atishwin, 33). Applegate implied that the Chumash did not practice immersion in cold water by the colonial era. But the immersion of the Chumash soul in the pool at Humqaq suggests a tradition predating European influence.

Bathing in Water and Rebirth

The water at Humqaq Pool is a variant of the world-wide tradition of the renewing waters, as in the fountain of youth folk tales familiar to Euro-American readers. In many of these myths, the magical pool or spring of renewal is located in the west.¹⁰³ Thus the Chumash soul is being baptized in the holy waters at Humqaq, a washing away of earthly affairs.¹⁰⁴

Pamaskimait tells how *Snilemun*, the celestial Coyote, proposed giving humans renewed youth. Old people would be immersed in a magic lake, which would make them young again.¹⁰⁵ The Sand Cricket successfully opposed Coyote's plan in this folk tale, but the proposed use of a magical pool confirms their importance in Chumash mythology. A magic pool, for example, appears in book two in this series on Chumash reincarnation. A visiting soul enters the Land of the Widows on its journey on the path of the dead. It discovers that the supernatural Widows are kept eternally young by immersion in a celestial lake.¹⁰⁶

Water is a healing and cleansing element in world mythology. Cleansing ourselves (our souls) of outer sins (acts of missing the mark) begins fresh hope for the future.¹⁰⁷

103 In Celtic folk lore, for example, the magic water of renewal is associated with the west and typically is discovered only towards the end of a grueling adventure when the hero's soul needs renewal.

104 The term **Baptize** has a Greek root meaning to plunge, to immerse, and it has been adopted by Christian sects to mean a cleansing or washing away of sins. The Catholics and some Protestant sects baptize or ritually cleanse babies soon after birth, often through a ritual sprinkling of holy water. The Chumash souls immersed in the pool at Humqaq are like Baptists in some ways. The Baptists are a Protestant sect that believes that baptism should only be given to adult believers and by immersion rather than sprinkling.

105 "Coyote proposed throwing man into a lake when he got old and making him young again. But the *matavenado* said no, the earth would get too full of people and there would be no room to stand" (Blackburn, December, 96; Pamaskimait).

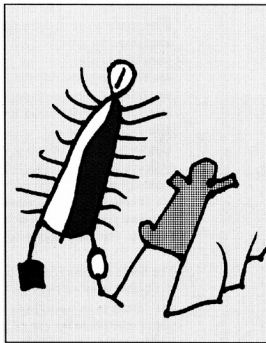
106 (December, 99, Qiliqutayiwit: "When the women there got old their friends dip them in a spring and when they awake they are young again").

107 The symbolism of cleansing the soul of ethical misdeeds is ancient and widely represented in folk lore across the globe. **Baptism** is not listed in the Tsmuwich dictionary, although it does translate *Sukep* to mean 'to bathe' (13, also means 'to wash'). Qiliqutayiwit was from the Samala language region, and she was raised with a Catholic background. The Catholic-biased Samala dictionary cited *Sukep* as 'to baptize' (175, also means 'to wash').



Concluding Remarks

Chumash Traditionalists believed that the souls of their relatives went to Point Humqaq, where they spiritually cleansed themselves and flew across the Pacific to begin the subterranean segment of their journey on the path of the dead. Qiliqutayiwit's commentary on these matters remains incomplete but worthy of further study. She grew up in a family which participated in Catholic services at the Santa Ynez Mission but also showed deep respect for Chumash Traditional beliefs.¹⁰⁸



108 The role of Traditionalism in so-called "Catholic" Chumash communities is poorly documented and often controversial in scholarly circles. This is certainly the case for Qiliqutayiwit and her family's role in the Santa Ynez Mission community. This group of Chumash eventually gained reservation status and became known as the Santa Ynez Reservation Chumash.

They play a key role in contemporary Chumash culture because they are the only federally recognized Chumash band with a land base in modern times (the Santa Barbara and Tejon Chumash had reservations which were taken from them by American governments). Their income from a gambling casino also provides them an economic base unequalled by other Chumash groups.

Haley and Wilcoxon described these so-called Catholic Chumash as "nontraditionalists" even though many Chumash on the reservation consider themselves Traditionalists (Anthropology, 767, footnote 10; the reservation Chumash are "with but a few exceptions" nontraditionalists). Haley and Wilcoxon went on to propose, to the utter puzzlement of many readers, that the nontraditional Chumash are more traditional than the Traditionalists.

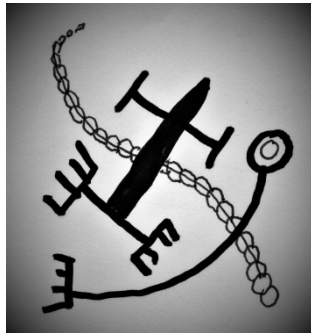
They also make the claim (Anthropology, 773; footnote 19) that Kitsepawit charged Qiliqutayiwit (Solares) with being less devout spiritually than her ancestors. She stated circa 1914 that "Indians anciently had more religion than people do now" (citing Harrington's field notes 07/0753). This pattern of less religion, they argue, includes Qiliqutayiwit "according to Librado" (Kitsepawit). But this is a dubious argument for dismissing pan-tribal belief in the great Point Humqaq religious complex.

Actually Kitsepawit did not say that Qiliqutayiwit lacked as much religion as her ancestors. Kitsepawit simply reported that when Qiliqutayiwit went to the Tejon Reservation to visit her Yokut relatives (and other Chumash families at Tejon) she was rejected by these relatives for spiritual training as a healer. They rejected her, not because she lacked as much religious faith as her ancestors, but because she had been trained in the Christian faith, which presumably disqualified her according to their strictures. For all we know, Qiliqutayiwit may have shown intense religious convictions in Traditionalism and/or Catholicism.

Part Two:

*Perilous Flight over the Pacific, Lure of Venus,
Descent through the Sanddollar Portal of the Setting Sun.*

***Wondering where” Kuta Teachings Part II” is?
To be added soon . . .***



Nor did Qiliqutayiwit necessarily say, as Haley and Wilcoxon claim, that all Chumash people lacked as much religion as her Traditional ancestors. Perhaps she meant that "people" generally, including white Christians, had less religious faith than her Traditional ancestors. Or perhaps she meant to say that her Christian relatives ("people" on the reservation) had less religious faith than her Traditional ancestors. We simply don't know her exact intentions in these remarks, but it is clear from this and other Harrington field notes that both Qiliqutayiwit and Kitsepawit had a great deal of respect for the depth of religious convictions ("more religion") of their Traditional ancestors.

Appendix A



Crystals In the Sky

Comments on a book by Hudson and Underhay

In 1978 Travis Hudson, the curator of the Santa Barbara museum of natural history, coauthored *Crystals In the Sky* with the astronomer Ernest Underhay. This groundbreaking book enriched the field of Chumash studies overnight. The authors deserve much credit for taking on such a difficult and speculative field of study.

Unfortunately for readers trying to understand fragmented data about souls ascending from Point Humqag to the Sanddollar portal, a number of their identifications of supernaturals confused the situation rather than clarified our understanding. The following comments are offered in the spirit of respect for both Hudson and Underhay for their model building which, though flawed, stimulated others to propose new models for discussion.

Venus is not the Eagle

It is helpful to begin with the mythological identification of the Evening Star in traditional Chumash cosmology. Hudson/Underhay speculated that the Chumash used the symbol of the Eagle for the Evening Star.¹⁰⁹ In their summary they theorized that Eagle as the Evening Star was the “perhaps” the ruler of the Land of the Dead. They described Eagle as “an all-important celestial being connected with death and after-life in the spirit world, and was a source of great supernatural power”.¹¹⁰

In *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) Eagle is associated with the North Star which is the unmoving axis of the upper heaven. He was indeed an all-important celestial being, for all the stars of the upper heaven (Inner Heaven) rotate obediently around him. Eagle brings order into the highest heaven. And he does not descend into the lower heavens to greet or lure reincarnating souls as they arrive from Point Humqag.

In their analysis the authors also speculated that the Chumash used their sun measuring instrument to influence Venus on the night of the winter solstice, to “pull” the sun back again.¹¹¹ But the role of the Evening Star was specific to the drama of the Sanddollar portal. The Evening Star as the

109 (Crystals, 154, glossary entry **Slo’w**, “possibly associated with Venus as the Evening Star”).

110 (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 97).

111 (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 97; “to ‘pull’ the sun back again”).

beautiful goddess *Xutash*, lured the soul into the portal of the underworld. It was the Morning Star which later lured the solar and human souls through the portal of the rising Sun.

Hudson/Underhay were correct when they reported that Mourning rituals were planned to correspond with the visibility of the Evening Star. At stake was the successful entry of the souls of the newly dead into the Sanddollar portal so they could take on the daunting task of traveling through the underworld to the portal used by the Morning Star and the rising sun.

The Evening Star Is Not Malevolent

Hudson/Underhay made a mistake in judging the Evening Star as occasionally malevolent, while characterizing the Morning Star as benevolent.¹¹² To the contrary, both aspects of the planet Venus played a constructive role in Chumash reincarnation theology. The Evening Star, with its awesome feminine beauty, lures the hesitant soul through the portal into the underworld. This is a major obstacle to a soul which had only recently released itself from a dying physical body. All of its life instincts were oriented to the health and preservation of this body. But the successful soul has to break from the past, overcome its dread of its body decaying. And it is the lovely Evening Star which uses its last sexual instincts to serve as a psychopomp, helping the soul begin its journey in the underworld.

Hudson/Underhay argued for an occasionally malevolent Evening Star because they mistakenly identified her with Eagle. As the ruler of the dead, they reasoned that potential malevolency. But neither the Evening nor Morning Star were elevated to the level of the Land of the Dead (Aquila). They were personas linked to the underworld and the lower heavens when they could be seen by human astronomers. Educated Chumash knew that both would serve them as a psychopomp, a helper of the soul in the dreaded underworld ordeal that all reincarnating souls must endure.

Earth and Sun were Not the Two Principal Gods

Hudson/Underhay described the Earth and Sun as “certainly” the two principal deities.¹¹³ To the contrary, Chumash astronomers considered it necessary to study a matrix of deities who competed in determining the fate of humans on the surface of the earth. And it is neither the Earth nor the Sun who led the two teams of gods described in *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson). Eagle is the leading god of one team, and *Snilemun* (the celestial Coyote) is the leader of the rival team.

The House of Fate (Anderson) recognized the Sun as a subordinate deity serving on Eagle’s team, and Morning Star as the rival subordinate who assisted *Snilemun*.¹¹⁴ The Earth is not mentioned in this accounting of the primary gods impacting human life.

112 The Evening Star is “occasionally malevolent” (Hudson/Underhay, Crystal, 143).

113 (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 142).

114 Hudson/Underhay mistakenly placed *Snilemun* (“Sky Coyote”) and Eagle (*Slo’w*) as subordinate to the Earth and Sun (Crystals, 142). They were in the same level of importance as Two Thunders. Contrary to this model, *Snilemun* and Eagle were the leaders, not followers.

Appendix B



Philosophy, Anthropology, Archaeology, Linguistics, and History

Comments on “Crystals in the Sky”

by authors Hudson and Underhay

Hudson and Underhay directly addressed the issue of objectivity and academic speculation: “Our findings are tentative and subject to reinterpretation, elaboration, or alternation.” In related commentary, they invited other scholars to join them in “the search for answers.”¹¹⁵

Hudson and Underhay concluded that Christianity failed the Chumash because it was unable to restore a cosmic balance.¹¹⁶

Hudson and Underhay claimed that the Chumash placed an “emphasis” on death and the afterlife.¹¹⁷ If what they meant by emphasis was to acknowledge the prominence of reincarnation theology in Chumash culture, then this statement was sound. Reincarnation was fundamental to the Chumash world view (*Nespi*). But it would be a mistake to characterize the Chumash as obsessed with death, for they were similar to most peoples in their capacity to enjoy life. In fact, the destiny of the vast majority of Chumash was to be reincarnated, and this would not be the case if they lived saintly lives without enjoying simple pleasure of living and succumbing to the temptations of the body.¹¹⁸

115 (Crystals, Hudson/Underhay, 12).

116 (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals 19; “Despite the teachings of the padres, Christianity was unable to restore an essential cosmic harmony...”

117 (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 84).

118 The majority of Chumash souls underwent many reincarnations, bringing them back into the social world they left. Only a relatively few saintly souls ascended into the heavens to dwell there forever and remain personally indifferent to the pleasures and woes of earthly life (*Reincarnation Theology: Chumash Indians of Southern California* (Anderson, Research Files, 2017).

Catholic Suppression of Religious Freedom

The Chumash intelligentsia were no doubt equally uncooperative when it came to exposing their beliefs and knowledge about the heavens to the priests, for they knew the reward would be public ridicule and harsh physical punishment.¹¹⁹

Economic Greed

Hudson and Underhay did not buy into the chamber of commerce mantra that the driving force behind the Spanish invasion of California was to bring Christianity to the heathen native Californians. They openly acknowledged that the primary Spanish goal was to expand their “economic empire”.¹²⁰

It is more than five decades since I graduated from high school, my life has been negatively impacted by the same forces which brought the Spanish holocaust to California. Economic forces dominated by corporate capitalism have reduced the academic and intellectual realm by stripping support from the humanities and commodifying ethical dialogue and intellectual discourse.

119 (Crystals, Hudson/Underhay, 16).

120 (Crystals, Hudson, 16; “Obviously, it was not the pursuit of knowledge among mankind that interested the priests, but rather reductionism. The goal was to educate each neophyte Chumash into becoming a productive, Christian member of the Spanish economic empire, whose body belonged to the crown and whose soul belonged to God.”).

Appendix C



Other Jumping-off Places

The Chumash use of Point Conception as a Jumping-off place for the soul to fly over the ocean is not unique:

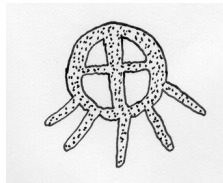
Miwok

Tomales point is a landmark associated with a coastal Miwok Jumping-off place.¹²¹ It is located on the coast just north of the Golden Gate bridge, and is now called the Point Reyes national seashore. In 1991 one coastal Miwok identified the specific Jumping-off shrine at a two foot long rocky spot.

The Miwok called the narrow point of land, which is the peninsula, the Hummingbird's bill (*Hookooeka*). A straight line of partly embedded rocks cuts across the peninsula. In one direction they point to Mount Saint Helena and in the other direction they point to the Farallon islands.¹²²

The Point Reyes national seashore declined to "interpret" the Miwok Jumping-off narrative, choosing to basically ignore the issue. Question about the Jumping-off tradition can be addressed to the recently federally recognized coastal Miwok group called the Graton Rancheria. It has five hundred member.

Greg Sarris, Chairman of jumping off sites in the region the dead going west.



the Coast Miwok, spoke of "several" coastal which are associated in myth with the souls of

The *Wikipedia* reported on this Jumping-off place, stating that the Miwok soul "followed something like a string leading west to the setting sun." It also spoke of the path of the dead leading eventually to the Miwok land of the dead.¹²³

Hawaii

The Jumping-off place, sacred to native Hawaiians, was on the most western point of Oahu Island.

121 Tomales point was known as the 'spirit jumping-off rocks'.

122 (baynature.org/2012/09/26/trail; by Jules Evens).

123 (Wikipedia.org/wik/Miwok/mythology).

Appendix D



The Body and Air Souls of Humans

See *Antik* and *Ahash* in the glossary
for relative commentary.

In earlier texts such as *When Demons Rule* (Anderson) multiple souls were considered as standard for the Chumash. The term *Ahash* was speculatively associated with “the heart, physical body, and bones”¹²⁴ and the *Antik* soul was designated as an air soul.¹²⁵ In later writings, however, the concepts of **Bone Soul** and **Air Soul** were replaced by **Embodied** and **Disembodied** phases of the same immortal soul. See *Ahash* and *Antik* in the glossary for related commentary.

* * * *

Like many other peoples of the world, the Chumash may have believed in more than one type of soul. This is a reasonable model but it cannot be verified by any specific statement in surviving narratives. Both the Tsmuwich and Samala dictionaries list two terms for *Soul* but describe them in similar terms.

The Tsmuwich provincial dictionary, for example, lists ‘*Antik* and *Ahash* as ‘soul’. ‘*Antik* is defined as ‘soul’, ‘life’, ‘heart, and ‘spirit’(2). And *Ahash* is defined as ‘soul’, ‘spirit, and ‘heart’ (1).

The Samala dictionary repeated much of this pattern, citing bot *Atik* and *Ahas* under **Soul**. It defined *Atik* as ‘soul’, ‘spirit (emotional)’, ‘heart’, ‘pulse’, ‘to recover’, ‘to get well’, ‘to heal’ (82). *Ahas* is defined as ‘soul’, ‘spirit’ (32; and ‘*Ahasis* means ‘ghost’).

Both provincial languages used these two terms for ‘soul’ (and for ‘spirit’ which appear to be synonyms with ‘soul’). Only the Tsmuwich dictionary, however, associated the ‘*Antik* with the heart and healing. And only the Samala dictionary associated *Ahash* with ‘ghost’.

Qilikutayiwit used the term ‘*Ahasis* for an embodied soul which had temporarily detached from its physical body and haunting the neighborhood. She described the ‘*Ahasis* as the “soul” of a dying relative and as a “spirit”.¹²⁶ In daylight, she explained, such a spirit phenomenon appeared as a floating white ball. In this same narrative another witness described the ‘*Ahasis* as a “beautiful white light”.

124 (When Demons Rule, Anderson, 21).

125 (When Demons Rule, Anderson, 22; “It presumably is the soul associated with air, the heavens, and reincarnation”).

126 (December, 297, “Spirit Lights”).

This evidence suggested that the ‘*Antik*’ was a stage of the soul when it is separated permanently from the physical body, as opposed to temporary separation in the *Ahash* stage experienced during sleep or a coma.

The distinction used in this text (Ahash/Antik) is helpful in understanding the Chumash traditional beliefs about the immortal soul and its association with the physical body.

But this distinction in the final analysis is only a convention which may be abandoned if a future lexicography finds a more useful word.

Appendix E



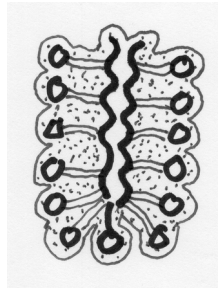
The Point Humqaq Shrine

The 1998 edition of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) contained long commentaries on Haley and Wilcoxon's unsubstantiated comparisons of dissimilar Chumash shrines with the Humqaq shrine. After Haley/Wilcoxon published "Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition" in *Current Anthropology* in 1997, I also wrote a series of internet criticisms of their scholarship on Point Humqaq. A number of these commentaries appeared in the 2011 edition of my book *Academic Nihilism and the Chumash Indians* (third edition, 2011).

Excerpt from Kuta Teachings

1998 edition:

"Haley and Wilcoxon very shrine with the shrine at Point Conception, as this world" (Anthropology, 774). It is very design and similar close proximity to an Point Conception or any of the other Mountain and Sacra Lake) leading to the



likely were mistaken to equate the *Iwayiki* a "place where the souls of the dead depart from doubtful that *Iwayiki*, or any shrine of a similar occupied town, served the same function as specifically identified 'gates' (such as Wasna Land of the Dead.

"The function of *Iwayiki* (described as a Depository for the Dead by Kitsepawit) was presumably as a 'trap' to lure the recapitulating souls of the newly dead away from their occupied town site. This depository was located to the west of *Shisholop* town [Ventura beach], perhaps to lead the soul in the right direction toward a Jumping-off place (leading into the heavens) such as Point Conception.¹²⁷ The central pole at each shrine was decorated with feathers presumably to encourage the soul to remember its destiny in the heavens, and it had large feathers marking off east and west to orient the soul which might be lost and confused.

"It can be helpful to compare this shrine to *Wasna* Mountain which is another known path or gateway into the heavens. In the case of *Wasna*, the role of a pathway into the heavens is explicit. I describe it in some of my writings as the Chumash Mountain of the West (according to this model: *Iwihinmu* is the central mountain and *Toshololo* is the eastern mountain). Hudson and Underhay identify it as "the actual

127 This 1998 reference to a native California "Jumping-off place" (Kuta Teachings, 37, footnote 38) stimulated later research on other native Jumping-off places around the Pacific. See **Jumping-off Place** in the glossary for related commentary.

path” leading into the Upper Worlds as opposed to the “spiritual pathway” which they apparently associate with Iwihinmu mountain (Crystals, 42).

“Hudson and Underhay presumably were relying on Qilikutayiwit’s description of a “road that leads to the sky” at or near Wasna (Blackburn, December, 130). But in my opinion it was no more “actual” than any other portal – each is a spiritual gateway for souls to enter the heavens. In Qilikutayiwit’s story Coyote returns from the sky, like the visionary soul which returns to its body. But the young man (the Fly) does not return to earthly life, but remains in the House of the Sun. This seems to imply that Wasna was a portal for the soul of dead humans, to enter the sky and remain there. But this is actually not the case. The young man is a cultural hero, acting in mythic time and is not an ordinary human. Qilikutayiwit confirms this in her opening statement that the story takes place “before the flood, when all the animals were people (126).

“In short, Wasna was not necessarily being described in this passage as a rival to Humqaq, i.e. as a portal or gateway, for the souls of dead humans into the heavens. Unlike human souls which are reincarnated in the traditional Chumash religion, the soul of this mythical character never returned to the earth through reincarnation (134; he “never returned to this world”).

* * * *

“Wilcoxon and Haley criticized other (non-Indian) scholars in 1997 for identifying Point Humqaq as a pan-Chumash western gate used by souls to enter the supernatural (Anthropology, 771). After the publication of this article, the Chumash bands were thrown into a disruptive period. Many Traditionalist leaders feared that Wilcoxon and Haley’s ‘findings’ might be used by the California Spaceport and other developers to challenge their ability to protect Chumash heritage sites. Within a period of months after the publication of the article Chumash from numerous bands were involved in a spirited dialogue over the importance of religious sites near Point Humqaq to their cultural heritage.

I am not privileged to the inner workings of band politics. But I was contacted by a number of Chumash concerned about the growing controversy. We discussed various aspects of the case. Did I think Elaine Schneider from the Santa Ynez Reservation was right when she testified that the spaceport had been built within the parameters of a Greater Point Humqaq religious complex (which she described as the Western Gate)? Why hadn’t the editors of *Current Anthropology* included Traditional Chumash among the December 1997 responses to Haley and Wilcoxon? Were any traditional Chumash invited to respond after the article was published? Didn’t Haley and Wilcoxon have fundamental conflicts of interests, since they had been on the payroll of the contractor which wanted to develop a major spaceport near Point Conception?

My response was generally negative toward Haley and Wilcoxon’s findings, which I considered rather contrived. It struck me as particularly odd, for example, that they described Maria Solares (whom I call Piliqutayiwit in some of my writings) as a Yokuts-Chumash. She was clearly a biological Chumash (with three-fourths Chumash ancestry) and she was fundamentally a Chumash sociologically. By misclassifying her as a Yokuts-Chumash, Haley and Wilcoxon inexplicably and unnecessarily challenged her claim to authentic knowledge about the Humqaq religious complex.

“In contrast, I find it remarkable that more than one Chumash Traditionalist chose to speak about Humqaq to white scholars. I thought that this was a significant indicator that it was an important site with pan-Chumash influence (or at least a tradition that went as far as Santa Barbara and Ventura). . .

“Thus I remained critical of Haley and Wilcoxon’s methodology and their reliance on fragmented and incomplete white (non-Indian) records to build their case as if these pitifully inadequate records were sufficient to gain understanding. They treat such written evidence as objective facts, when even the simplest description needs interpretation and the philosophical and mythological materials they are working with are, as Kitsepawit says, enigmatic.

“The paramount reality is that Point Conception was identified by M.S. Qiliqutayiwit and other Chumash as a gateway of the souls leading into the supernatural realm.¹²⁸ Haley and Wilcoxon acknowledge this as fact, but attempt to weaken the significance of this finding by citing other portals used by Chumash souls. But I consider this a straw dog tactic because Qiliqutayiwit and other Chumash Traditionalists never claimed Point Conception as the only portal into the heavens. They believed, as well as documented, that there were other supernatural portals located in the ancient Chumash territory.

“Wasna Mountain (located near the mouth of the combined Cuyama and Sisquoc rivers) is an important and well documented Chumash portal leading upward into the supernatural. Saca Lake, located near the Santa Ynez reservation is another portal (documented by Qiliqutayiwit), as are undoubtedly Iwihinmu and Toshololo mountains.

“But the point is that the surviving stories about these sites involve their use by *living* Chumash spiritual leaders whose souls temporarily separate from their bodies. But nowhere is there an equivalent narrative like the Humqaq story, which specifically identifies a site as a portal for the use of dead souls. In that interesting respect, Humqaq remains unique.” (*Kuta Teachings*, 1998 edition, page 40, footnote 93).

* * * *

Qiliqutayiwit identified the Humqaq shrine as a place where sacrifices were left. Related terminology includes:

Hul'a'alus'aqsi is a Chumash term for ‘a sacrificer’ (Blackburn, December, 205). The suffix *Aqsi* is probably a variant of *Axksh*, meaning ‘to give’ (Tsmuwich, 5). *Aks* means ‘to give’ (Samala, 519).

Yik also means ‘to give’ (Samala, 454; *Yikas* means ‘something given’) and it is the suffix of the place name *Iwayiki* which is a shrine located on the coast near Shisholop (on the Ventura coast).

128 Qiliqutayiwit’s use of the term **Gate** was a Christian intrusion into her narrative and was not a Traditional concept associated with Humqaq. See **Portal** and **Jumping-off Place** for related commentary.

Appendix F



The Sand Cricket, Deer, and Death

The 1998 edition of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) misidentified the Spanish California term *Matavendo* as a cicada. This fifth edition corrected that error to identify the Sand Cricket as the proper insect which brought death to humanity.

Footnote 123 of the 1998 edition brought together the relationships of the Sand Cricket, the Deer, and death. It identified Simplicio Pacaskimait as an extraordinary narrator of traditional Chumash myths. He was born in 1839 (December, 20, Blackburn) near the old Chumash seaport of Shisholop (Ventura beach). He was the preserver of his uncle Tata Xuse's brilliant folk tale featured in my short book called *Enememe's Friends* (1998, fifth edition). I wrote in 1998 that I considered this enigmatic story one of the finest examples of Chumash narrative style and philosophical speculation to survive into modern times. Tata Xuse was obviously a master at narration, and the careful listener is inevitably drawn to the richness of his language.

Blackburn acknowledged that Pamaskimait was an "important" source of information about the Ventura area Chumash, but I don't think Blackburn fully appreciated his contribution to Chumash studies in recognizing the quality of Xuse's narrative and ensuring its preservation through collaboration with John Harrington, the linguist and anthropologist from the Smithsonian Institution. Blackburn restricted his praise for Pamaskimait with the complaint that he "does not seem to have known many narratives" (December, 20). But the brilliance of the Xuse narrative suggests that Pamaskimait did know much more than he was willing to share with Harrington who, though sympathetic, was a non-believer.

Substituting Sand Cricket for Cicada, footnote 123 of the 1998 edition read:

"Kitsepawit complained that he wanted to know much more about the Traditional culture than elders like Pamaskimait would share with him. But Kitsepawit did understand and appreciate the enigmatic quality of the stories that he heard, and later told Harrington. And this brings us to Pamaskimait's narrative called "The Origin of Death" which is found in *December's Child* (edited by Blackburn; pages 95-96). Pamaskimait tells his audience that the *Matavenado* brought death to the earth when he objected to Coyote's proposal to rejuvenate old people in a magic lake. Pamaskimait explained: 'But the matavenado said no, the earth will get too full of people and there will be no room to stand. The matavenado is therefore also talked to and killed by the Ventureno, who tell it that it caused death' (96)."

Blackburn translated the Spanish term *Matavenado* as 'Jerusalem cricket' (345). [A Jerusalem cricket is popularly known as a Sand cricket]. *Mata* means 'a group of trees', 'a thicket', or 'chaparral' in Spanish, and *Venado* means 'deer' or 'venison'. My guess is that the nickname *Matavenado* in this

story deliberately linked the Sand Cricket and the Deer as two aspects of the reincarnation story !

Note that Qiliqutayiwit emphatically linked the deer to reincarnation in a narrative about Coyote visiting the House of the Sun. Qiliqutayiwit explained that foolish Coyote was given a fat deer to eat and warned not to break or lose any of the bones. He accidentally broke one of the bones while chewing it, so that when all of the bones were thrown in a magical spring of water, the deer emerged from the water “as whole as ever, but with a leg missing” (Blackburn, December, 131). Here we have all of the components of Deer propitiation narratives, mixed with the theme of magical waters of rejuvenation (as in the *Humqaaq* pool).

See **Womb** in the glossary for related commentary.

Appendix G



Pomo Comparisons

Taken from “Pomo Myths,” S.P. Barrett, *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, 1933

Overpopulation Caused Death Coyote caused death so there would not be “too many people in the world.” (250).

Decay of the Dead Body The soul of a newly dead person explained: “I cannot stay with your people any longer, because I have been dead and I smell too badly” (184, 186).

Meadowlark was blamed for making death permanent because he objected to the smell of the dead (249, 322, 372).

Souls *Ku-ya* refers to ‘an embodied soul’ (Pomo, 23, Eastern term; the “soul while in the body and directly after it leaves it”).

Tca’Duwel refers to ‘a disembodied soul’ (Pomo, 23; refers to a soul as “an independent spirit; a ghost”).

Disembodied Soul Returns to Earth A disembodied soul can be brought back to its dying body, but it disappears if it touches the ground (334).

Coyote Is Immortal “...I will always be there, even if they kill me, I will still be there” (94).

Supernatural Realm Barrett speaks of “miraculous journeys” undertaken by the soul of newly dead Pomo who traveled to the west.

Abalone The light from abalone shells was used by Pomo to symbolize supernatural vision, i.e. the ability to see like the gods.

NOTE: For more on this topic, see *Pomo Cosmology*, (Anderson,2006)

Appendix H



Biography

American scholars described Chumash historians, linguists, and cultural preservation advocates as “informants”. This is an unfortunate choice of labels leading many readers even in the second half of the twentieth century to view them negatively, as somehow having betrayed their native culture.¹²⁹

Harrington, John

Harrington was the preeminent scholar (linguist/anthropologist/mythologist/historian) of his generation, collecting massive amounts of information on native cultures for the Smithsonian Institution. A number of Chumash worked with him in a desperate struggle to preserve their language, culture, and history. Among these Chumash were Kitsepawit, Nutu, Qiliqutayiwit, Onoyo, and Suluemeait.

Kitsepawit, F. L.

Using John Harrington of the Smithsonian as a consultant on Chumash linguistics, history, and culture, Kitsepawit was the most important Chumash spokesperson for cultural preservation in his generation.

Names: Kitsepawit used the colonial name Fernando Librado (thus the initials F. L. used in this text).

Kitsepawit’s parents grew up on Limu (Santa Cruz) island. He worked in the *Mitskanaka* production center (Ventura mission) as a child, and grew up to work in numerous jobs in the larger Chumash channel region;

Kitsepawit used the American anthropologist John Harrington as a consultant in the early twentieth century and their collaboration continued until Kitsepawit’s death in 1915.

Librado, Fernando See Kitsepawit.

Nutu, L.Y.

Nutu was born at the Taynayan production center (Santa Barbara mission) around 1830.

Names: Nutu used the colonial name Luisa Ygnacio.

Nutu’s relatives were from *Kuyam* which was a village near modern Dos Pueblos. She died in 1922 and was buried in Santa Barbara.

Blackburn rated Nutu as “probably Harrington’s best Barbareno informant” (December, 19). Placing her contributions above that of Xwan Suluemeait is problematic.

129 When *December’s Child*, the first published collection of Chumash narratives on folk lore, history, linguistics, and culture, came out in 1975 all of the Chumash appearing in Harrington’s field notes were labeled “the informants” (17; “Background on the Study”). It was standard procedure among American anthropologists, historians, etc. to continue use of this label in spite of its associations with the term **Informer**. An informer betrays the trust of his colleagues, family, nation, etc.

The Chumash cited in this biography should be honored for their being willing to risk working with Harrington in the light of ongoing California racism in the later part of the twentieth century. These individuals knew more about their aboriginal culture than Harrington or any of his scholarly colleagues. It is for this reason that they are referred to as linguists, mythologists, historians, etc. in this text.

Pico See Pamaskimait.

Pio Jose See Tata Xuse.

Piliqutayiwit See Qiliqutayiwit.

Pamaskimait, S.P.

A Lulapin (Ventura) Chumash.

Names: Pamaskimait used the colonial name Simplicio Pico (Hudson, Breath, 152).

Pamaskimait was born in Ventura in 1839 and died in 1918 (Breath, 152).

The classic folk tale, "Coyote's Life and Times" by Tata Xuse, was preserved by his nephew S.P. Pamaskimait who in turn told it to Kitsepawit who told it to John Harrington.. This tale is featured in *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson).

Qiliqutayiwit, M. S.

Qiliqutayiwit was born in the *Alajulapu* production center (Santa Ynez mission) and lived in that region most of her life.

Names: Qiliqutayiwit used the colonial name Maria Solares (thus the initials M.S. used in this text).

Qiliqutayiwit was born in 1875. Her parents lived in the village called *Kalawasaq*. Her mother was half Yokuts, so that she was one-quarter Yokuts with relatives in the town of *Tinlew* on the Tejon reservation.

Qiliqutayiwit 's significant linguistic and cultural use of Harrington as a consultant continued until her death in 1922.

Blackburn proposed that Qiliqutayiwit "appears to have been" the most knowledgeable Chumash to consult with Harrington on mythology (December, 19). But her Catholic training caused some of her depositions to be significantly biased against traditional theology.

Qonoyo, S.

A Wimat islander who surrendered at the *Alajulapu* production center (Santa Ynez mission).

Names: Qonoyo used the colonial name Silverio.

Qonoyo's commentary on reincarnation is short but pithy (December, 98).

Suluemeait, X. X.

Suluemeait was born in the Santa Barbara community in 1858.

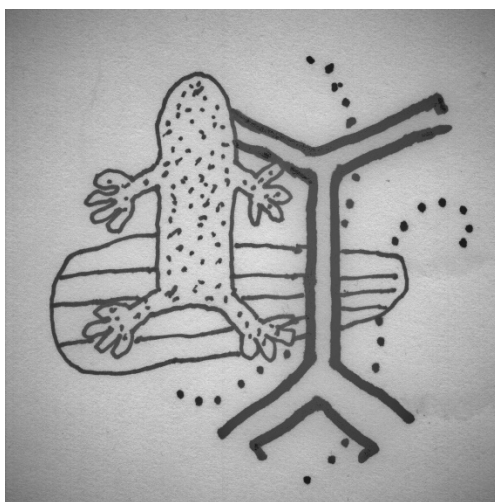
Names: Suluemeait used the colonial name Juan de Jesus Justo.

Suluemeait's father was a Limu islander who became the mayor of the large town of *Mikiw* after it was defeated by the expanding southeastern Chumash allied to the Spanish troops at the Santa Barbara garrison. When Mikiw was eventually reduced by the Spanish army, Suluemeait's family relocated to the Santa Barbara area where he remained throughout his life.

Suluemeait died in 1941.

Tata Xuse

Names: The native name of this important Lulapin mythologist has not been preserved. *Tata Xuse* is a Tsmuwich translation of 'uncle Jose'. *Xuse* (Jose) was the maternal uncle (*Tata*) of S.P. Pamaskimait who preserved Xuse's classic folk tale called "Coyote's Life and Times" (December, 156-164). This tale is featured in *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson).



Humqaq

“In Chumash myth, heroic journeys to the edges of the surface of the earth empower the hero as he nears a dividing point between the mundanc and supernatural. One such point is Humqaq as a Jumping-off Place, which served as a legendary portal into the supernatural.”¹³⁰

130 (Chumash Cosmology, Anderson, 80; glossary term ‘Earth Surface: Edges’).



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GLOSSARY

Terms identified as Tsmuwich are referenced to Mary Yee's Barbareno dictionary. Those cited as Samala are taken from Harrington's field notes and from the Samala (Santa Ynez) dictionary edited by Applegate. Those identified as Lulapin, Humaliwu, Kahismuwas, Stishni, Cuyama, and Mountain Chumash are taken from Harrington's field notes and other sources.

These glossary entries include commentary on terminology and the author's recent translations of Chumash vocabulary. See the Tsmuwich and Samala dictionaries cited above for previously published translations.

ABALONE The Chumash revered the abalone shell for its beautiful shimmering in sunlight.

Also see **Heavenly Eyes**. Compare **Poppy Eyes**.

Terms: *Qashi* means 'abalone' (Tsmuwich, 24). *T'aya* means 'abalone' (Samala, 365).

Discussion of terms: *Tasiq* which means 'to grasp firmly' (Samala, 521) may be related to *Qashi* referring to the abalone shell's firm grip on rocks.

- In both Chumash and Pomo myth, abalone symbolized supernatural sight (vision theme). Chumash souls exchanged Poppy Eyes for Abalone Eyes when they reached the higher heavens. And the Pomo Thunders had abalone coats and eyes which flashed like lightening. See **Antap** and **Datura** for related commentary.

Hypothesis: The '*Antik*' soul replaced its poppy eyes after ascending in the red glow of sunrise and flying into the blue heavens where it takes on its abalone eyes. These events are discussed in the third book in this series which is called *Alsuyuopos* (Anderson).

AHASH The term used in this text for an embodied soul. It is the same immortal soul as the disembodied '*Antik*' soul

See **Decay, Ghost**. See of the soul after it breaks free of its **Bone Soul** for related

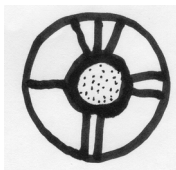
Terms: The Chumash have two heart. One is *Antik* (discussed below) 'soul' and 'heart'; it also means aggressiveness, perhaps associated with the term '*Ahashish*' which means 'ghost' (1); see **Ghost** for further discussion.

Related terms; '*Alatlatik*' means 'a living being' (Samala, 40, 'a creature'). One root is *Atik* meaning 'to be alive' (Samala, 540). *Atik* also means 'soul', 'spirit', 'heart', 'pulse', 'to get well', 'to heal on its own' (Samala, 82).

- The embodied soul is exposed daily to the stultifying power of sunlight, and the Rigors of the World which are four dimensional. In contrast, the '*Antik*' (disembodied) stage of the soul moves at night and is impacted by the supernatural realm where full consciousness and wisdom is obtainable.

- The Pomo *Ku'ya* soul is a variant of the Chumash *Ahash* soul. Both are embodied (Barrett, Pomo, 23).

Commentary: *Ahash* is used in this text to designate a stage of the soul when it is attached to a physical body. It is not determined if the Chumash believed in a second or third soul, for example one which stayed with the



Antik for the term used in this text for the stage dead and decaying physical body. Also see commentary.

terms meaning 'the soul' and both also refer to the and the second is *Ahash* (Tsmuwich, 1; it means 'spirit'). *Ahash* may have a connotation of vigor or

physical remains of a buried person. The issue of Chumash bone souls is not addressed in either the Tsmuwich or Samala dictionaries. Both dictionaries define both *Ahash* and *Antik* as 'soul' ('spirit', 'heart', 'life').

ANCESTOR The Chumash soul of the dead 'goes away' on the path of the dead. Thus an ancestor is referred to as one who has gone away.

Compare **Qaliwa** and **Removed Ones** for related discussions. Also see **Dead**.

Terms: *Is'a'liyin* means 'ancestor' in Samala (147; one root is *'Aliyin* meaning 'elder'; literally means 'one's own elders'; the prefix *Is* means 'one's own').

'Iskiki means 'to live with one's relatives' (Samala, 148); *Iskon*, meaning 'family' (148), is a related term.

Tinetmu means 'a relative' (Samala, 240; 'kinsman'; the roots are *Tinet* meaning 'to join' and *Netmu* meaning 'a person to whom one is joined').

Related terms: *Isalaqsan* means 'a deceased relative' (Samala, 147; the suffix *Aqsan* means 'one who is dead').

Discussion of terms: The English term **Ancestor** has a Latin root meaning 'one who has gone before', i.e. has left the surface of the earth and journeyed on the path of the dead. The term **Ancient** has the same Latin root (*Ante*, meaning 'before'). But the Chumash believed that their dead relatives were reborn again among them, in an eternal cycle of changing relationships. These souls were related, and they stayed relatives through cycles of reincarnation. *Kikich* means 'a relative' (Tsmuwich, 13; thus *Kikichwash* means 'a recently dead relative'). But these recently dead relatives were distinctive from the *Moloqiwash* who were mythological persons from the ancient *Moloq* era (Tsmuwich, 17).

ANGER A disoriented soul which has lost the path of the dead can become angry and a threat to living persons.

See **Crazy** for related discussion.

Terms: *Xu'wil* means 'to be angry' (Tsmuwich, 41). *Tul* which means 'to be mad' (Samala, 459) is a related term.

Xawishash means 'to be angry' (Tsmuwich, 40, 'to be mean').

'Alaqsisi means 'to be angry' (Samala, 40). *Aqsisin* meaning 'to growl at' (40) is a related word.

Alip'ok means 'to be angry' (Samala, 44; one root is *P'ok* meaning 'angry', 'swollen').

Yult'ul means 'to be angry' (Samala, 459; *Yul* means 'of heat' and *Tul* means 'being mad'). *Yuluyuluk* means 'to be angry' (459; *Yul* is the root having the connotation 'of heat'). *Yulp'ok* means 'to swell' (Tsmuwich, 42).

Related terms: *Axshik'in* means 'to hate' (Tsmuwich, 5). *Axsikin* (Samala, 93; the root is *Sikin* meaning 'to feel hurt'). *Sik'in* means 'to feel hurt' (Tsmuwich, 26). *Ik'iniy* means 'to groan' (Samala, 138).

Axsic means 'to be afraid' (Samala, 93, 'to be fearful').

ANIMAS SPRING See **Antik Spring** for further discussion.

ANTAP The name used by the Chumash for socio-religious leaders who are honored for their special relationship with the divine.

Terms: The *Antap* are members of a ceremonial society' (Samala, 53; one root is *Tap*, meaning 'to enter' "in the sense of 'one who enters' [the ceremonial enclosure or the inner mysteries]." *Antap* is not listed in the Tsmuwich dictionary. *Tap* means 'to enter' (Tsmuwich, 31).

• Hudson/Underhay described the '*Antap*' as "visionaries" (Crystals, 17). See **Datura** and **Abalone** for commentary on visionary sight.

ANTIK The Chumash term *Antik* is used in this text for the stage of the soul when it is released from the body and ascends into the heavens.

See **Ascension** and **Soul: of the Air** for related discussions. Compare **Ahash** for discussion of a related term referring to an embodied soul.

Terms: the Chumash have at least two words that they use to describe a soul. Yee/Whistler translated '*Antik*' to mean 'a soul', 'life', and 'spirit' (Tsmuwich, 2; thus *Antiki* meaning 'to recover', 'to get well'; and *Antikich* meaning 'to be alive').

Related terms: *Atik* means 'heart' (Samala, 82, also 'soul', 'spirit', 'to recover', 'to get well').

Related terms include the phrase *Schoho ha atik* meaning 'to be happy (82, literally means 'one's heart is good'). *Alatlatik* means 'a living being' (Samala, 82; also 'a creature', 40). *Atikiy* means 'to revive' (82) and *Satik* means 'to cure' (82, 'to heal').

Discussion of terms: The term *Antik* seems to have friendly and non-violent connotations as in the term *'Ich'antikish* which means 'friendship' (Tsmuwich, 62). *Satikiy*, meaning 'to bring back to consciousness' is a related Samala term. And *Antiki* means 'to recover' (Tsmuwich, 2), with the connotation of renewing life. One root may be *Tik* which means 'the top' (Tsmuwich, 32; it also means 'the end', or 'tip') as in *Tikay* meaning 'to be above' (Tsmuwich, 32; also means 'to be on top of').

An alternative root of *Antik* could be *Tiq* meaning 'an eye' (Tsmuwich, 33; *Tiqich* means 'keen-sighted'). The Samala variant is *Tix* (*Tiq*) meaning 'eye' (380; *C'antiq* means 'to see well', and *Yulc'antiq* means 'to observe'). This interpretation would be consistent with the Chumash depiction of the stars and planets as souls which see, i.e. are eyes in the heavens. The Morning Star, for example, is called *Nox a Stix* with the literal meaning of 'the big eye'.

- In this text, *Antik* refers to an disembodied soul while *Ahash* refers to an embodied soul. The soul of a living human, therefore, is called *Ahash*. And after the body dies, the soul releases from the body and is called *Antik*.

ANTIK SPRING The translation into Chumash of the Spanish place-name *Animas* spring, referring to an important spring located about three miles from Point Conception.

See *Antik* for a discussion of Chumash terms related to the soul. See *Humqaq Pool* for related discussion (*Antik* Spring may be the location of the Humqaq pool).

Terms: The original Chumash place name for this spring is undetermined. The Spanish name means 'place of the soul'. *Animas* means 'to give life to'; as in *Animar* which means 'to give life to', 'to inspire', 'to encourage'. *Animo* means 'spirit', 'mind', 'courage', 'valor'. Both Spanish terms have Latin roots. *Anima* in Latin means 'life', as in the breath of life with connotations of air and wind. *Anima* was used by the Latins to refer to souls separated from the body. *Animal* means 'a living and breathing being' to the Latins, with the root *Anima*. *Animus* is a related Latin term referring to the soul in its rational sense.

- This spring is very likely part of the Greater Point Conception spiritual area, perhaps even the spring mentioned in Qiliqutayiwit's narrative about the Point.

ASCENSION Point Humqaq is a place of ascension (Jumping-off place) for Chumash *Antik* souls on the path of the dead.

Also see *Jumping-off Place, Point Humqaq, Soul: Flight, Kasunalmu and Xoyoyon Flight*. See *Kuta Teachings* for further discussion. Compare *Descension*.

Terms: *Apit* means 'ascend' in Samala (57; 'to go up'; refers to the action of ascension). The root of *Apit* is *Apay* meaning 'up' (Tsmuwich, 3; *Alapay* also means 'up'). *Alapay* (Samala, 54). *Aqtanapay* means 'to fly upward' (54). *K'ilnapay* means 'to ascend quickly' (54), *Napay* means 'to go up' (54). *Apikitwon* means 'to start from a particular place' (Samala, 56, *Kitwon* means 'to go out'). A related term is *C'ilapit* meaning 'to be piled up' (57).

Xalkitwon means 'to leap out' (Samala, 444, 'to fly out'). See *Jumping-off Place* in the glossary for related commentary.

Piwayan means 'to jump' (Samala, 276; the prefix *Pi* has the root *Pil* meaning 'through the air'). *Pinowon* means 'to jump up' (Tsmuwich, 23). *Wayan* means 'to hang' (Tsmuwich, 37), as in hanging in the air as one jumps. *Wayan* means 'to hang on its own' (Samala, 428; *Axipawayan* means 'to hover in the air').

Xalnapay means 'to fly up' (Tsmuwich, 19) and describes the first flight of the soul after it leaps from the earth at Point Humqaq.

Napamu' means 'ascending place' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 153). *Napamu'* (Samala, 235, 'where it goes up'; one root is *Ni-apay* meaning 'to go up'). *Napay* means 'to ascend something' (Samala, 235). *Apay* means 'up' (Tsmuwich, 3).

Related terms: *Pilkitwo'n* means 'to jump out' (Tsmuwich, 22); has the connotation of 'jumping out of something' as shown in the related term *Supilkitwo'n* meaning 'to throw out'. Souls at Point Humqaq do not jump out of something [e.g. a cave, a house, a box], rather leap upward [*Pinowon*] to begin flight.

Discussion of terms: Religious sites comparable to Point Humqaq in other parts of the world are often referred to as 'Jumping-off places'. At such spiritual locations souls of the recently dead 'leap' from the earth into the supernatural realm.

- After cleansing themselves at Point Humqaq, Chumash souls leave the surface of the earth segment of the path of the dead. Thus, the *Wit* phase of the soul's journey ends as the souls leap from the earth and soar upward into the air flying west over the Pacific Ocean to the Portal of the Setting Sun.

- Like Christians, the Chumash believed that the soul of the newly dead rose up into the heavens where they entered into a celestial paradise. Point Humqaq is a 'Jumping-off point' like those found in other Pacific Rim cultures. Souls leap from these points of land to fly west to the portal of the setting sun. Other ascension places include Black Rock as an Atahum site, while Kaena Point is the primary Hawaiian 'Jumping-off place.'

The jumping of *Antik* souls at such sites does not have the same associations as the jumping upward (ascension) of souls from the nadir of the lower world. This second [celebrated] ascension takes place further along the path of the dead and does not carry the apprehension of the soul leaving Humqaq and preparing for its imminent descent into the lower world.

- Point Humqaq is a Chumash example of a sacred Jumping-off site. Black Rock is an Atahum site. For comparative ethnography of other Pacific cultures, see Kaena Point which serves as the primary Hawaiian 'Jumping-off place'.

ASTRONOMY Chumash astronomers were highly esteemed.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Astronomy**, **Astronomer**, or **Astrologer**.

Hudson/Underhay described an '*Alchuklash*' as both an "astrologer and astronomer" (Crystals, 149; also means "a type of shaman or priest"; also 'a smoke doctor').

Kitsepawit used the term '*Alsuglas*' in a discussion of traditional astronomy. Harrington's notes defined this term as 'an astrologer' (December, 101, "Astrology"). Kitsepawit reported that the '*Alsuglas*' named children based on the month they were born and reported that these astronomical specialist could "judge the destiny of a child." (101).

Discussion of terms: *Sukuta' a Sti* means 'to name a child for a deceased relative' (Samala, 548). The root of *Sti* is *Ti* which means 'a name' (548). The root of *Sukuta'* is probably *Suk'u* which means 'what' (Samala, 367; in discussion of the term *Ti*). Thus the literal translation of *Sukuta' a Sti* may be 'what is the name?' If this is correct, then '*Alchuklash*' may literally mean 'he who determines the name'.

ATIK SOUL See **Antik** and **Soul of the Air**.

ATISHWIN See **Power: Supernatural**.

AWAKENING Upon awakening in the newly dead body, the soul begins to separate itself. This process is complete in four days after burial, when the soul separates and begins its wandering phase. Compare **Separation of Soul From Body, Crazy, Antik, Soul: of the Air**.

Terms: *Walayixkkit* means 'to waken suddenly' (Tsmuwich, 37); such awakening can irritate the soul and cause it to be angry. *Walay* means 'to hurry' (Samala, 418). *Siyixkhit* means 'to wake someone up' (Samala, 311). *Yixkkit* means 'to awaken' (Tsmuwich, 42).

- The soul is at first agitated at being in a new state of disembodiment, and it can frighten humans who come in contact with it.

AWE To ordinary persons the supernatural realm evokes awe, tempered with fear.

Also see **Beauty, Lure, Supernatural, Thunder, Fear**.

Terms: '*Alulkuwic*' means 'to be awe-inspiring' (Samala, 49, 'to be fearsome'). One root is '*Alulkuw*' meaning 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49, "to be otherworldly", 'to be night').

Itaxmay means 'to be astonished' (Samala, 156; one root is *May* meaning 'to overwhelm'). *Itaxmay* (Tsmuwich, 11, 'to be amazed', 'to be surprised'). *Susitaxmas* means 'to show off' (Samala, 349, with the connotation of causing to be astonished).

- In Chumash folklore great supernaturals were associated with making thunderous sounds creating awe in ordinary mortals. Examples are the celestial Eagle, scorpion Woman, and the Swordfish who rule the seas. All were in the **Other World**. See **Thunder** for related commentary.

- The soul traveling on the path of the dead is frequently struck with awe at the supernatural realm. One example is the reaction of the soul as it flies upward from Point Humqaq and is struck with awe by the beauty of the setting sun and the Evening Star.

BEAUTY Venus as the Evening Star lures souls with her beauty to the Portal of the Setting Sun. See **Evening Star, Xutash, Lure, Awe, Setting Sun: Portal, Blushing**.

Terms: '*Anaqipnas* means 'beautiful' (Tsmuwich, 2). '*Anaqipnas* (Samala, 52, 'beauty', 'darling'; '*Anaqipnas* literally means 'one's beauty').

Discussion of terms: The supernatural realm is beautiful in a unique sense, inexpressible in ordinary speech. See **Awe** for related commentary.

- The Chumash Sun is called the Beauty of the World (Autumn Equinox, Anderson, 8). The term **World** is used in this phrase to refer to the earthly realm where humans live, not all of the cosmos. See **Light** for related commentary. See **Sun: Flower of** for related commentary.

- The supernatural realm can be uniquely beautiful and indescribable in ordinary speech. See **Datura** for related commentary.

BLUSHING The red clouds of sunset symbolize the blushing of sexual excitement as the setting Sun entered Mother Earth.

Also see **Red Clouds of Sunset**.

Terms: *Apiyutakla* means 'to blush' (Samala, 56, 461, 'to turn red suddenly'; one root is *Yutakla* meaning 'to be bright red', 461). The prefix *Api* has the connotation of sudden behavior. *Yul* has the connotation 'of heat' (Samala, 462, as in *Yuwil* meaning 'to be hot').

BODY See **Physical Body**.

BONE SOUL The author uses the phrase **Bone Soul** when talking about a hypothetical soul which stayed with the dead body.

See **Ahash** for a soul attached to its human body. See **Antik** for a disembodied soul.

Terms: *See* means 'bone' in Tsmuwich (54). *Se* means 'a bone in a body' (Samala, 480). *She* means 'a bone out of a body' (Samala, 480).

- No specific Chumash deposition survived to confirm the existence of a bone soul, though the importance of cemeteries suggests such a concept among the Chumash. The author uses **Bone Soul** in this text to refer to a soul that [presumably] stays with the bones and physical body after the air ('*Antik*') soul leaves the buried body.

Ghosts that frightened Chumash people near graveyards, long after a person was buried and their '*Antik*' soul had ascended into the heavens, may have been associated with bone (body) souls. They differ from the *Ahash* stage of the primary (embodied) soul.

- Both '*Ahash*' and '*Antik*' refer to a human soul capable of leaving the physical body. For example, the *Ahash* soul can wander from the body during sleep or illness. But such separation is temporary ending once the sleeper awakes or the ill person recovers.

BRAVERY See **Courage**.

BRINGER OF DEATH The Sand Cricket was the bringer of death in Chumash theology.

See **Sand Cricket**, **Dead**, **Deer**.

BURIAL The Chumash, like many other people of California, buried the dead (Kroeber, Handbook, 842).

Compare **Physical Body**, **Soul: of the Air**, **Soul: Bone**, **Mourning Ceremony**, **Wandering**.

Terms: *Uti'may* means 'to bury' (Tsmuwich, 36). *Uti'may* (Samala, 405; thus '*Uti'mayis*' means 'something buried'). It may have the same root as *Ush'e*, meaning 'to dig' (Tsmuwich, 36) (Samala, 398; *Us'e*) and *Shish* meaning 'a burrow' (30). '*Us'es*' means 'a grave' (Samala, 398, literally 'something buried').

Related terms: *Mananish*, means 'to disappear' (Tsmuwich, 17). Compare **Earth**.

- The Chumash practiced burial to keep the Sun from bloating a corpse, and to return the sacred essence of the body (the bone soul?) into the earth where it belonged. The air soul separated from the decaying body and rose up out of the earth to begin its wanderings over the surface of the earth

BURN: THINGS OF RECENTLY DEAD The Chumash burned the material belongings of the recently dead, to discourage the reincarnating soul from lingering near its familiar home.

Also see **Mourning Ceremony**. Compare **Sparks of the Sun**, **Mourning Ceremony**.

Terms: *Puq* means 'to burn the things of the dead' (Samala, 282; *Puqas* means 'belongings of the dead that are ritually burned'). *Apuqushtay* means 'to flash' (Tsmuwich, 3; has the connotation of a flashing of light, thus 'to flare up') and probably has *Puq* as a root.

CALIFORNIA SPACEPORT See **Space Launch Complex # 6** and Appendix F for further information.

CELESTIAL See **Heaven**.

CEMETERY Text.

See **Decay, Putrefaction**.

Terms: '*Ex'exenes* means 'cemetery' (Samala, 118; 'graveyard', 'burial ground').

Discussion of terms: The root of '*Ex'exemes* may be *Exen* meaning 'to eat up' (Samala, 118; *Exec* means 'to eat all up'). *Exen* means 'to eat up' (Tsmuwich, 8).

See **Decay** for commentary on the Lulapin shrine called Eater of People.

CHEATING In Chumash folk lore cheating against supernaturals with otherwise overwhelming powers is commendable.

Terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary did not list **Cheat**. And the Samala dictionary only listed *Suxninana'n* which means 'to cheat in a game' (Samala, 330; *Shuxninana'n a Sphi'* means 'he cheats at dice'). Yet both dictionaries have numerous citations of terms relating to deceiving and fooling.

Related terms: *K'imi'n* means 'to be deceived' in Samala (498, 'to be fooled'). Thus *Sik'imi'n* means 'to deceive' (498, 'to trick', 'to fool').

Tileqwel means 'to be deceitful' (Samala, 117). The prefix *Til* is probably a variant of *Xil* which is associated with 'seeing'. The base root is *Eqwel* which means 'to make' (117). The connotation is to give the visual impression of doing something, while not actually doing it.

Qoyin means 'to be deceitful' (Samala, 294).

Tipowo'o means 'to be deceitful' (Samala, 374; one root is *Wo'o'* meaning 'to lie').

Sukilamu means 'to fool someone' (Samala, 516). *Sukilamu* (Tsmuwich, 27; *Kilamu* means 'crazy').

Yityit means 'to deceive' (Samala, 516). *Yityich* (Tsmuwich, 42). The root is presumably *Yit* which is not listed in either dictionary.

Xiwi means 'to tell a lie' (Tsmuwich, 41). *Wo'o* meaning 'to lie' may be the root.

'Una'waw means 'to be foolish' (Samala, 3890, 'to be crazy'). *Suna'waws* means 'to be fraudulent' (Samala, 390, literally means 'to make them foolish').

• In a narrative on how Coyote defeated the mighty Swordfish, the story repeatedly celebrated Coyote's cheating of the Swordfish. And when Coyote returned to Shyuxtun (Santa Barbara) with the soul rescued from drowning, the townspeople joined in celebrating his cheating (December, 175-190, Suluemeait).

CHUMASH A southern California peoples who spoke a number or related Chumash languages. They lived along the coast from Malibu, north through Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and northern counties.

See **Tsmuwich** and **Samala** for two of the Chumash divisions of the Chumash language.

CLEANSING The sacred pool below the cliffs at Humqaq was used to cleanse the soul before its begins its flight across the ocean.

Also see **Humqaq Pool**.

Terms: *Sukep* means 'to bathe' (Samala, 345, also means 'to baptise'). The root term *Kep'* means 'to bathe' in Tsmuwich (13, 'to wash'). *Kepmu'* means 'a bathing place' (Samala, 175).

Soxyop means 'to wash' (Tsmuwich, 27). *Sox* means 'a streak' (Samala, 342, 'a mark', and the suffix *Yop* means 'to loose soil or earth' (457).

Uxmaniwon means 'to wash' (Samala, 409; the prefix *Uxma* has the connotation of 'washing, 408; the suffix *Niwon* means 'to leave' (Samala, 246) presumably referring to dirt leaving when one washes.

Ustasin means 'to clean well' (Samala, 401; the suffix *Sin* means 'doing well').

Related terms: *Uxmantiq* means 'to wash someone's face' (Tsmuwich, 36). *Tiq* means 'a face' (Tsmuwich, 33, also means 'eye').

CLIFF See **Humqaq: Cliff**.

CLOUD: RED See **Red Clouds of Sunset**.

COINASHUP See World: Other.

COLD In Chumash metaphysics cold is associated with the primal omnipresence of night.
See **Night, Shadow**. Also see **Rays of the Sun** for the power to displace cold. Compare **Fire**.

Terms: '*Oxtokow*' means 'to be cold; said of things' (Samala, 261; also means 'ice', 'hail'; '*Oxtoko'win*' means 'to freeze'). '*Toxo'in*' means 'to be cold; said of people' (Samala, 383). '*Oxoxon*' means 'to have a cold' (Samala, 260). '*Oxoxon*' means 'to catch a cold' (Tsmuwich, 21, 'to cough').

Axt'atax means 'to be cold' (Tsmuwich, 56).

Related terms: *Xal* means 'ice' (Tsmuwich, 66).

'*Iksemen*' means 'a glaze of ice on water' (Tsmuwich, 10). '*Iqsepshun*' means 'icy' (Tsmuwich, 10).

- The immortal soul is of beautiful fire, a source of life within the shadow. Both human souls (embodied) and celestial souls (disembodied, associated with as stars, gods, etc.) throw light.

CONCEPTION: POINT See **Point Humqaq**.

CONDOR Like other carrion birds, the condor was honored as a cleanser of the world.
See **Decay, Disappear, Separation of Soul From The Body, Pen, Smoke**. Also see **Purgatory**.

Terms: '*Almiyi*' means 'condor' (Samala, 47). The suffix *Miyi* may be related to the Samala term *Miy* meaning 'wolf' (224). The association may be the gulping down of food.

Wit means 'condor' (Tsmuwich, 39). '*Huyawit*' means 'condor' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 151).

- The use of condor feathers at the *Iwiwiki* shrine near Ventura, is symbolic of the eating away of the flesh, i.e. cleansing the body of its physical aspect. Such actions by carrion birds help free the soul of the decayed body.

See '**Antik**'.

CORPSE See **Physical Body**.

COURAGE Text.

Terms: '*Alawisas*' means 'to be brave ongoingly' (Samala, 415; '*Awisas*' means 'to be brave'). '*Xawisas*' means 'to be brave' (Samala, 445).

Shaxshish means 'brave' (Tsmuwich, 30).

Discussion of terms: '*Qeyepi*' means 'a coward' (Tsmuwich, 24). The Samala dictionary translated '*Qeyepi*' to mean 'to be at the point of death' (287, 'to be very sick; the root is '*Eyepi*' meaning 'to take a trail all the way to'). The connotation is that one's path of life is coming to an end, and the '*Ahash*' soul is facing the death of its physical body. With courage it can accept its coming transition from an embodied soul to a disembodied soul.

COYINASHUP See World: Other.

COYOTE The Chumash acknowledged the great powers of Coyote but recognized that these powers were limited by his greed for the pleasure of the physical body.

Also see **Snilemun, Knowledge**. Compare **Wisdom**.

Terms: '*Xuxa'w*' means 'coyote' (Samala, 452). '*Huhaw*' is a Lulapin variant.

Discussion of terms: The term '*Ackaw*', meaning 'to make a mistake' may be associated with '*Xuxa'w*'. '*Suxuxa'w*' means 'to play dead' (452, "like a possum", literally means 'to do like Coyote').

- The celestial Coyote (*Snilemun*) and Morning Star were leaders of the gods opposed to the divine team led by Eagle and the Sun. See *Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) for related commentary.

- Coyote has great knowledge, but lacks the wisdom to use his immense powers wisely. As a symbol of greed in the human psyche, Coyote repeatedly makes disastrous mistakes which lead to his temporary destruction but never to his death.

- Coyote can travel on the path of the dead even as far as *Similaqsa*, but he cannot remain there for he is incapable of giving up the pleasures of the physical body. Ultimately, he is eternally condemned by his own greed and lust for pleasure. This precludes his ever entering the upper heavens to become an immortal soul (star).

- Hudson/Underhay speculatively identified Coyote [*Huhaw* in Lulapin] with the star called Alderbaran (Crystals, 151). But the Chumash Coyote constellation is called *Mech*. It lies in the southern sky and is in the same shape as the Little and Big Dipper. The brightest star in the heavens (Sirius) lies at the tail of the *Mech* constellation.

CRAZY The human soul becomes disoriented immediately after separation from the dead body, and again after it flies upward from Point Humqaq and enters the revolving heavens.

Compare **Awakening, Fear, Mirror of the Sea**. See **Crazy** in the glossary of *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson, 1995) for an extensive discussion of the disoriented soul.

Terms: *Oxoyon* means 'to be crazy' (Samala, 261, 'to be insane').

'*Una'waw* means 'to be crazy' (Samala, 494, 'to be foolish'; *Suna'waw* means 'to make someone crazy' (494).

- The crazed soul on the path of the dead differs from the permanently insane soul, a soul drunk from alcohol, and from a soul experiencing a vision. *Unimomoyic*, for example, means 'to be experiencing a datura vision'. The Samala dictionary, however, defined *Unimomoyic* as 'to be crazy' and 'to be drunk' (391, "from *Momoy* [datura]"). And *Momoyic* is defined as 'to be crazy' (Samala, "to be drunk " but not necessarily from datura. Such dictionary entries mistakenly equate being drunk on alcohol or being permanently insane with the psychotropic visionary state associated with datura.

CRICKET : SAND See **Sand Cricket** for further discussion.

CRYING FOR THE DEAD See **Mourning Ceremony**.

CRYSTAL HOUSE The supernaturals lived in crystal houses.

Also see **Swordfish**.

Terms: *Xi'liw* means 'quartz crystal' (Tsmuwich, 41). *Xili'w* (Samala, 495).

- Crystal is considered the most sacred form of physical matter, with its origins in the supernatural realm such as the shining stars. It is honored for its ability to sparkle with light and for its transparency indicating its minimal physical body. And select crystals were probably used as magnifying and focusing lenses, enabling astronomers to view the stars more accurately.

- Drowned Chumash souls are taken by the Swordfish down to their crystal house at the bottom of the ocean. "Native California mythology (from the Chumash to the Pomo) features crystal houses located deep in the ocean, which are the homes of the rulers of the seas" (Swordfish, Anderson, 42).

DATURA The datura plant is the primary visionary sacrament in the Chumash region.

Also see **Five, Pentangle**.

Terms: *Momoy* means 'datura' (Samala, 226; *Momoyic* means 'to be crazy', 'to be drunk'). *Mo'moy* (Tsmuwich, 18). *Homomoy* means 'at the datura' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 151; a placename).

Related terms: *Ma Naxalyikis ka S'alulkuw* means 'a datura vision is of the spirit world' (Samala, 49). '*Alulkuw* means 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49, 'to be otherworldly'; one root is *Ulkuw* meaning 'to be night', 'to be otherworldly').

- Datura is supernatural (Samala, 49; The phrase *Maxalyikis Ka S'alulkuw* means 'a datura vision [Naxalyikis] is of the spirit world'). See **Beauty** for commentary on the unique beauty which can be experienced in the supernatural realm.

- The datura plant has flowers with five petals. It is a symbol of visionary sight enabling the soul to see in the upper world. See **Poppy Eyes** for discussion of the poppy flower with its four petals.

DAY See **Sun: Light**. Compare **Night**.

DEAD In Chumash theology, the death of the body forces the air soul to ascend into the heavens, where it is purified and prepared for reincarnation.

See **Path of the Dead, Land of the Dead, Flowers of the Dead**. Also see **Ghost, Soul: of the Air, Soul: of the Body, Deer** (associated with the physical body, flesh), **Sickness, Decay, Sand Cricket, Removed Ones, Ancestor, Disappear, Mortality**. Compare **Life**.

Terms: *Aqshan* means 'to be dead' (Tsmuwich, 2). *Aqsan* means 'to be dead' (Samala, 67, 'death'; *Aqsanpi* means 'to die on account of'); and '*Alaqsan* means 'a dead person' (Samala, 40). And *Similaqsa* means 'the land of the dead' (Samala, 339). *Shimilaqsa* (Tsmuwich).

Supei 'Isashanuch means 'flowers of the dead, referring to ritual objects burned during a Mourning ceremony (December, 48, Kitsepawit).

Related terms: the Samala suffix *-Aqas* means ‘to die’ (as in their term for a deceased relative; also means ‘to be ill’). *‘Untaxish* means ‘a widow’ (35; also means ‘widower’). *‘Unitaxis* (Samala, 391); one root is *Unitax* means ‘to leave behind’ (391).

The suffix *-iwash* indicates death and decay, as in *Saminiwash Iku* which means ‘a corpse’ (57; *Ku* means ‘a human person’). See **Disappear** for related discussion.

Suqnictu’ means ‘for a sick person to be near death’ (Samala, 324); the suffix *-‘ctu* has the connotation of being near death). The root term is *Uqni* meaning ‘to seem as if’ (Samala, 393). *Suqnictu’* also is translated as ‘to be conscience-stricken’ (Samala, 393; the suffix *Ctu’* meaning “being in danger or near death”). A related term is *Aqni* meaning ‘seemingly’ in Tsmuwich (3, ‘apparently’).

Discussion of terms: *Ackaw* means ‘to do something badly’ (Tsmuwich, 1) and may be a related term to *Aqshan*. *Ackaw* (Samala, 31; *Ackaws* means ‘to go wrong’). Bad luck is a related concept. *Sackaw* means ‘to be involved in a mishap’ (Samala, 31); *Talackaw* means ‘to have bad luck’).

Sutipeq’en means ‘to die’ (Samala, ‘to breath one’s last’ (327); the root *Pe’qen* means ‘to come to an end’). *Peq’e’n* means ‘to end’ (Tsmuwich, 22, ‘to terminate’). *Egen* means ‘to be off’ (Tsmuwich, 8, ‘to remove’).

Suxa’yiw means ‘to fear death’ (Samala, 330).

Qeyepi means ‘to be at the point of death’ (Samala, 287, ‘to be very sick’). One root is *Eyepi* meaning ‘to take a rail all the way to’ (Samala, 287). Note that *Qeyepi* is translated as ‘coward’ in Tsmuwich (24). The suffix *-iwash* indicates death and decay, as in *Saminiwash Iku* which means ‘a corpse’ (57; *Ku* means ‘a human person’). See **Disappear** for related discussion.

- Death results in cessation of movement of the physical body. *Na’n* means ‘to manifest movement’ (63; also means ‘to go’), with the connotation of the heart stopping beating and the body stopping movement after death. See **Courage** for related commentary.

- Hudson/Underhay mistakenly claimed that the Chumash culture emphasized death and the afterlife (Crystals, 84). Like many other native Californians, however, they were not obsessed with death but had a rich culture of family life and communal prosperity. Kitsepawit taught, in this context, that love was their basic motivation in life. See *Love Is the Basic Motivation* (Anderson, second edition 2001) and *Nespi: Traditional Ethics of the Chumash Indians of Southern California* (Anderson, 2008) for related commentary.

DEATH: FEAR OF See **Fear, Dead.**

DEATH: NEAR Text.

Terms: *Suqnictu’* means ‘for a sick person to be near death’ (Samala, 324; the suffix *‘Ctu* has the connotation of being near death).

Related terms: *‘Alictustas* means mortal danger’ (Samala, 496); the root *‘Ctu* has the connotation of being near death’).

DECAY To the spiritually knowledgeable Chumash, the decay of the body is a positive phenomenon freeing the soul to ascend into the heavens.

See **Dead, Cemetery, Condor, Ahash, Jumping Fox, Morning Star. Compare Sickness.**

Terms: *Topshok’in* means ‘to rot’ (Tsmuwich, 34)(Samala, 382); thus *Wololox* meaning ‘to rot’ (78). *Shon* meaning ‘to be bitter’ (30) probably has a common root [as in *Toson* meaning ‘to be mildewed’). *Toso’n* means ‘to be mildewed’ (Samala, 383). *Topophon* is a Samala variant meaning ‘to rot’ 382; thus *Tophoton* which means ‘to rot’ (279, ‘to decay’; *Phototon* means ‘to fall apart’).

Compare *Noxsh* which means ‘a nose’ (Tsmuwich, 20); *Noxs* (Samala, 251); *Noshl’o* meaning ‘nasal mucus’ (Tsmuwich, 41); and the Samala term *Yuxs* meaning ‘to smell’ (462).

Related terms: *‘Aluwuk’u* is the name of a Lulapin shrine, meaning ‘eater of people’ (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 150, located northwest of Ventura).

- The decay of the dead physical body released the soul so it can rise up into the heavens

DEEP RAVINE See **Point Humqaq** for discussion, and see book two in this series, called *Mishup* (Anderson), for related commentary on the Deep Ravine.

DEER The deer, as the primary source of meat for Chumash hunters, played an important role in mythology related to death and reincarnation.

Compare **Sand Cricket: Bringer of Death** and **Deer: Bone Whistle**.

Terms: *Wi* means 'deer' (Tsmuwich, 39)(Samala, 498). It may be related to *Wil* which means 'to consist of', 'to have' (38), with the possible connotation of having physical body.

DEER BONE WHISTLE The Chumash played a wind musical instrument made from a deer leg bone. It is associated with death and the loss of the physical body.

See **Sand Cricket** for related discussion of deer symbolism (associated with material body, meat).

Terms: *Itsunas* is the Chumash name for these flutes (also *Ichunash*). Perhaps *Su'nan*, meaning 'to continue to do something' (Tsmuwich, 28) is one root of this term. Compare *Ushumish*, meaning 'to mourn for the dead' (36: also means 'to wail', 'to lament'; *Mish* is one root meaning 'to cry', 'to weep').

- The Tongva, Uto-Aztecan neighbors of the Chumash from the Los Angeles basin, also played deer leg bone wind instruments while a dirge was sung. See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson 2002) for further discussion of the flute and lamentation.

- Unlike the Chumash flute, the Tongva instrument had only one hole, drilled in its side. The natural opening of the tibia bone was plugged with tar. The instrument was kept in a basket filled with water (diluted datura sacrament?) so that when it was played it had a 'water' sound, perhaps bubbling like a bird whistle?

DEITY Four primary deities determine the fate of life on the surface of the earth. They are North Star, Sun, Coyote, and Morning Star.

The Chumash supreme deity (Enememe) is withdrawn from the affairs of life on earth.

Also see **Supernatural, Soul**. Compare **Demon**.

Terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary did not list **Deity** or **God**. The Samala dictionary did list *Sup* under **God** (520), but *Sup* refers only to a specific god (Samala, 347, 'the earth').

- All of the Chumash deities and demons are souls with supernatural powers.
- See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) for commentary on the four primary Chumash gods who rule life on the surface of the earth. See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson) for commentary on the supreme creator deity.

DEMON A supernatural being, which threatens humans on the surface of the earth (*Itiashup*) and on the path of the dead.

Also see **Supernatural**. Compare **Deity**.

Terms: *Nunashish* means 'devils' (Tsmuwich, 20, also means 'beast', 'animal'). *Nunasis* (Samala) 253, 'demon', 'beast', 'supernatural being', and also 'snake').

Related terms: *Siwon Nunasis* means 'to thunder' (Samala, 253, literally means 'a demon sounds'). *Siwon* means 'it sounds' (Samala, 160).

- The Chumash demons are "probably all the stars which touch the horizon or drop below during their rotation in the night sky" (When Demons Rule California, Anderson, 27; fourth edition, 2016).

DESCENSION The soul does not ascend directly into the heavens, but takes a circuitous route which includes a retrograde and descending motion at the Sanddollar portal used by the setting Sun.

Compare **Ascension**.

Terms: *Elew* means 'to descend' in Tsmuwich (8, 'to go down')(Samala, 113; *Selew* means 'he goes down'; *Alamelew* means 'a steep downhill grade').

- The soul retrograde motion and dissension is discussed in section two of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson).

DISAPPEAR A human disappears after death except for dust and bones. The body not only 'disappears' when it is covered with earth, but it also begins to disappear as it decays (breaks apart) after burial.

Compare **Bone Soul** for speculation about the guardians of the parts of the body which do not decay.

Terms: *Ple* means 'to disappear' (Tsmuwich, 23; also means 'to perish', 'to die'). *Ple* may have the same root as *Pen* which means 'to remove' (22). See **Removed Ones** for further discussion). *Mayanish* also means 'to disappear' (17; also means 'to vanish'; is related to *Manish* in Samala). *Mayanish* probably has the same root as *T'amay* meaning 'to forget' (62).

For other Chumash terms dealing with the decaying of the physical body, see *Taxshan* meaning 'to grow thin' (84). *Yuxpan* meaning 'to be sick' probably have the same roots as *Aqshan*, meaning 'to be dead' (57).

Topshok'in means 'to rot' (34). It has the connotation of being moldy, as in a decaying body. *Uqsh* means 'to stink' (35), and is the root of *Yu'luqsh* meaning 'to smell' (84). *Yuxpan*, meaning 'to be sick' (43) may have the same root.

Discussion of terms: Yee and Whistler did not record any Tsmuwich terms for **Burial, Grave** or **Cemetery**. But they are probably closely related to Samala terminology. *'Ex'ex'enes*, for example, means 'a cemetery' (Samala, 118). One root is *Exen*, meaning 'to eat up' (as in the Tsmuwich term *Exen*, 'to eat up', 8; with the associated term *Apexen*, meaning 'to gobble up'). Presumably, these terms are related to the decay of the body in the grave, i.e. its disappearance.

For other Chumash terms dealing with the decaying of the physical body, see *Taxshan* meaning 'to grow thin' (Tsmuwich, 84). *Yuxpan* meaning 'to be sick' probably has the same root as *Aqshan*, meaning 'to be dead' (57). *Topshok'in* means 'to rot' (34). It has the connotation of being moldy, as in a decaying body. *Uqsh* means 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 35) and is the root of *Yu'luqsh* meaning 'to smell' (Tsmuwich, 84). *Yuxpan* meaning 'to be sick' (43) may have the same root.

- The decaying of the corpse continues until even the bones eventually return to dust. The *Antik* soul, a visible fiery ball, flies into the heavens and is not seen again on the earth. In a similar fashion, when the body becomes sick it begins to wither, to grow thin, i.e. to slowly disappear.

DOOR The author uses terms like **Door, Portal, and Threshold** to describe the (numerous) spiritual sites which provide Chumash souls entrance into the supernatural (mythical) realm. Also see **Portal, Gate: Western, Point Humqaq** and **Jumping-off Place**.

Terms: *Mitip'in* means 'a door' in Tsmuwich (17; it has the connotation of a portal to the "outside"); (Samala, 223). The root is probably *Tap* which means 'to enter' (Samala, 506). A related term is *'Antap* which means 'one who enters' (Samala, 53). The Chumash used *'Antap* as a name of their political leaders, honoring them as having entered" the ceremonial enclosure or the inner mysteries"(53).

Axisumu' means 'to put into a trance' (Samala, 506; "entrance, to put into a trance").

Compare *Loq*, meaning 'to have a hole in' (16: as in *Sloq* which means 'a hole'). See **Raven** for related terms.

Discussion of terms: The term "gate" presumably was an attempt by M.S. Qiliqutayiwit to explain to a non-Chumash ethnographer (John Harrington) that the religious site called *Humqaq* provided access to an opening into the subterranean segment of the path of the dead. This opening was symbolized as a Sanddollar and was located across the Pacific ocean where the Sun sets. Point Humqaq was a place of ascension (flight of the soul) leading to the Sanddollar portal. See **Ascension** for related discussion.

- The ravens referenced in the name **Point Humqaq** are not threshold (doorway) guardians. These birds are encountered further along the path of the dead when they play a role in replacing the soul's earthly eyes with new eyes suitable for the red light of a declining sun. See **Jumping-off Place** for related discussion.

DROWNING Chumash souls on the path of the dead feared being drowned in their flight over the Pacific.

Also see **Soul: Flight Over the Pacific, Water: Salt, Pacific Ocean, Mortality**. Compare **Immortality, Reincarnation**.

Terms: *Qinc'i'* means 'to drown' (Samala, 288). *Suqinc'i'* means 'to drown someone' (Samala 291; one root is *Qil* meaning 'of water'; *Qin'ci* means 'to drown on one's own volition'). *Q'inc'i'* (Tsmuwich, 25).

Related terms: *Qintap* means 'to be partly submerged in water' (Samala, 291; one root is *Tap* meaning 'to go in'; *Suqintap* means 'to soak something'). *Qilqen* means 'to dissolve' (Samala, 291). *Qilkum* means 'to get soaked through' (Tsmuwich, 24, 'to be waterlogged'). *Upse'* means 'for a fire to be extinguished' (Samala, 392; *Supse'* means 'to be extinguished'; *Utupse'* means for a fire to go out'). *Xitikay* means 'to float' (Samala,

448; one root is *Tikay* meaning 'to be on top of'). *Xiwaslikli* means 'to come to the surface' (Samala, 449; *Sxilwaslikli ha* 'Alawsan means 'the dead man floated to the surface').

Discussion of terms: The root of *Qinc'i* may be *C'i* ('to be sharp') which is the root of the term *Yinc'i* meaning 'to be hot' (Tsmuwich, 6). The connotation may be that when the soul is drowned, it's fire is extinguished. If this happens, the soul becomes incapable of reincarnation.

- "The soul of a drowned person always stayed in the sea, wandering, and never reached the land in the west or was born again" (December, 97, Kitsepawit).
- Drowned souls are seized by the Masters of the Seas (Swordfish) and taken to their crystal house at the bottom of the ocean. The soul loses its fire and becomes incapable of reincarnation. See *Swordfish Race* (Anderson) for related information.

DUALITY Chumash cosmology, like that of other native Californians, is based on duality.

Also see **World: Other**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionaries list **Duality**.

Related terms: '*Isko'm* means 'two' (Samala, 151). One root is the prefix *Is* meaning 'a dual marker' (Samala, 600; *Islutun* means 'to be two-pronged'; '*Isko'mic* means 'to be a pair').

The suffix *Tun* means 'to divide in two' (Samala, 385; *Lutun* means 'to be split'; *Qutitun* means 'to fork', 'to split in two'). *Nitunin* means 'to divide in half' (Samala, 501).

DUSK The dim light of the setting sun and at dawn before the sunrise is a time of part shadow.

See **Night**. Also see **Goal** and **Sanddollar** for related commentary.

Terms: *Unaxiyi* means 'to be half dusk' (Samala, 390, 'to be dusk, 454). The prefix *Uni* means 'at night' and the suffix *Axiyi* means 'to be dark' (Samala, 454, 'nighttime' This term was used for both the setting and the rising of the sun when the light is still weak. In this sense, dusk is associated with Venus as both the Evening and Morning Star.

Related terms: '*Axtawayan* means 'to cast a shadow' (Samala, 95; 'to make shade').

EARTH The Chumash believed that the earth had a soul, and that the bodies [dust and bones] of their ancestors were integrated with the earth.

Also see **Shup**, **Xutash** and **Burial**.

Terms: *Shup* means 'earth' (Tsmuwich, 30; it also means 'the ground', 'soil', 'dirt', 'land'; it also means 'a god' and 'a year').

Heishup refers to the surface of the earth [where humans live]. It means 'this world'; the prefix *Hei* is a variant of the Samala term *He* meaning 'this' (23). '*Itiasup* is a Samala synonym (December, 91, Qiliqutayiwit, "this world here"). See **World: Middle** for additional commentary.

Xutas means 'the Earth Mother' (Samala, 452; also refers to 'the Evening Star').

- The surface of the earth was the natural world of four dimensions. It included the air space over world oceans but not the depths of the sea. Souls soaring over the ocean after leaving Point Humqaq did not leave the natural world until they descended through the Sanddollar portal of the setting Sun.

Hypothesis: The Chumash believed that the remains of the physical bodies of their ancestors (dust theme) joined with that of the earth. Moreover, they believed that their physical bodies were derived from the earth, through consumption of plants and animals nurtured by the earth ecology (Earth Mother theme).

EARTH SURFACE Humans, animals, and plants live on the surface of the earth, called the Middle World.

Terms: '*Itiashup* means 'the world here' and refers to the surface of the earth where humans live (December, 91, Qiliqutayiwit). The prefix '*Iti*' means 'here' (Samala, 156).

EDUCATION The properly educated Chumash, like native peoples throughout California, knew the location of the path of the dead and had little trouble leaving the earth and beginning their heavenly journey toward reincarnation.

Terms: *Ch'a'min* means 'to know' (Tsmuwich, 7). *C'aminic* means 'to be knowledgeable' (Samala, 107; the root is *C'amin* meaning 'to know'; *C'aminipi* means 'to be familiar with'). One root is '*Ip* means 'to think' (Samala, 145, 'to say', literally means 'to say to one's self').

- Education about death, reincarnation, and the path of the dead began in childhood tales and continued into adulthood through theological training.

- Educated souls did not become lost during their ascension and successfully rose up from the Point Hummaq to continue their journey on the path of the dead.

ELDERBERRY FLUTE When Coyote rescued a drowned soul from the grasp of the mighty Swordfish, he used an elderberry flute to trick them.

Terms for Flute: *Tiwalu'lay* means 'a flute' (Tsmuwich, 33). *Tiwalula'y* (Samala, 515; *Tiwalula'yic* means 'to play a flute').

Terms for Elderberry: *Qayas* means 'an elder' (Tsmuwich, 24, 'blueberry elder'). **Elderberry** is not listed in the Samala dictionary.). But *Qayas* is listed as is translated as 'blueberry elder' (285).

Discussion of terms: *Tiwalu'lay* may be related to *Iwalus* which means 'to murmur' (Samala, 158), honoring its quiet musical sound.

ELYEWUN See **Swordfish**.

ENTROPY See **Physical Body: Entropy**.

EVENING STAR Text.

See **Xutash** (ritual name), **Dusk**. Also see **Sanddollar**, **Pentacle**, **Light**.

Non-Ritual names: The [Lulapin] non-ritual name of the Evening Star is *Sma'aiyi 'i Akiwi* meaning 'the star of sunset' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 80, 154). *Sma'aiyhi* is associated with the Tsmuwich term *Shamishup* which means 'sunset' (29); the suffix *Mishup* means 'to go down' (Tsmuwich, 17; *Shamishup* means 'for the sun to set'). And *Akiwi* which means 'star' [in Lulapin] is a variant of the Tsmuwich term '*Aqiwo* (3). '*Aqiwo* (Samala, 63, 'star').

Another name for the Evening Star is '*Aqiwo Haluqstay* meaning 'the star which is bright' (Samala, 63; *Ha al-uqstay* means 'the bright one'). *Uqstay* means 'to be bright' (Samala, 49; 394; 'to be brilliant'). *Uqwatu'luqstay* means 'to twinkle' [brightly] (Samala, 394). *Uqushtay* means 'to be bright' (Tsmuwich, 54, 'to be light').

Ritual Name: *Xutas* is one name for the Evening Star (Samala, 452, also means 'Venus' and 'Mother Earth'). *Hutash* is the Lulapin variant (Crystals, 81, Kitsepawit).

Note that the Tsmuwich dictionary listed *Xutash* but did not cite 'evening star', 'Venus', or Earth Mother' as definitions (41). It provided only common definitions such as 'berry', 'pupil of the eye'. The root term of *Xutash* and *Xutas* is presumably *Ixut* meaning 'to burn' (Tsmuwich, 12). *Ixut* means 'to burn' in Samala (161; *Sixut* means 'a dragonfly, literally meaning 'it's on fire'). The Evening Star is the fiery eye of the early evening.

Related terms: *Tapin* means 'to be evening' (Samala, 362, 'to be late in the day'). *Utitaipin* means 'to get dark in the evening' (Samala, 362).

Ipc'iyiwin means 'to sparkle' in Tsmuwich (10). '*Ipc'iyiwin* means 'to sparkle' (Samala, 145; *Ipc'ic'ix* means 'to throw off sparks'). *C'i* means 'to be sharp' (Tsmuwich, 6).

Iqst'a'n means 'to be shiny' (Samala, 147).

- Kitsepawit described the Evening Star (Venus) as a wife of the Sun (Crystals, 81). She lures the souls of the newly dead to the Sanddollar portal of the setting Sun using her beautiful light which contrasts with the dwindling red light of the setting sun and the clouds of sunset. See **Light** and **Red** for related discussion.

- Hudson/Underhay misidentified the Evening Star as an Eagle in Chumash mythology. See Appendix One for related commentary.

Hypothesis: The five pointed star design which is found on the Sanddollar is painted on the Chumash solar measuring devices. This design symbolized the portal of the setting sun. See **Sanddollar** for related commentary.

EVIL See **Sin**.

EYES: BLUE See **Heavenly Eyes**.

EYES: EARTHLY After death the earthly eyes are pecked out by two Ravens and poppy eyes replace them.

Terms: *Tiq* means 'an [earthly] eye' (Tsmuwich, 33); *Tix* (Samala, 380; *Tixic* means 'to see well'). *C'antic* means 'to see well' (Samala, 572).

Xutash means 'pupil of the eye' (Tsmuwich, 41, also means 'berry'). *Xutas* means 'pupil of the eye' (Samala, 452, "said to resemble the black *Xutas* berry"[which resemble the black iris of Chumash eyes]; also refers to the Evening Star and to the Earth Mother). Note that these black eyes are replaced on the path of the dead for red poppy eyes and blue abalone eyes.

Related terms: *Aqli'l* means 'to show up' (Tsmuwich, 3; 'to be obvious'). *Aqlil* means 'to be visible' (Samala, 64, also means 'to be daylight' [and thus implying sight based on sunlight]). Compare to '*Acan* which means 'to have visions or hear voices' (Samala, 32;; 'to be possessed in trance by a spirit').

- The Chumash had black eye pupils which resembled black *Xutas* berries.
- Two Ravens at Point Humqag remove the earthly eyes of the air soul so that it can replace them with Poppy Eyes needed to see on the journey to the portal of the setting Sun and in the underworld. And when the soul ascends from the underworld into the heavens it exchanges its poppy eyes for abalone eyes.

EYES: HEAVENLY See **Heavenly Eyes** and **Evening Star** (*Xutash*) for the fiery eye of early evening.

EYES: POPPY See **Poppy Eyes**.

EYES: RED See **Poppy Eyes** which enable the soul on the path of the dead to see in the red light of the weakening Sun.

EYES: UNDERWORLD See **Poppy Eyes**. And see **World: Lower** for the underworld.

FAIL The Chumash soul which fails in its flight over the Pacific is drowned and cut off forever from reincarnation.

Terms: *Sutokok* means 'to fail' (Samala, 328, 'unable to do').

Sexleqen means 'unsuccessful' (Samala, 199, 'to do in vain', 306). *Egen* means 'to do to excess' (Tsmuwich, 8) may be a related term.

Related terms: *Si'yi* means 'to miss the mark' (Tsmuwich, 26, 'to make mistakes'). *Siyi'* (Samala, 311).

FATE A soul on the path of the dead succeeds or fails through its own knowledge, determination, courage, etc. The soul's fate is not determined before its journey.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Fate**, **Destiny**, **Chance**, or **Determine**. See **Free Will** for related terminology.

Related terms: *Apicho* means 'to have good luck' (Samala, 56).

Yiw means 'to have good fortune' (Samala, 456). See **Free Will** for related commentary.

- *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson, issued in 1997) featured issues of fate, determinism and luck in Chumash cosmological theory. *Wilishich: The Chumash House of Fate Revisited* (Anderson, unpublished) will examine the role of luck, gambling, prayer on the fate of an individual and also that of a community.

FEAR Fear can have both physiological and psychological causes. But many human fears associated with the dead are psychological in origin.

Also see **Supernatural**, **Awe**. Compare **Ghost** and see **Ghost Haunting** for discussion of terms related to psychological fear.

Terms: *It'imin* means 'to fear' (Tsmuwich, 11; thus *Iti'minish* meaning 'fear', and *Susit'imin* meaning 'to frighten'). All of these terms probably have a physiological sense of fear, as in animal bodily reactions to perceived danger such as sweating, raising of hair, etc. They may be related to the term *Amin* meaning 'the body' (2; also means 'flesh', 'meat').

Xunishpi also means 'to fear' (Tsmuwich, 41). *Axunuspi* (Samala, 97, 'to be fearful', 'to be afraid of').

Uniwalaliw means 'to be fearful' (Samala, 511).

Alulkuwic means 'to be fearful' (Samala, 511, 'to be awe-inspiring', 472, 'to be fearsome', 'to be fearful'). One root is *Alulkuw* meaning 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49; 'to be otherworldly'; one root is *Ulkuw* meaning 'to be night', 'to be otherworldly', 'to be supernatural').

Axsic means 'to be afraid' (Samala, 93, 'to be fearful'; *Saxic* means 'to frighten', 'to scare'; *Axsik'in* is a related term meaning 'to hate', 'to dislike', 'to disagree; one root is *Sik'in* meaning 'to feel offended'). *Axshik'in* (Tsmuwich, 5, 'to hate', 'to dislike'). *Sik'in* means 'to be offended' (Tsmuwich, 26, 'to feel hurt').

Discussion of terms: *Suxa'yiw* means 'to fear death' (Samala, 330). *Xa'yiw* means 'to be in the supernatural world in some fashion' (Samala, 446). The connotation is that the soul has begun to walk on the path of dead and that the physical body will die if the soul does not return.

- The path of the dead is fraught with dangers all the way to the *Mesmu* bridge which is the last and greatest test of the soul. The wise and vigilant soul only stops fearing when they cross the celestial bridge and enter *Similaqsa*, the Land of the Dead.

FIRE The Chumash honored Fire as one of the four fundamental elements. It is associated with soul.

Compare **Earth, Air and Water** for the other fundamental elements.

Terms: *Ni* means 'fire' (Samala, 247). *Ni* (Tsmuwich, 20).

Xut is closely associated with 'fire'. Thus *Ixut* means 'to burn' (Tsmuwich, 12). *Ixut* means 'to burn' (Samala, 161). The Mourning ceremony held on the last day of the harvest festival was called *Shihuch* meaning 'big fire' (Eye, 47, Kitsepawit). The suffix *Huch* probably is associated with *Xut*.

• The fiery Sun is the most influential supernatural impacting life on the surface of the earth. Human souls seek out the Sun as it sets in the west and follow it down to the nadir of the earth. In *Mishup* (Anderson) the fiery brilliance of the flaming star called Sirius is featured.

FIVE The sanddollar pentangle, which symbolized the portal into the lower world, was a very significant use of the number five in Chumash theology.

See **Five Pointed Star** for related discussion. Compare **Poppy Eyes** for discussion of the four petals of the poppy plant.

Terms: *Yit'ipak'a* means 'five' (Tsmuwich, 42); the prefix *Yit'i* refers to adding the base unit four to the number *Pak'a* which means 'one' [four, plus one, equals five]. *Yitipaka's* (Samala, 455).

• The flower of the datura plant has five petals, but the poppy flower apparently was associated with soul's sight in the lower world.

• Coyote reported that "there were five worlds in all" (December, 201, Nutu). Presumably, he meant that the physical cosmos was divided into five levels with *Itiashup* (the surface of the earth where humans lived) being the middle level. The upper world has two levels, and the lower world has two levels.

Commentary: The number four is associated with mundane space/time which dominates life on the surface of the earth (*Itiashup*). And the number five probably is associated with mythic space/time which dominated life in the Other World which begins after descending through the Sanddollar into the Lower world. Another name for this Other World was the supernatural.

FIVE POINTED STAR On the surface of every Sanddollar is a five-pointed star which symbolizes the portal used by the setting sun.

See **Pentacle, Portal of the Setting Sun, Sanddollar, Xutash**. Also see **Datura, Mythic Space/time, Supernatural, Magic**.

Terms: *Yit'ipaka* means 'five' in Tsmuwich (42). *Yitipaka's* (Samala, 455). The primary term is *Paka* which is the number four, a basic unit of counting in Chumash. The prefix *Yit'i* means 'to come' (Tsmuwich, 42) with the connotation of coming up one, from the base unit (four).

• The five pointed star on the face of the Sanddollar is a symbol of great antiquity which is found in cultures not only in the Americas but also in Eurasia.

• The pentacle on the face of the Sanddollar symbolized entry into a fifth dimension of mythic space/time.

Hypothesis: The sanddollar (pentagram) was a symbol of the crossing from mundane space/time into mythic space/time of the supernatural realm.

Hypothesis: The Sanddollar portal used by the Sun, Venus, and human souls on the path of the dead symbolized the entry into the fecundity of *Xutash* (Mother Earth). It was depicted as a five petaled datura flower.

FLIGHT: SOUL The flight of the '*Antik* soul Jumping-off of a cliff at Point Conception demonstrated the soul's ability to fly

Also see **Soul: Flight over the Pacific, Ocean Flight, Jumping-off Place, Ascension and Xoyoyon Flight**.

Terms: *Xalnipay* means 'to fly up' (Tsmuwich, 40). *Xal* has the connotation of 'through the air' (Samala, 443, a verb prefix).

Xalkitwon means 'to leap out' (Samala, 444, 'to fly out'). One root is *Kitwo'n* which means 'to come out' (Tsmuwich, 13, 'to emerge').

Xa'nan means 'to fly' (Tsmuwich, 40; *Xana'nan* means 'to fly all over').

Xoyoyon means 'to fly' (Tsmuwich, 41). *Xonowon* means 'to fly through the air' (Samala, 515).

Aqtanapay means 'to fly upwards' (Samala, 71). *Apay* means 'up' (Samala, 54).

Related terms: *Kam* means 'a wing' (Tsmuwich, 13; '*Iyalkamuch* means 'winged creatures').

Xalqlaw means 'to fly down' (Tsmuwich, 40). *Qlaw* means 'to descend' (Tsmuwich, 24).

• A disembodied soul does not walk but flies (glides) a little above the ground when moving on a solid surface such as the surface of the earth. Qiliqutayiwit described such a soul as a "floating white ball" (December, 298; "such things are called '*Ahasis* spirits").

FLINT A very hard fine grained quartz, which was used by the Chumash for making fires and for the manufacture of arrowheads and other cutting devices such as knives, spearheads, etc.

Terms: *Shxaxil* means 'flint' (Tsmuwich, 30; *Snaqil* is a variant; one root is *Nax'il* meaning 'to be erect', 'to be vertical').

Pedernal is a Spanish term meaning 'flint'.

- *Shnaxil* (*Pedernal*; flint) point is located at the mouth of the White Deer (Honda) canyon where the initial facilities of the California Spaceport have been built.

- Flint is a magical substance, because it produces a spark (See *Atishwin*) when struck. The flint found in the Greater Humqag religious complex is Monterey chert, which is also located on nearby Limu island. It is often honey colored in this region, but can also be colored from white to light brown and even black. *Shnaxil* point is located at the mouth of White Deer (Honda) canyon where the initial facilities of the California Spaceport have been built.

FLOAT When a person drowns he sinks into the depths of the ocean, but eventually his physical body floats up to the surface of the waves if not eaten beforehand.

Terms: *Xilwayan* means 'to float on its own' (Samala, 447; *Suxilwayan* means 'to float something').

Xilwayan means 'to float' (Tsmuwich, 40). *Xiliwayan* means 'to float' (Tsmuwich, 37; *Wayan* means 'to hang').

The phrase *Sxilwaslikli ha 'Alawsan* means 'the dead man floated to the surface' (Samala, 449).

Xilwasliki means 'to come to the surface' (49) and *Alawsan* is a variant of *'Alaqsan* meaning 'a dead person' (Samala, 36; *Aqsan* meaning 'death', 67).

Xiltikay means 'to float on its own' (Samala, 448; *Tikay* means 'to be on top of'). *Tikay* means 'to be on top of' (Tsmuwich, 32).

Xina'n means 'to float away' (Tsmuwich, 40).

Hypothesis: The body of a drowned person floats to the surface of the ocean, but the Swordfish kept the captive soul which is forever kept from reincarnation.

FLOWER OF THE SUN See Sun: Flower of.

FLOWERS In Chumash myth flowers symbolize female fecundity and cyclical reincarnation

Also see Sanddollar.

Terms: *Spe'y* means 'flower' in Tsmuwich (22; *Pe'y* means 'to blossom'). *Spe'y* (Samala, 271, 'flower'). *Ispe'yhic* means 'to be decorated with flowers' (Samala, 149). *Ispe'yun* means 'to gather flowers' (149).

Related terms: *Eqpey* meaning 'to resemble' (Samala, 270) may be related to *Spe'y* meaning 'a flower'.

- S. Qonoyu called the Sanddollar image "the flower" (December, 98).

Hypothesis: The ability of a flower to reincarnate a new flower through its seed is a Chumash symbol of the cycle of reincarnation of the immortal soul.

FLOWERS OF THE DEAD A Chumash ritual name used for elaborately decorated ritual objects, which were burned at mourning ceremonies to honor the ancestors [including the recently dead] of the living Chumash.

Also see Removed Ones, Images.

Terms: *Supe'i Ishaqshanuch* is the ritual name for the mortuary objects called the Flowers of the Dead. One root is *Spe'y*, meaning 'flower' (Tsmuwich, 22; *Pe'y* means 'to blossom'). The other root is *Aqshan*, meaning 'to be dead' (4). See **Removed Ones** for related terms.

Related terms: *Is'a'liyin* means 'ancestors' (Samala, 147; literally means 'one's own elders').

Discussion of terms: *Spe'y* also means 'image' as in the Samala term *Uteqpey* meaning 'to imitate' (403). *Eqpey* means 'to resemble' (Tsmuwich, 8).

- These sacrificial objects probably represented the bodies of the dead, which served [like flowers] to produce the seed (soul) that enables the human species to renew itself.

FLUTE See Elderberry Flute.

FOUR In Chumash mathematics, the number four was a basic unit of counting.

Also see the four-petaled Poppy flower. Compare Five.

Terms: *Sku'mu* means 'four' (Tsmuwich, 27). *Skumu* (Samala, 224; *Niskumu* means 'to divide into four parts').

- Both the Chumash and many other native Californians believed that the soul remained with the buried body for four days before it released and began its journey on the path of the dead. Qiliqutayiwit, for example, reported: “Three days after a person has been buried the soul comes out of the grave in the evening” (December, 98). If the day of burial is one day, then the three additional days adds up to a total of four.

- Tata Xuse described the poppy as a symbol of the sun (December, 158; “it is as if the sun itself is on the ground”). See *Mishup* (Anderson, 10) for discussion of another sun associated flower, the twelve petaled Flower of the Sun.

Hypothesis: The number of days of non-motion in the grave is based on the number of days the Sun appears to remain still on the eastern horizon during the solstices. For the Chumash this number is four which is their sacred number and the basis of their counting system.

Hypothesis: The four petaled poppy flower was a symbol of mundane space/time which was ruled by the cycles of the [moving] sun.

FREE WILL In both the *Ahash* and ‘*Antik*’ stages, the soul has free will.

See **Soul**.

Terms: *Aqniyiw* means ‘to choose to’ (Samala, 65; *Yiw* means ‘to seek’, ‘to face’; the prefix *Aqni* has the connotation of ‘mental activity’; *Suxniyiw* means ‘to blame someone’).

Related terms: *Aqniwilich* means ‘to think’ (Tsmuwich, 3). One root is *Wil* meaning ‘to exist’ (Tsmuwich, 38, ‘to be’, ‘to have’).

- The human soul is limited by the forces (rigors of the World) imposed by the demi gods. See *Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) for analysis of these demi-gods. And note that Coyote especially loved the Rigors of the World’ (December, 226, Kitsepawit).

FUNERAL See **Burial**, **Mourning Ceremony** and **Shanan Phase** for related discussion.

GATE: WESTERN Point Humqaq is often referred to as the Western Gate in modern commentary on its role in traditional Chumash necrogeography.

See **Jumping-off Place**, **Point Humqaq**. Also see **Portal**.

Terms: In this text, the term **Gate** is downplayed as a Christian intrusion into traditional Chumash beliefs about Point Humqaq. This point of land was a place of ascension (a **Jumping-off Place**) from which the reincarnating soul soared into the air and flew west across the Pacific ocean.

- John Harrington’s field notes recorded that Qiliqutayiwit explicitly described “the gate” of paradise (Land of the Dead) which was closed (“the closing”) only after a soul left Point Conception (Blackburn, December, 99).

- Qiliqutayiwit’s commentary on Point Humqaq has led to much controversy as to whether Point *Humqaq* should be called the Western Gate. The **Gate** reference was to a hypothetical gate to the land of the dead (*Similaqsa*). Such nomenclature is a reflection of Qiliqutayiwit’s Christian training about the pearly gate to the Christian heaven and is not appropriate to a traditional Chumash place name. See **Jumping-off Place** for related commentary.

GATEWAY See **Door**, **Jumping-off Place**, **Humqaq Point** and **Raven** for discussion.

GESTATION Nine months is the period of human gestation.

Also see **Xutash**.

Terms: *Sutyiknis* means ‘to be pregnant’ (Samala, 351; the root *Sutyik* means ‘to put into’).

Axmak means ‘to be pregnant’ (Samala, 90; *Saxmak* means ‘to get someone pregnant’). *Saxmak* (Tsmuwich, 26, ‘pregnant’).

- Women impregnated during the winter solstice bear their babies in September which is a time when food is plentiful.

- The Evening Star can be seen in the west for about nine months before disappearing from the western sky. This period is the same as the gestation of human females.

GHOST A number of surviving Chumash folk tales feature a living human seeing a ghost.

Also see **Soul**.

Terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary lists 'ghost' as one translation of *'Ahashish* (Tsmuwich, 1). *'Ahasis* (Samala, 32; 'ghost', 'spirit'); one root is *Ahas* meaning 'soul', 'spirit'.

Discussion of terms: *Gheis-* meaning 'to fear', is the Indo-European root of **Ghost** (Clairborn, Roots, 109; thus the terms *Ghostly* and *Aghast*).

- The Chumash wept at funerals not because death was a tragedy for most dead persons. They mourned for their own grief at losing a loved one, but they also wept in fear that the soul of the newly dead would not be successful in finding the path of the dead and would therefore wander the earth as a dangerous ghost (angry soul of the dead). They also feared that the soul of the dead would succeed in finding the path of the dead, but would become discontented in the Land of the Dead and return to take one or more members of the family back with them so they would not be lonely in the Land of the Dead.

- In cultures which believe in bone souls, the presence of these souls in cemeteries explains the sacred status of these formal burying grounds. If a spirit remains with the bones, it is sacrilegious to disturb them.

- Qiliqutayiwit's narrative called "Spirit Lights" described seeing a ghost (December, 297). She used the term *'Ahasis* for the ghost and called it a "spirit" (297).

GHOST: HAUNTING The Chumash did not normally fear the souls of the dead, unless the souls were improperly educated or became confused (after release from the physical body) and could not locate the celestial path of the dead

Terms: The Samala dictionary defined *'Ahasis* as "ghost" (519, 'spirit'). *'Ahashish* (Tsmuwich, 1). *Sinaxkun* means 'to haunt' (Tsmuwich, 26; with the connotation of appearing in dreams). It has the same root as *Taxshiq* meaning 'to be frightened' (32; thus *Sutaxshiqin* meaning 'to scare'), as in *Utaxtaxsin* meaning 'to frighten' (Samala, 403, 'to jump from being startled'). *Taq'alamish* means 'to be afraid of ghosts' (Tsmuwich, 17). *Susit'imin* means 'to frighten' (Tsmuwich, 28; *Itimin* means 'to fear'). *Uxnik* means 'to flee' (37; also means 'to run away').

- See M.S. Qiliqutayiwit's ghost sickness story (Blackburn, December, 300; "She was warned to stay indoors at night lest she see a passing soul and one of the sparks emanating from it fall on her and make her sick").

- The Chumash, like other native peoples, feared such confused souls of the dead because in their plight they remained on Mother Earth and haunted humans.

- See *Tales From A Christmas Season* (Anderson, 1996) for further discussion of ghost haunting. See **Fear** for a discussion of physiological terms for fear. *When Demons rule California: A Chumash Halloween* (Anderson, 1998) features a good deal of additional information on ghost haunting. See the glossary term **Ahash** for further information.

GOAL The goal of a reincarnating soul Jumping-off the cliff at Point Humqaq is the portal of the setting sun.

See **Dusk** for the timing of the soul's approach to the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun. See **Sanddollar** for related commentary.

Terms *Slo'* means 'a goal in a game' (Samala, 520).

'Ixipmu' means 'a goal in a game' (Samala, 161, with the connotation of 'a winning place'; the root is *Ixip* meaning 'to win in a game, 'to defeat').

The suffix *Li* means 'a goal of action' (Samala, 520; *Lo'* means 'to reach a goal').

Related terms: *Atikuy* means 'to be facing in a particular direction' (Tsmuwich, 4, 'to face'). *Atikuy* (Samala, 81, 'to face'; the prefix *Ati* means 'facing'; *Atikhit* means 'to head toward'). The suffix *Kuy* means 'to hold' (Samala, 81). *Kuy* means 'to hold onto' (Tsmuwich, 14).

GRAVE The Chumash buried their dead, placing long grave poles over the graves.

Terms: *Ut'imay* means 'to bury' (Tsmuwich, 36).

Related terms: *Iqmay* meaning 'to cover' (10; as in *Ixmay* meaning 'to flood', 'to cover up', as with water). The suffix *May* has the connotation of 'overwhelmed (Samala, 218, 'overshadowed'). Thus *Mayanish* means 'to disappear' (17; 'to vanish') probably has a common root shared with *Nimey* which means 'to hide' (19). *Nimey* has the connotation of 'hiding a secret', as in the Samala term *Nimeyes* meaning 'a secret'.

Itaxmay, meaning 'to be amazed' (Tsmuwich, 11) [to become bewildered or confused when some secret is suddenly uncovered] may have a related root with *Ut'imay*.

Ush'e means 'to dig' (36); it has the connotation of digging 'a grave'. *Ush'ak* means 'to empty' (36); compare *Us'anti*, meaning 'to receive' (36; only that which is empty can receive). See **Disappear** for related terminology.

Aloto'yinpi means 'a grave' (Samala, 35, 'a resting place'; one root is *Oto'yin* meaning 'to lie'). *Toyon* means 'to lie down' (Tsmuwich, 68); thus *Alito'yin* means 'to be lying down'. *To'yin* means 'to lie down' (34). used in this text for the celestial bridge which leads to Similaqsa, the Chumash land of the dead.

- These poles were painted in stripes of different ritual colors, and personal items of the dead were tied to them. For example, a woman's pole might have a basket she wove tied to the pole, or a man's pole might have his knife, a bow, or other fishing netting tied to it. Presumably, the purpose of these personal items was to make the soul of the dead content with these *familiar* items and thus not return to the home of his living relative, seeking solace. The intent of the poles was presumably to remind the soul of its pending journey (climb) into the heavens, to travel the world tree (pole, Milky Way) to the Land of the Dead.

GREED Kitsepawit taught that greed rules life on the surface of the earth.

Also see **Coyote**.

Terms: *Axnacnac* means 'to be greedy' (Samala, 91, 'to be gluttonous'). *Aqniywus* means 'to desire' (Tsmuwich, 3, 'to want').

Related terms: *Aqniywus* means 'to desire' (Tsmuwich, 3, 'to want'). *Inisaxukumu* means 'to be excessive' (Samala, 144, "in the sense of immoderate"; one root is *Ini* meaning "not" and the other is *Axtakumel* meaning 'to be moderate'; 'to be within bounds', 94).

- Kitsepawit taught that greed ruled the world (December, 253, "Gain is All"; "profit is the voice of all"). This teaching was descriptive, not prescriptive. It is an accurate observation that competition rules both in botany and biology.

- The greed of the physical body must be transcended before a soul can complete its journey on the path of the dead.

- One of the fundamentals of Chumash ethics is to overcome individual human greed to serve the community.

GREEN See **Sunset: Green, Glow**.

HALEY, B & WILCOXON, L. See Appendix F for related commentary.

HAUNTING See Ghost: Haunting.

HEART The physical heart in humans and animals was presumably considered the seat of the air soul (by the Chumash and many other native Americans who used related terms for both heart and soul).

See **Soul: Bone** for related commentary on the **Ahash** soul. And compare **Soul: of the Air** for the use of the term *Antik* for the soul which walks the path of the dead.

Terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary listed both *Antik* (2) and *Ahash* (1) as terms for 'the heart'. It also translated both terms as 'soul'.

Atik means 'heart' in Samala (82, also means 'soul', 'spirit'). But *Ahas* is defined only as 'soul' (Samala, 32, 'spirit'; *Ahasis* means 'a spirit, also 'a ghost').

HEAVEN The heavens were perceived by Chumash cosmologists as a covering realm located above the surface of the earth.

See **Shimilaqsa, Land of the Dead, Milky Way, Path of the Dead, Jumping-off Place, World: Upper**. And see **Point Humqaq** for the Western Gate (portal) leading upward into the heavens.

Terms: '*Alapayashup* is the Samala name for 'the heavens' (December, 91, Qiliqutayiwit). '*Alapay* means 'in the sky' (Samala, 39, 'up', 'above', 'on top of'; *Apay* means 'to be over', 'to be above'). '*Alapay* means 'sky' (Tsmuwich, 1, also means 'up').

HEAVENLY EYES The heavenly eyes acquired by the soul after it rose in the east with the Morning Star were blue.

Also see **Poppy Eyes** for the supernatural eyes acquired by the soul for its journey through the underworld.

Terms: The Tsmuwich term for 'eye' is *Tiq* (33).

Related terms: *Qilpstin* means 'to open the eyes' (Samala). It is probably related to the term *Xiliwashin* meaning 'to see well'. Compare the Samala term *Xilikustas* meaning 'to have hope', and *Quwa* which means 'hopefully' (Tsmuwich, 66).

Hypothesis: The '*Antik* soul exchanged its earthly eyes for poppy eyes in the lower world where the fading glow of the dying sun was red. Eventually the sun's light turned to purple. (Eye, 51, Kitsepawit; the twelve pointed Sun Flower was painted red and purple). See **Ravine**.

Hypothesis: The '*Antik* soul exchanged its poppy eyes for abalone eyes when it ascended from the lower world into the blue sky, escorted by the Morning Star. See **Abalone**.

HEAVENLY PATH See **Path of the Dead**.

HUMQAQ Point Humqaq is the place of ascension (Jumping-off place) for Chumash souls on the path of the dead.

See **Ascension** for discussion of the flight of the soul as it leaves (jumps from) the mainland at Point Humqaq. Also see **Jumping-off Place**.

Terms: *Humqaq* means 'the raven comes'. One root is *Qaq* 'which means 'a raven' (Tsmuwich, 24). *Qaq* (Samala, 285). The prefix *Hum* may be a Lulapin variant of *Kum* meaning 'to come to get' (Tsmuwich, 56). *Kum* means 'to arrive' (Samala, 188, 'to come').

Discussion of terms: The Samala variant is '*Kumqaq*' which is translated as 'the raven "arrives"' (190). If Qiliqutayiwit is correct, the Raven will arrive when the soul enters the deep Ravine [in the Lower World]. In short, the Raven is *not* at Point Humqaq but rather in the nether world.

HUMQAQ: CLIFF The soul leaps from a cliff at Point Humqaq to soar over the dangerous ocean.

Terms: *Shi* means 'a cliff' (Tsmuwich, 30). *Si* means 'a cliff' (Samala, 340).

Discussion of terms: It is a necessity for any landmass facing the ocean to be raised above the level of the water. In many cases, the edge of the mainland and islands are cliffs. In *Similaqsa* (Anderson) the prefix of the term *Similaqsa* (the land of the dead) is proposed to be *Si* meaning 'a cliff'. The Tsmuwich variants are *Shimilaqsha* (Crystals, 153, Hudson) and *Shi* (30). If this prefix identification is correct, then the Chumash conceived of the stars and specifically Aquila, the land of the dead, as a [paradisiacal] island. This conceptualization would be consistent with the lore of many Pacific ocean cultures.

HUMQAQ: POINT See **Point Humqaq**.

HUMQAAQ: POOL Qiliqutayiwit described this pool as being located at Humqaq "below the cliff" (98).

Also see **Cleansing**. See **Humqaq: Cliff** for an associated physical site.

Terms: *Alutiqipin* means 'a cliff' (Samala, 49; *Utiqipin* means 'to be precipitous'). *Qililik'in* means 'for water to pool' (Samala, 290; the prefix *Qil* refers to 'water'; *Ilik'in* means 'to be situated', 'to stand'). *Lek'en* means 'to reside' (Tsmuwich, 16, 'to stay').

- It "can only be reached by a rope, and there is a pool of water there like a basin, into which fresh water continuously drips. And there in the stone can be seen the footprints of women and children. There the spirit of the dead bathes and paints itself" (98). The exact location of the pool and the associated cliff have not been determined. See **Antik Springs** and **Point Humqaq** for further discussion.

Hypothesis: Bodies of salt water are associated in Chumash lore with the salt water in a mammalian (e.g. human) womb. In contrast, fresh water is associated with cleansing, such as the pool at Humqaq. Compare **Sanddollar** and **Womb** for salt water immersion and rebirth.

HUMQAAQ SHRINE The exact location of the Humqaq shrine has not been determined yet by American scholars.

See **Shrine**. Compare **Point Humqaq**, **Humqaq Pool**.

Terms: Qiliqutayiwit described this site as a "sawil" (98), a term which means 'a shrine' in Samala (*Sawi'l*, 576). *Sawil* means 'shrine' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 68); presumably the root of *Chwashtiwi'l* meaning 'sacred place' (Hudson, Eye, 23; Kitsepawit).

Discussion of terms: Blackburn translated *Sawil* as "shrine" but he equates it to a *Naxalyiqis* which is a type of ceremonial enclosure (December, 343). This comparison can be misleading since *Naxalyipis* is a Samala term (*Xaxalyikis*), used for their church structures which are different from a shrine (*Sawil*).

It is interesting that Kitsepawit linked the term *Nahalyikash* with the "sacred" (Hudson, Eye, 42), not as a translation but as a description of the enclosure's sacred status. See **Datura** for the otherworldly connotation of *Naxalyikis*.

- It is not known if a *Siliyik* structure was routinely located near Point Humqaq. Hudson and Underhay use the term *Siliyik* for ceremonial enclosures (Crystals, 154; means "the whole world") and define *Shawil* as 'a shrine' (153).

- Qiliqutayiwit described the Humqaq shrine as being "near" Point Humqaq but did not give any specific definition of near (feet, yards, miles?). It is clear from her deposition, however, that this shrine was a distinctive place, separate from the Humqaq pool. The shrine was used "to make sacrifices" (Blackburn, December, 98).

HUMQAAQ: TOWN *Humqaq* is a name for a seaport located near Humqaq Point. (renamed *Conception* by the Spanish).

See **Upop** for further discussion.

- Traditional Chumash, who were members of the Brotherhood of the Tomol, used a coastal site called *Humqaq* as a (remote and thus safe) fishing village in the early American era.

ILLNESS See **Suffering**.

IMAGE In Chumash religious lexicology the terms **Image** and **Shadow** are closely related.

Also see **Shadow**, **Removed Ones**, **Sanddollar**, **Flowers of the Dead**.

Terms: *Aqwicuy* means 'an image' (Samala, 77, 'shadow', 'a reflection'). Note that **Image** is not listed in the Tsmuwich dictionary. *Tsaqwiti Loka Penhis* means 'images of the removed ones', referring to the disembodied souls of the dead who have left the surface of the earth. Moreover, these souls have had their physical bodies removed.

Uteqpey means 'to imitate' (Tsmuwich, 36); one root is *Eqpey* which means 'to resemble' (8). *Uteqpey* (Samala, 403, 'to imitate', 'to mimic'). And *Uqwaluteqpey* means 'to form an image of' (Samala, 395; *Uteqpey* means 'to imitate'). *Pe'y* is a related term meaning 'to flower' (Tsmuwich, 22). *Huqey* is a related term which means 'to adorn' (22).

Kuyenes means 'a human figure' (Samala, 195, 'an image', 'an effigy'). The prefix *Ku* means 'a person'.

- When a person or object is lit up by a light [such as sunlight] a shadow is formed which is an outline of the illuminated physical body. This shadow is a special type of image of the person or object, providing important information to all life on the surface of the earth.

IMMORTALITY All souls are immortal in Chumash theology.

Also see **Swordfish**. Compare **Mortality, Physical Body: Entropy**.

• See *The Circle Within the Abyss* (Anderson) for commentary on the role of the circle of reincarnation and the Abyss in Chumash reincarnation theory.

Discussion of terms: The immortal human soul exists in various stages: see **Ahash** for the embodied human soul, **Antik** for the disembodied soul, and **Star** for a saintly soul. And see **Bone Soul** for a hypothetical second soul.

ITIASHUP See **World: Middle**.

JERUSALEM CRICKET See **Sand Cricket**.

JUMPING See **Resurrection: Jumping**.

JUMPING-OFF PLACE Point Humqaa was a 'Jumping-off place' for Chumash souls leaving the mainland to ascend over the Pacific in a flight leading to the portal of the setting sun.

See **Ascension, Kasunalmu** and **Gate: Western**. Compare **Resurrection: Jumping**.

Related terms: *Pinowon* means 'to jump up' (Tsmuwich, 23). One root is *Nowon* meaning 'to be erect' (Tsmuwich, 20; *Wolonowon* means 'to rise'). *Nonowon* means 'to fly' (Samala, 450; *Utixonowon* means 'to start flying'); *Xoyoyon* is a Tsmuwich variant meaning 'to fly' (41). *Pilxo'yin* means 'to jump over' (Tsmuwich, 23).

Pilkitwo'n means 'to jump out' (Tsmuwich, 22). *Xalkitwon* means 'to leap out' (Samala, 444, 'to fly out').

The suffix *-ti'min* means 'jumping' (Samala, 156).

KASUNALMU A Chumash place-name located at or near the mouth of the Santa Clara River (Ventura County).

See **Ascension** and **Wasna** for related commentary.

Terms: *Kasunalmu* means 'a sending place' as in the launching of a boat but probably also with the general connotation of land travel as well. One root is *Su'nan* meaning 'to continue to do something' (28); with the root *Na'n* meaning 'to go,' 'to come' (18). Thus *Sunu'na* means 'to start to do something' (28); thus *Nu'na* meaning 'to bring,' 'to take' (20; as in *Apinu'na* meaning 'to start from,' 'to depart from'). Perhaps this nomenclature was also used for Point Humqaa, which served as a sending off place for the souls of the Chumash dead.

KNOWLEDGE To successfully travel on the path of the dead, a soul needs knowledge which is gained through education and visionary ecstasy.

Also see **Sipis**.

Terms: *Ch'a'min* means 'to know' (Tsmuwich, 7, 'to know how'). *C'amin* (Samala, 107; *C'aminic* means 'to be knowledgeable,' 'to be shrewd').

Ustanin means 'to know about' (Samala, 401, 'to be knowledgeable,' 'to be smart,' 'to know how').

Related terms: *Puxpuk* means 'to learn' (Samala, 282). This term applies to learning about the obstacles on the path of the dead or verses of song and other spiritual knowledge.

Discussion of terms: *Ch'a'min* has the connotation of gaining practical knowledge. But *Sipis* is associated with philosophical wisdom. Note that saintly souls, those with great wisdom, are not reincarnated and do not travel on the path of the dead to *Shimilaqsa* (the land of the dead).

Coyote is a character in Chumash myth who is greatly knowledgeable and thereby has immense power. Yet, lacking wisdom, Coyote misuses this power. See **Coyote** for related discussion.

KUMELPI PHASE The name used in this text for the phase of the air soul's ascension, when the soul separates from the body on the fourth day (three days after burial).

See **Shanan Phase** for the next phase of the soul's journey.

Terms: The traditional Chumash name for this phase is undetermined.

Kumelpi is used to facilitate discussion. It means 'to be separate' (Tsmuwich, 14; as in the term *Kumelshtash* meaning 'a state of separation'). One root may be *Kumi* meaning 'to approach' (14; also means 'to arrive', 'to go to'). *Pi* may be a suffix, signifying a negation and thus implying to not approach, i.e. to separate; perhaps therefore it is related to *Se*, which means 'no' (45; also means 'not').

- During this phase, the soul's behavior parallels that of the Sand Cricket as it emerges from the underground, and is reincarnated (metamorphoses). When the soul rises from the grave it is *Kumelpi*, or separate, from the decayed physical body. At first, it is probably agitated and afraid in this unfamiliar separation. Soon, however, the well-educated soul composes itself and begins its journey on the path of the dead.

KUTA TEACHINGS This phrase is used in this series of texts on Chumash reincarnation theory (Kuta Teachings, Anderson) to refer to Chumash beliefs about the ascension of the soul into the heavens.

See **Kumelpi Phase** and **Shanan Phase** for two aspects of ascension. Also see **Kasunalmu, Jumping-off Place, Ascension**. Compare **Smoke**.

Terms: *Kut'a* means 'to rise up' (Tsmuwich, 14; it also means 'to go up'). *Kuta* is presumably a related term meaning 'to awake' (14). *Kuta'* means 'to arise' (Samala, 193).

These teachings include the beliefs about the soul's release from the physical body, its movements in the last two days of its existence on earth, and its flight from the Jumping-off place at Point Humqaq. This flight ends with the soul's descent through the portal (opening, hole, gateway) of the setting sun. This portal is located on the western edge of the surface of the earth and is symbolized as a Sanddollar.

In the second book in the *Kuta Teachings* series, the soul descends into the nether world and undergoes many trials before ascending up to the portal of the rising sun located in the east. In book three the soul travels on the Milky Way and encounters the *Mesmu* bridge. And the final book in the series features life in the land of the dead (*Shimilaqsa*).

LAND OF THE DEAD The heavenly abode where the souls of the dead resided, in preparation for rebirth.

Compare **Shimilaqsa, Dead, Path of the Dead, Flowers of the Dead**.

Terms: *Shimilaqsa* means 'Land of the Dead' in Chumash (Hudson, Crystals, 153; "perhaps" identified with the stars of the constellation Aquila). Also *Similaqsa* (Blackburn, December, 343; glossary). One root is *Aqshan* meaning 'to be dead' (Tsmuwich, 4; also means 'to die', 'to be sick').

LAND OF THE WIDOWS The abode on the path of the dead where the soul is tempted by the pleasures of the body. This realm is featured in *Mishup* (Anderson; book two in the *Kuta Teachings* series).

LIFE In Chumash cosmology a soul is needed to bring life to a physical body.

Also see **Immortality, Soul, Power: Supernatural**. Compare **Mortality, Dead**.

Terms: '*Antik* means 'life' (Tsmuwich, 2, 'soul', 'spirit', 'heart', 'to get well', 'to recover' from an illness). *Atik* means 'to be alive' (Samala, 540; 'soul', 'spirit', '(emotional) heart', 'to heal'). *Atikiy* means 'to come back to life' (Samala, 82, 'to revive').

'*Antik* means 'life' (Tsmuwich, 2, also means 'soul', 'spirit'). *Antiki* means 'to get well' (2). *Su'antikich* means 'to bring to life' (Tsmuwich, 27).

Related terms: *Kinakat* means 'to remain alive' (Samala, 178). *Kinanik'oy* means 'to come back to life' (Tsmuwich, 13).

Discussion of terms: Although the Tsmuwich dictionary defined '*Antik* as 'life' it also defined it and the associated term *Ahash* as 'soul' (2). Neither the Tsmuwich dictionary nor the Samala dictionary explicitly differentiated between these two terms for 'soul' and 'life'. See '**Antik** and **Ahash** for related commentary.

- In Chumash theology, the soul has eternal life, while the body is mortal.

LIGHT Light is a mystery. It has no weight but is inexplicably associated with heat and enables humans and animals to see.

See **Antik**, **Soul: of the Air**, **Recapitulation of Life**, **Sparks of the Sun** and **Suschuch** for related discussions. Also see **Beauty**, **Abalone**, **Day**, **Eye: Poppy**, **Ayaya**, and **Nadir**.

Terms: *Sukupinas* means ‘a light’ (Samala, 345, ‘also means ‘to light a fire’). One root is *Sukupi* which means ‘a light’, ‘a lamp’).

Aluqstay means ‘something bright’ (49; one root is *Ustay* meaning ‘to shine’, ‘to be bright’). *Uqushtay* means ‘to be light’ (Tsmuwich, 35, ‘to be bright’).

- The Chumash believed that the soul was a ball of light (December, 99, Qiliqutayiwit; “shone like a light, and it left a blue trail behind it”). If the person was died of disease, the disease went with the soul looking like “a fiery ball at its side” (99)

- Kitsepawit described the solar deity as “the beauty of the world” (December, 96). By **World** he meant the surface of the earth. The sun also lights up the lower world during its passage through the nether world. But it is a significantly weakened sun when it passes through the Sanddollar portal into the nether world, and it continues to decline in red light as it moves downward to the nadir of the lower world. During this passage to its death at the nadir, the sun is far different from its beauteous light of full day.

- The beautiful Evening Star (Xutash) “lures” the souls of the newly dead to the Sanddollar portal of the setting Sun, located in the west over the Pacific ocean. She does so with her beautiful light which contrasts with the red light of the setting suns and clouds in the evening sky. See **Red** for related discussion.

- By the time the declining Sun descends into the nether world, its light is significantly diminished and is a red glowing color. Human souls following the Sun need **Poppy** eyes to see in this realm. The Sun’s decline continues until it reaches the nadir where it goes out when it is midnight on the surface of the earth.

The Sun is rekindled soon after midnight and begins to increase its light and heat again. By the time the Sun rises in the east its light is powerful enough to drive away the night on the surface of the earth.

LOMPOC A Chumash name for an extensive wetlands located near the mouth of the Samala (Santa Ynez) river. This wetlands may be part of the greater Point Humqaq religious complex.

Terms: *Lompo* is the Samala name for this wetlands. ‘O’ is one root meaning ‘water’ (Tsmuwich, 20; thus *Och* means ‘to get wet’). *Uqsh* meaning ‘to stink’ (35) may be a related term.

LULAPIN This term is used in this text for the southeastern Chumash province led by *Muwu* (the seaport at Point Mugu).

Terms: American scholars often use the Spanish term *Ventureno* for the residents of this province.

- Many of the Lulapin people and their Limu island allies were reduced by the Spanish into the Ventura mission (Mitskanaka production center).

- To the west of the Lulapin province was the *Tsmuwich* province led by *Shyuxtun*. The *Humaliwo* province was east of *Muwu* and was led by *Humaliwu* (Malibu).

LUNG The Chumash believed that the lungs provided air to keep the air soul animated (with the fire of life).

Terms: *Tot* means ‘the lungs’ (Tsmuwich, 34). *Kalas* means ‘to breathe’ (13); *Kalas* may be related to the term *Tish*, meaning ‘to swell’ (33)

- When a person stopped breathing at death, the fiery air soul lost its air and diminished to a smoldering coal. It regained its fiery state only after leaving the grave and renewing its travels.

LURE Venus as the Evening Star lures souls with her beauty to the Portal of the Setting Sun.

See **Mermaid**, **Beauty** and **Portal**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionaries list **Lure** or **Attract**.

Related terms: *Axshish* means ‘to invite’ (Tsmuwich, 5, ‘to call’). *Axsis* (Samala, 93, ‘to invite’, ‘to call’). The prefix *Ax* (also *Aq*) has the connotation of ‘with the mouth’ (Samala, 58). *Aqli’w*, for example, means ‘voice’ (Samala, 64).

Solposhon means ‘to call for the attention of someone’ (Samala, 484). The root is *Poshon* meaning ‘to be aware of’ (Samala, 279, ‘to sense’). *Olposhon* means ‘to be aware of’ (279, ‘to know much’).

Taksunimay means ‘to tempt’ (Tsmuwich, 31, ‘to overpower’).

Discussion of terms: The soul aims for the Evening Star, as in the verb *Axulusumu* which means 'to aim' (Samala, 97). *Xulusu'mu* means 'to aim at' (Tsmuwich, 41).

Hypothesis: The reincarnating soul goes directly towards the brilliant and beautiful light of the Evening Star, as in the verb *Axtana'n* which means 'to go toward one, through the air' (Samala, 97).

MAGIC The Chumash believed in both white and black magic.

See **Mysticism, Shaman, Supernatural, Mythic Space/time**. See **Pentacle** for a discussion of the association of a five-pointed star with magic.

Terms: The Samala dictionary defined *Atishwin* to mean 'magic' (Samala, 82). See **Power: Supernatural** for related commentary. Note that neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary lists **Magic** or **Miracle**.

Hypothesis: The power of the supernatural seems like magic to humans living in mundane space/time.

- After the soul descends through the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun, it enters the realm of magic (supernatural). See *Mishup* (Anderson) for information on the segment of the path of the dead leading through the lower world. See *The Milky Way: Alsuyuopos* (Anderson) for information on the celestial part of this path. And see *Similaqsa* (Anderson) for the magic life of the soul in the land of the dead.

MAGICAL WATERS See **Womb**.

MALUTIQIPIN A Chumash town located in the vicinity of Hoya Creek.

See **Ravine, World: Lower** and **Xalama** for related discussion.

Terms: *Malutiqipin* means 'a deep place', 'a hole', 'a precipitous valley'. One root is *Iqip* which means 'to close up', 'to be closed', 'to fill' (Tsmuwich, 10); as in *Utqip'in* which means 'to be precipitous' (Samala, 406) [as in a deeply dug grave].

Related terms: *Utiki'laliw* means 'to be steep-sided' (Samala, 405; one root is *Ki'laliw* meaning 'to be steep').

Hypothesis: The Ravine on the Chumash path of the Dead has steep sides, like a dug grave.

MERMAID These sirens of the sea lured human males with their beauty and seductive songs.

See **Lure, Seaweed, Sexuality**. Also see **Swordfish, Ocean, Sea People**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich or Samala dictionary listed **Mermaid**.

Qilikutayiwit called the mermaid a "siren", describing them as beautiful with upper bodies of a woman (December, 94).

- Kitsepawit described Eagle's daughter, who turned herself into a mermaid, as the mother of all the fish and abalone in the ocean (December, 166). The abalone is associated with datura (supernatural) visions through their psychedelic shells. Moreover, Kitsepawit described her fish-like lower body as a mixture of "brilliantly colored shells" and fish scales.

Eagle's daughter transformed in her remorse, after spurring the sexual advances of Coyote. See **Repentance**. Also see **Swordfish** for the rulers of the Ocean.

Hypothesis: Souls flying over the Pacific are threatened with high winds and ocean storms which are controlled by the Swordfish. Souls who fall into the ocean and encounter a mermaid are lured by their sexuality and drown. See **Land of the Widows** for another realm where female sexuality tests the soul.

It is the planet Venus as the Evening Star, which lures the soul into the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun. These are the successful souls who avoided drowning.

METAPHYSICS Chumash metaphysicians sought to understand the origin, structure, and workings of the cosmos.

See *Chumash Cosmology* (Anderson) for information on Chumash metaphysics. Also see **Mundane Space/time, Mythic Space/time, Nature, Supernatural, Mysticism**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Metaphysics** or **Cosmology**.

Related terms: *Waslikmu* means 'a point of origin' (Samala, 422, 'source'; *Waslik* means 'to come from'). *Waslik* means 'to show up' (Tsmuwich, 37, 'to put in an appearance').

Wil means 'to exist' (Samala, 433). *Wil* means 'to be' (Tsmuwich, 38).

MILKY WAY See **Path of the Dead** for further discussion.

MIRROR OF THE SEA A Chumash phrase used by F.L. Kitsepawit to describe the sparkling of the sun on the ocean waves.

See **Crazed** and **Rattlesnake Shelter** for a related discussion.

- The shimmering light bouncing off the ocean waves enabled Chumash meditators sitting on cliffs above the waves "to see with clarity all that is within you" (Anderson, *Enememe's Friends*, 15). This technique of using light for visionary inspiration may have been used by souls visiting other sacred sites at the greater Point Hummaq area to prepare themselves to enter into the Upper world.

MORNING STAR The Morning Star played an important role in aiding human souls on the path of the dead.

Also see **Coyote, Dusk**. Compare **Evening Star**.

Terms: '*Alnahyit*' 'I '*Akiwi* is a non-ritual name for the Morning Star meaning 'star of the morning' (Hudson/Underhay, *Crystals*, 150). *Nahyit* is a [Lulapin] variant of the Tsmuwich term *Naxyit* meaning 'to be morning' (19). *Suninaxyit* means 'in the morning' (Tsmuwich, 28).

'Aqiwo Haluqstay is another name for the 'morning star' in Samala (63, 'the bright star'; *Ha Al-uqstay* means 'the bright one'). '*Aqiwo* means 'a star' (Samala, 63). Note that this name was also applied to the Evening Star. *Uqstay* means 'to be bright' (Samala, 394).

Discussion of terms: The Romans called the Morningstar **Lucifer** meaning 'light bringing'. The Greeks called it **Phosphorus** meaning 'bringer of light'.

- Coyote and Morning Star were leaders of the demigods opposed to the divine team led by Eagle and the Sun. See *Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) for related commentary. And see *Mishup* (Anderson), the second book in this series, for related information on the psychopomp role of the Morning Star.

MORTALITY The Sand Cricket is blamed by the Chumash for introducing death of the physical body into human life expectancy. But this was compensated with by opening the path of the dead so people and animals could be reincarnated.

Also see **Dead, Drowning, Reincarnation**. Compare **Immortality**.

MOTHER EARTH The Chumash honored the earth as a female deity, recognizing and honoring its fecundity upon which their food is dependent.

Also see **Earth**.

Terms: *Sup* means "Mother Earth" (Samala, 348, '[a] spirit', '[a] 'god'). *Shup* means 'earth' (Tsmuwich, 30, also means 'ground', 'dirt', 'soil').

MOURNING CEREMONY A Chumash social memorial holiday which, like the American Halloween and Veterans Day, honors the dead.

Also see **Burn: Things of the Recently Dead**. Compare **Deer Bone Whistle**.

Terms: *Ushumish* means 'to mourn for the dead' (Tsmuwich, 36; also means 'to lament', 'to wail'; one root is *Mish*). *Mish* means 'to cry' (17; also means 'to weep'; thus *Taq'alamish* means 'to be afraid of ghosts, of prowlers, of being killed', 17).

Maniwon means 'to mourn for' in Samala (207); the root is *Niwon* meaning 'to discard' (Tsmuwich, 20; also means 'to throw away', 'to get rid of'). Thus the mourner takes leave of his grief, let's go of the loved one and their belongings.

MUNDANE SPACE/TIME Humans on the surface of the earth (*Itiashup*) live a four dimensional life dominated by mundane space/time.

See **Nature**. And see **Sanddollar** for the border between the natural and supernatural worlds. Compare **Mythic Space/Time**.

- Souls which cycle back into an *Ahash* stage of embodiment (being a fetus) descend from mythic space/time experienced in the land of the dead into mundane space/time.
- Life for humans living on the surface of the earth takes place in mundane space/time (nature).
- The Sanddollar portal of the setting sun is the border between mundane space/time and the supernatural realm.

MYSTICISM Traditional Chumash theology was based on a tradition of mysticism in which humans were incapable of fully comprehending the supernatural.

Also see **Supernatural, Iwihinmu, Shrine, Sipis**.

Terms: **Mysticism** is not listed in either the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionaries.

Discussion of terms: Kroeber used the phrase "soul mysticism" to describe the Chumash island theology which he thought was dated to the era of the Spanish invasion (Heizer/Whipple, California Indians, 116).. This was a curious observation because all of the Chumash and their neighbors practiced mysticism.

MYTHIC SPACE/TIME Night is associated with mythic space/time and the supernatural.

See **Supernatural, Sanddollar, Pentacle**. Compare **Mundane Space/Time**.

- When the *'Antik* soul descends down the portal of the setting sun it leaves behind mundane space/time and enters mythic space/time. It remains within the supernatural influence of this space/time until it is reborn in a new body.

NATIVE AMERICAN Throughout this text the term **Native** in "native American" is intentionally not capitalized.

NATURE The soul's journey from the grave to the portal of the setting Sun takes place in the natural realm.

Also see **Mundane Space/time**. Compare **Supernatural**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionaries list **Nature** or **Natural**.

Related terms: *'Axulapsik* means 'matter' (Samala, 97, 'material').

'A'min means '[physical] body' (Tsmuwich, 2, 'flesh'). *'Ami'n* (Samala, 50). Related terms include *Takimin* meaning 'to be firm' (Samala, 356) and *Lo'min* meaning 'soft' (Tsmuwich, 16).

Xul may be one root indicating physical body as in the term *Xulxul* meaning 'to be heavy' (Samala, 451). *Xulxul* (Tsmuwich, 41; *Xulxula's* means 'weight'). *Walaxulxul* means 'intense' (Samala, 451, *Wala* means 'of a bulky object').

- The path of the dead left the natural realm (nature) when it descended through the Sanddollar portal into the lower world. It remained within the supernatural realm all the way into *Shimilaqa* (Land of the Dead).

NAUSEATING The soul flying over the Pacific was buffeted by the winds and could become ill from the ordeal, perhaps to the point of falling into the ocean below and drowning.

Also see **Seasickness, Sickness, Suffering**.

Terms: *Tapsk'ayan* means 'to be nauseated' (Samala, 363; *Sutapsk'ayan* means 'to nauseate'); both terms probably apply to nauseating things as well as the disquieting anguish associated with dizziness caused by illness or movement.

Wolowol means 'to be dizzy' (Samala, 501, 'to be drunk').

Related terms: *Pash* means 'to vomit' (Tsmuwich, 22). *Uxmaltash* means 'to vomit from drinking a lot of sea water' (Tsmuwich, 36). *Uxmala'yik* means 'to purge' (Tsmuwich, 36).

Discussion of terms: The dizziness which comes from drugs differs from that caused by motion, etc. *Naqsan* means 'to be dizzy from drugs' (Samala, 68). The root term *Aqsan* means 'to die' (Samala, 67), demonstrating the link between the soul leaving the body and sickness or even death.

NESPI A Chumash term meaning 'philosophy', as in a way of life.

Terms: Yee translated *Nespi* as a "way of life" (Tsmuwich, 19; it also means 'a way', 'a means'). *Necpi* (Samala, 239, 'to be alike').

Related terms: *Necmu* means 'a way of being' (Samala, 239, 'a custom', 'a manner'). The root is *Nec* meaning 'to be alike' (239). *Nech* means 'to be like' (Tsmuwich, 19, 'to resemble'; *Kanech* means 'like', 'approximately', 'as').

Related terms: *Iswana'n* means 'a way of doing' (Samala, 149, 'a manner', 'religion', 'nature'; also *Swana'n*).

Ch'alayash means 'a trail' (Tsmuwich, 7, 'a road'). *C'ayas* means 'a way' (Samala, 108, 'a path'; *Ha C'ayas* means 'on the path').

NAME See **Astronomer** for related commentary.

NIGHT The primordial state of the supernatural world is darkness (night).

See **Supernatural, Magic, Black, Demons**. Compare **Day, Sun, Rays of the Sun**.

Terms: *Ulkuw* means 'to be night' (Samala, 388; also means to be otherworldly', 'to be supernatural'). *Ulkuw* (Tsmuwich, 35; *Sulkuw* means 'night').

Related terms: *Unina'n* means 'to travel at night' (Samala, 233; *Uni* means 'at night'). *Na'n* means 'to go' (232).

- The soul's over the Pacific takes place at sunset when night is approaching.

Hypothesis: The full light of the sun will craze the soul, but the weaker light of the Evening Star aids it in its search for the Sanddollar portal leading into the underworld. This takes place in the dusk of twilight.

NINE MONTHS The nine month gestation of human females is associated in myth with the Venus cycle.

Also see **Gestation, Xutash.**

• The Evening Star remains in the western sky for nine months before disappearing. This is the same time period as human gestation.

NOCTU A Chumash town located a little north of Point Humqaq.

See **Flint** for related discussion.

Terms: Merriam associated *Noctu* with the Spanish flint nomenclature (*Paraje de los Pedenals*); he also identified it with the colonial name San Juan Bautista.

NUNASHISH A devil.

Terms: *Nunashish* means 'a devil' (Tsmuwich, 20, 'an animal, 'a beast'). The Samala translated this term as 'a demon', 'a beast', 'a snake, and 'a serpent' (253)

OCEAN The Pacific Ocean served as the western boundary, i.e. the defining limits of physical body (Mother Earth) for all of the Californian Indians.

See **Pacific Ocean, Mirror of the Sea, Swordfish, Mermaids, Sea People.**

Terms: *Sxa'min* means 'the ocean' (Tsmuwich, 29). *Sxa'min* means 'the sea' (Samala, 333, 'the ocean'; *Sxa'minun* means 'the sea is high', 'the waves are big').

Related terms: *Ishilin* means 'winds to blow from the ocean' (Samala).

Ikmen means 'waves' (Tsmuwich, 10, 'waves to beak').

Tip means 'salt' (Tsmuwich, 33, 'salty'). *Tip* (Samala, 327).

- Point Humqaq (Conception) was located on this threshold between the mainland and the western ocean.
- The upper layers of the ocean follow the light cycle of the earth's surface and thus are presumably excluded from classification as within the Other World. The lower depths of the ocean, however, are in permanent darkness and are beyond the solar cycle of light.

OCEAN FLIGHT Crossing the ocean from Point Humqaq to the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun is a perilous test of the flight of a disembodied sou.

Also see **Ocean Storms, Drowning, and Trouble.**

Terms: *Xamik'in* means 'to go far through the air' (Samala, 445; one root is *Mik'in* meaning 'to go far away'; a synonym is *Kupamiki'n*). *Mik'in* means 'to go far' (Tsmuwich, 17). The prefix *Xa* is a variant of *Xal* meaning 'through the air' as in *Xalnapay* meaning 'to fly up' (Tsmuwich, 40). *Napay* means 'to ascend' (Samala, 235).

Xa'nan means 'to fly' (Tsmuwich, 40). One root is *Xal* meaning 'through the air' and the other is *Na'n* meaning 'to go' (Samala, 232).

Xoyoyon means 'to fly' (Tsmuwich, 41).

Nanipi means 'to fly to a different place' (Samala, 445; *Na* is a variant of *Xal* meaning 'through the air' and the root is *Nipi* is *Nip* meaning 'to move' (445).

Related terms: *Apiqe'n* means 'to fly poorly' (Samala, 297; *Sapixe'n* means 'a fledgling', literally means 'to fly poorly'; the suffix *Qen* means 'running out of something', 286 [as in running out of strength]; *Axiqen* means 'to be exhausted'; *Exqen* means 'to wear out', 286).

Eqen means 'to do to excess' (Tsmuwich, 8, 'to exceed').

Siple means 'to be exhausted' (Tsmuwich, 26, 'to be tired'; the suffix *Ple* means 'to perish').

Ple' means 'to perish' (Samala, 277, 'exhausted').

- High winds, thunderstorms, waterspouts are examples of hazards faced by souls on their flights from Point Humqaq to the portal used by the setting sun.

OCEAN STORM The Swordfish were the ruler of ocean storms.

Also see

Terms: *Sishiln* means 'a storm' (Samala, 587; *Ishlin* means 'for storm winds to blow').

Related terms: *Sxa'minum* means 'for weaves to be big' (Samala, 603). *Sxa'minun* means 'for the ocean to

roar' (Tsmuwich, 29; *Sxa'min* means 'ocean').

- Once the great winds of a major ocean storm force a soul down into the water, the great waves drown the soul so it sinks down where the Swordfish capture it.

OCHRE This reddish brown ore was used worldwide in association with burials.

Also see **Red**.

Terms: *'Illil* means 'ochre' (Samala, 166). Neither **Ochre** nor **Hematite** are listed in the Tsmuwich dictionary.

Related terms: *'Axu'lish* means 'blood' (Tsmuwich, 6). *'Axu'lis* (Samala, 97). The root may be *U'lis* means 'to grasp' (Samala, 388) referring to the property of blood to clot up, healing a wound.

- Hematite is red iron ore which is brownish red in color. **Hematite** has a Greek root meaning 'bloodlike'. This iron oxide is used as a pigment in paint.

Hypothesis: The Chumash use of ochre in burials symbolized the blood of birth (rebirth through reincarnation).

ONE HORN The Chumash Swordfish belong in the native American mythical tradition of one-horned supernaturals.

Also see **Swordfish**.

- In *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson) the one-horned Swordfish are compared to the Eagle at the North Star and Sirius, the brightest star in the heavens (and the ruler of the southern sky (44). The one horn in all three persona symbolize a source of great power.

OPPOSITE WORLD See **World: Opposite**.

OTHER WORLD See **World: Other**.

PACIFIC OCEAN The Pacific ocean was a formidable barrier to the soul ascending from Point Humqaq.

Also see **Water: Salt, Drowning, Swordfish**.

- The soul struggled against winds, ocean storms, lightening, and waves as it strove to reach the portal of the setting Sun. This challenging flight was the last test of the detached soul, and those who failed were drowned and seized by the Swordfish. See **Swordfish**.

PALO ALTO See **Upop Hill**.

PATH OF THE DEAD The Chumash, like other native Californians, believed that the souls of the dead could achieve reincarnation by traveling on the path of the dead (the Milky Way) to reach the Land of the Dead.

See **Point Humqaq, Land of the Dead, Heavenly Eyes, Soul: Star** and **Star**. Compare **Soul: Saintly** for a soul which does not follow the path of the dead.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Path of the Dead** or any variant.

Related terms: *Apikitwon* means 'to start out from a particular place' (Samala, 55, 'to go on a journey'; *Kitwon* means 'to go out'). *Kitwo'n* means 'to come out' (Tsmuwich, 13, 'to emerge').

See **Nespi** for terms related to 'a path' or 'a way'.

- The soul begins its journey on the path of the dead by rising from the grave on the fourth day. Kitsepawit reported that the soul stayed around its old living place for five days after death (December, 97). Presumably, he meant it rose from the grave on the fourth day and spent another day of recapitulation before leaving on the path of the dead. See **Recapitulation of Life**.

- The path of the dead is complex, not leading directly west as numerous American scholars have proposed. The soul goes west, then descends in a retrograde motion through the nether world until it arises at the portal of the rising sun. Then it ascends to the Milky Way and follows it to the land of the dead.

Hypothesis: The amount of time that a buried body lay in a grave is keyed to the time that a Chumash astronomer witnessed the non-motion of the Sun at the winter solstice.

PEDERNALES A Spanish place-name meaning flint. See **Shnaxil Point** for further discussion. Compare **Noctu**.

PEN This term was used to describe the stripping away of physical matter which is a basic theme in commentary on the separation of the human soul from the dead and decaying physical body.

Also see **Condor**. Compare **Penhes**.

Terms: *Pen* means 'to strip off' (Tsmuwich, 22; also means 'to remove', as in *Axipen* meaning to work wood with a sharp tool; also is a root of *Wippen* meaning 'to shave wood with a hatchet'). *Pen* means 'stripping off' (Samala, 269; *Penpen* means 'for a body part to be stripped off'; *Aqulpen* means 'to strip off skin'; *Uспен* means 'to clear away').

- In Chumash theology, the soul of the newly dead separates (by the repulsion of decay) from the dead physical body.

PENHES These wooden mortuary plaques had enigmatic symbols carved into them.

Terms: *Penhes* is the name of the carved wooden plaques, used in ceremonies associated with the Chumash dead. *Axipen* is a related term, meaning 'to work wood with a sharp tool' (Tsmuwich, 5). See **Pen** for related terms.

PENTACLE The symbol of a five pointed star (pentacle) on the Sanddollar symbolizes the portal used by the setting sun to enter the underworld.

Also see **Sanddollar**, **Portal**, **Mysticism**, **Mythic Space/time**, **Magic**, **Xutash**.

Compare **Star: Flower Of** for the twelve pointed symbol of the sun.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed *Pentacle*.

Related terms: *Yit 'i 'pak'a* means 'five' in Tsmuwich (42_). *Yitipaka's* (Samala, 513).

Tiq means 'a side' (Tsmuwich, 33). *Tik* means 'a point' (Samala, 379, 'a tip'; *Tikic* means 'to be pointed').

'Aqiwo means 'a star' (Tsmuwich, 3). *'Aqiwo* (Samala, 63). Also *Akiwo* (Hudson/Underhay, *Crystal*, 149).

- **Pentacle** is a magic symbol, often a five pointed star. Compare to a **Pentagram** which is any figure with five lines, and a **Pentagon** which is a figure with five angles and sides.

- The pentacle is associated with five petal flowers in many traditions. *Datura* is an important plant displaying five petal flowers. It is associated with mysticism and is probable source of the Sanddollar flower symbol. See **Poppy Eyes** for discussion of four petal flowers.

PERIL The soul is in great peril during its *Xoyoyon* flight, due to storms, winds, etc.

Terms: *Aqit'ul* means 'to be dangerous' (Samala, 63).

Suyulumec means 'to be dangerous' (Samala, 63).

PEY A Chumash term meaning 'to stick to'.

Terms: *Pey* means 'to stick to' (Tsmuwich, 22; 'to inlay'). *Pey* means 'to stick to' (Samala, 270); thus *Huqpey* means 'to adorn'; *Supey* means 'to ornament', *Teqpey* means 'to adhere to'; *Tipey* means 'to cover with' (270).

Discussion of terms: *Pey* is presumably related to the term *Pe'y*, meaning 'to flower' (Tsmuwich, 22; it also means 'to bloom', 'to blossom', 'to bud'). *Spe'y*, meaning 'a flower', has a common root (22). *Eqpey* is a related term meaning 'to resemble' (22). Compare *Pen*, a contrasting term meaning 'to strip off'.

PHYSICAL BODY The Chumash, like many native Americans, believed in reincarnation. When the physical body dies, the air soul separates from the decaying body and enters the heavens (on the path of the dead) where it stays for a while and then is reincarnated in a new physical body.

Compare **Disappear**, **Smoke**, **Separation of Soul From The Body**, **Pen**. Also see **Ahash** and **Soul: Embodied** for related discussion.

Terms: *'A'min* is a key concept in understanding Chumash terms for the physical body. It means 'body', as well as 'flesh' and 'seed' (Tsmuwich, 2). Thus *S'a'miniwash 'i Ku* is a related phrase meaning 'a corpse' (2), with the root *Ku* meaning 'a person'; *'Ami'niwas* is a Samala variant (51, having the connotation of a worn out physical body). The suffix *-wash* means 'to be worn out' as in *Pakuwash* meaning 'to be old' (Tsmuwich, 22).

Related terms: *Eqen* means 'to wear out'[a physical body] (Samala, 286; the suffix *Qen* means 'running out of something'; *Axiqen* means 'to wear out', 'to be exhausted'; *Naqiliqen* means 'to use something all up').

• A great challenge to the 'Antik' soul, both on its journey over the mainland and over the Pacific, is to overcome its attachments to the pleasures of the physical body. The mermaids and the Evening Star, for example, are tests of the soul's ability to overcome sexuality. See **Sexuality**.

PHYSICAL BODY: ENTROPY. The physical body is controlled by entropy which is the underlying force behind that which Kitsepawit called the Rigors of the World.

See **Mortality**. Compare **Immortality**.

Terms: When the soul is embodied and ruled by entropy, it is called *Ahash* in this text. See 'Antik' for the term used in this text for the disembodied soul.

• The embodied soul (*Ahash*) goes through a cycle of youth, maturity, decline, and death. This cycle is repeated through a series of reincarnations into new bodies which are likely ruled by entropy.

POINT HUMQAQ A Chumash name for a widely venerated shrine used by the souls of the dead to prepare themselves for their journey on the path of the Dead. It is located west of Santa Barbara. The Spanish renamed it Point Conception.

Also see **Point Humqaq: Larger Religious Complex**.

Terms: *Humqaq* is a Samala name (Harrington, also Blackburn) meaning 'a place visited by the Raven', i.e. literally meaning 'the Raven comes'. Hudson and Underhay defined *Humqaq* as "the raven comes" (Crystals, 151). One root is the prefix *Hum* meaning 'to come' as in the Tsmuwich term *Kum* (14; 'to arrive'). *Kum* means 'to arrive' in Samala (188; also means 'to befall', 'to overtake'; *Nukum* means 'to come with' as in bringing something along). A related term is *Kumili* meaning 'to arrive at' (Samala, 188, 'to fulfill a promise').

Qaq' is another root which means 'a raven' (24); with the possible connotation of a ravenous eater as in the term *Q'a'* meaning 'to choke' (25). This point of land was also called *Hum-ka-k* (Henshaw), *Humkak* (J.E. Pamaskimait), *Humkaka* (Brusa), *Humkake* (Kroeber), *Kumqaq* (Harrow).

Discussion of terms; No specific Chumash explanation of the origins of this place name has survived, yet the most convincing mythological data would suggest that this was the place where the soul prepares itself for its upcoming cleansing of physical body on the path of the dead. Thus the soul prepared itself for the carrion eating Raven which helped cleanse the soul's physical body, beginning with the earthly eyes. The soul replaced its missing eyes with Poppy Eyes which enable it to see in the red spectrum of the upcoming journey on the path of the dead. The Raven thereby pecks a hole (pathway) into the next reality. Thus the Chumash Raven may have served as what Joseph Campbell described as a threshold guardian. The onomatopoeic term *Qaq* almost certainly has been identified with the pecking behavior of these birds, as in *K'ot* meaning 'to break' (Tsmuwich, 15; also means 'to fracture'; thus *Wikut* means 'to peck at', 38). See **Kasunalmu** for related terminology.

• The name *Humqaq* is associated with the appearance of the Ravens on the path of the dead. Qiliqutayiwit did not locate these birds at Point Humqaq but later in the soul's journey through the Deep Ravine (December, 99).

POINT HUMQAQ: LARGER RELIGIOUS COMPLEX Surviving ethnographic materials describing the shrine and an associated "gate" (the Western Gate of current controversy) are not specific as to the geographical limits of the religious complex around Point Conception. • M.S.

Qiliqutayiwit reported that the ancient Chumash considered the greater Point Humqaq area so holy that all living Chumash avoided the region except to make occasional pilgrimages to leave sacrifices at the shrine (Blackburn, December, 97). But Haley and Wilcoxon argue against a pan-Chumash belief in Point Humqaq and propose inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places only for the Point itself (as a traditional cultural property). This is an extremely narrow interpretation which is being challenged by other scholars. The lighthouse at the point is already on the National Register, so Wilcoxon and Haley are proposing no additional lands be set aside for protection. See Appendix F for related commentary.

A broader interpretation of the Point Humqaq religious complex would include a number of shrines and sacred use areas in the greater Point Humqaq region, that may have played a role in the expression of Traditional Chumash religion. In the foothills about three miles north of the point lies Las Animas Spring. This surely was an important spring associated with Point Conception, and its name suggests a religious role linked to the reincarnating soul. *Animar* means 'to animate', 'to give life to' in Spanish; and *Animo* means 'a spirit', with the connotation of courage and valor. Was this the spring of water described by Qiliqutayiwit where the souls of the Chumash bathed? See Appendix F for related commentary.

- Moving north near the mouth of *Xalama* (Jalama) creek, one finds the site of the old town called *Shilimaqshutush*. Was this nomenclature related to *Shimilaqsha*, which is the Tsmuwich name for the Land of the Dead? See the glossary entry under this title for related commentary.

- Further north across the Jalama drainage, one comes to a number of sites studied recently by Georgia Lee and Bill Hyder. Rattlesnake shelter is located on Tranquillon Ridge and is an especially interesting site. Further west, one encounters Honda Ridge with Tranquillon Peak. And visitors looked north over White Deer (Honda) canyon, with its possible associations with deer, death, and rejuvenation symbolism. Elaine Snyder of the Santa Ynez Reservation elder's council identified the California Spaceport as being within the greater Point Humqaq religious complex. *Shnaxi l* Point (Pedernales Point) and Lompoc, for example, may have also been part of the greater Point Humqaq religious complex. See **Jumping-off Point** in the glossary for further commentary.

POLE: GRAVE See **Grave Poles**.

POMO A Hokan speaking peoples of the northern California coast.

- Pomo reincarnation theology is cited in this text to illustrate the insight which can be obtained from comparisons between native California cultures. Native religions are not so idiosyncratic that common patterns are absent. In 1977, for example, Hudson/Underhay described the Chumash and Pomo paths of the dead beliefs as “remarkably similar” (Crystals, 83). Another area of comparison are the elderberry flutes of both cultures. This topic is featured in *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson, chapter six).

POPPY The poppy flower with its four petals is celebrated in Chumash lore in association with the lure of a beautiful female.

Terms: *Qupe* means ‘a poppy’ in Tsmuwich (25, also *Xupe*). *Qupe* means ‘a poppy’ (Samala, 295).

- The California poppy is not narcotic nor addictive. Parts of the plant which grows above ground are medicinal. See **Datura** for a five-pointed flower.

- See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson) for commentary on the importance of the poppy flower in Chumash mythology. Coyote used these beautiful flowers to honor a beautiful woman.

- Qilikutayiwit located the Ravens and celestial poppies in the Deep Ravine which is located after the realm called the Land of the Widows (December, 99).

Hypothesis: The soul's need, to see in the red light of the declining sun, begins with the sunset and its beautiful red clouds. Poppy eyes are associated therefore not just with the declining sunlight in the Deep Ravine of the Lower World also but with the sunset.

POPPY EYES The poppy flower with its four petals symbolized the sight of the soul as it leaves the earthly realm and encounters the light of the declining (dying) sun.

See **Humqaq, Raven, Sunset, Ochre**. And see **Antik** for a related discussion of the *Antik* soul. Compare **Heavenly Eyes** and **Abalone** for the blue eyes used by the soul in its journey on the Milky Way and in *Similiaqsa*.

Terms: *Qupe* means ‘a poppy’ in Tsmuwich (25, also *Xupe*). *Qupe* means ‘a poppy’ (Samala, 295).

Tiq means ‘eye’ (Tsmuwich, 33; *Tiqich* means ‘keen-sighted’). *Tix* means ‘eye’ (Samala, 380; also *Tiq*; *Tixic* means ‘to see well’; *C'antiq* means ‘to see well’).

- The Poppy Eyes used by the soul on the path of the dead allow the soul to see in the red light of the declining sun at sunset and on its journey through the lower world. The red glow of sunrise is also probably part of this pattern of red light. See **Abalone Eyes** for the replacement eyes used by the soul after sunrise.

- When the Ravens peck out the eyes of a souls, it is acting benevolently and enabling the soul to continue successfully on its journey lit by the declining sun.

Hypothesis: Qilikutayiwit located the Ravens and the celestial poppies in the Deep Ravine. In the second book in this series (*Mishup*, Anderson) this ravine is located in the Lower World. But the ‘*Antik* soul flying over the Pacific encounters the red light of the setting sun as it seeks the Sanddollar portal leading into the Lower World. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the soul's sight was inadequate when it approached the sunset portal and the daylight began to fade into night. See **Ochre** for related commentary.

Hypothesis: The dim red light of the weakened fire of the sun affects the reincarnating ‘*Antik* soul not only as it approached the setting sun and in the lower world. The soul needed poppy eyes even in the dim red light of the dawn. See *Alsuyuopos* (Anderson) for commentary on the Abalone eyes which replace the poppy eyes.

PORTAL In Chumash mythology, numerous portals are featured at boundaries between differing spheres. They are gateways, for example, between the mundane and mystical realms.

See **Door**, **Sanddollar**, **Setting Sun: Portal**. Also see **Point Humqaq**, **Jumping-off Place** and **Gate: Western** for related commentary.

Terms: *Wayitappi* means ‘an entrance’ (Tsmuwich, 38; *Wayitap* means ‘to enter’). *Tap* means ‘to enter’ (Samala, 360; *Antap* means ‘one who enters’). See **Antap**.

Discussion of terms: See **Door** for related terminology.

- The term **Portal** is used in this text rather than the European **Gate** nomenclature. In Chumash lore, numerous examples of portals (doorways) are featured. For example, a Sanddollar portal is used by the setting Sun. S. Qonoyo described this portal as a “door” and as a “portal”(December, 98; “portal of the sun”).

Point Humqaq serves as a portal in the sense that when souls ascend from this mainland site they leave behind the mundane space/time of the Middle World. They enter the air over the Pacific ocean with its dangerous winds threatening to drive the soul into the ocean waters which is anathema to both living humans and ‘*Antik*’ souls who cannot survive in its depths.

- Qiliqutayiwit described the portal leading into *Similaqsa* (land of the dead) as a “gate” which made a thunderous noise when it shut behind an entering soul (December, 99). See **Gate: Western** for related commentary.

PORTAL of the SETTING SUN See **Setting Sun: Portal**.

POWER: SUPERNATURAL The source of supernatural power is in the Other World, but supernaturals can profoundly affect life in *Itiashup* (Middle World) for both the better and worse.

See **Magic, Mysticism**.

Terms: *Atishwin* means ‘supernatural power’ (Samala, 82, also ‘magic power’, ‘dream helper’, ‘spirit helper’, ‘talisman; the phrase *Kay i S’atiswinic* means ‘he’s a shaman, he has supernatural powers’). See **Shaman** for related commentary.

Discussion of terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary defined ‘*Atishwin*’ simply as ‘power’ (5, also ‘a charm’); ‘*Atishwinich*’ means ‘to dream’ (5). But this translation is inadequate. ‘*A’latishwinich*’ means ‘one who has power visions’ (Tsmuwich, 5, ‘a shaman’).

PRAYER The Chumash offered prayers to the deities expressing gratitude, respect, but also asking for assistance, mercy, etc.

Terms: ‘*Alaxutiwilas’in*’ means ‘to pray’ (Samala, 99, ‘to commune with spirits’). The Tsmuwich dictionary did not list **Prayer**.

Axu’mew means ‘to ask for’ (Tsmuwich, 6, ‘to beg’).

Axsik’in means ‘to beg’ (Tsmuwich, 6). *Axik’i* (Samala, 88, ‘to ask for’, ‘to beg’).

- Kroeber reported that the Chumash made “offerings” of feather wands. They were like the prayer plumes of the interior Southwest except simpler in design, usually a stick with ore or at most small groups of feathers (Heizer/Whipple, California, 53, Kroeber).

- Prayers to the Morning Star are discussed in *Mishup* (Anderson).

PSYCHOPOMP A supernatural who accompanies a soul on part of the path of the dead.

Also see **Evening Star**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Psychopomp** or **Escort**.

Related terms: *Iwish* means ‘to accompany’ (Tsmuwich, ‘to go with’). ‘*Iwi*’ is a Samala variant (160, ‘means ‘to accompany’). Related terms include ‘*Iwis*’ meaning ‘to accompany, *Maqutiwis* meaning ‘to momentarily accompany’, *Sutiwi’* meaning ‘a companion, and ‘*Uniwi*’ meaning ‘spouse’ (160).

Nutapli’l means ‘to go into with’ (Tsmuwich, 31; one root is *Tap* meaning ‘to go in’ (31). The suffix *Lil* may be a variant of ‘*I’l*’ meaning ‘foot’ (Tsmuwich, 12).

Discussion of terms: The term **Pomp** has the connotation of a stately or magnificent display, suggesting that the Evening Star and other supernatural psychopomps do not simply accompany a soul but escort it with stately demeanor.

- Book two in this series, *Mishup* (Anderson) describes the Morning Star as a psychopomp.

Hypothesis: *Xutash* (Evening Star) is the psychopomp of the Chumash soul as it descends through the Sanddollar portal down to the nadir of the underworld. See **Xutash**.

PURGATORY Qiliqutayiwit described the Land of the Widows as similar to the Christian real called Purgatory.

Also see **Condor, Wit**.

Terms; *Eqen* means 'to remove' (Tsmuwich, 8, 'to be separated from', 'off'). *Seqen* means 'to remove from' (Samala, 338; *Seqec* means 'to have nothing', 'to be bare'; Su-*eqen* means 'to take off of'). *Eqec* means 'to be apart' (Samala, 115, 'to be separated'). *Seqech* means 'to undress' (Tsmuwich, 26).

Aqulpec means 'peeled' (Samala, 75, 'stripped'; *Aqulpen* means 'to peel something').

Tipen means 'to peel' (Tsmuwich, 33); (Samala, 577, 'to scrape').

Niq'alaw means 'to remove' (Samala, 244, 'to detach'; one root is *Q'alaw* meaning 'to come off').

Related terms: *Pash* means 'to vomit' (Tsmuwich, 22, 'to purge'). *Pas* (Samala, 266).

Alampic'e means 'a purgative' (Samala, 38).

• Qiliqutayiwit described the realm called *Wit* as similar to the Christian realm called Purgatory (December, 99). Harrington's cryptic field notes are confusing in this passage. He cited *Wit* and then shifted to a discussion of the Land of the Widows without explicitly identifying *Wit* as the Land of the Widows.

PUTREFACTION See Decay.

QALIWA This Chumash term referred to a reincarnated soul.

Terms: *Ali-* means 'to be similar' in Samala.

Related terms: *Eqpey* means 'to resemble' (Tsmuwich, 22). *Pe'y* means 'to bloom' (Tsmuwich, 22, 'to flower'; *Spe'y* means 'a flower').

Pak'a means 'the same' (Tsmuwich, 'one', 'single'); means 'to be as one'. *Paka's* means 'to be of the same family, clan, or association' (Samala, 263).

• A *Qaliwa* soul is born either into its original family or one nearby and is "similar in thought or personality" (Anderson, Enememe Friends, 15).

RATTLESNAKE SHELTER An important rock art site that may have been located in the greater Point Conception religious complex.

For related information see **Heavenly Eyes** and **Point Humqaq: Larger Religious Complex**.

• Lee and Hyder researched this site and reported that quartz ("a magical substance") causes the shelter's cliff to sparkle in the sunlight. The shelter is on a rise near Sudden Peak and overlooks the ocean to the west which is the direction of the Chumash Land of the Dead. Tranquillon Peak lies a little to the west from this site. Lee and Hyder confirm that this is not a minor or hidden site, but is instead located "in a highly public area" near the remains of a Chumash town site (large midden). It is easily visible to travelers on the plain and the nearby hills. "The sparkling quartz crystals, even without the addition of paintings, would have made.. [this site] special to the Chumash."

RAVEN A large member of the crow family. The Raven is a carrion bird which has many characteristics similar to Coyote in Chumash mythology.

See **Humqaq**, **Decay**.

Terms: *Qaq* means 'raven' in Tsmuwich (24). *Qaq* (Samala, 285). *Qaq* is presumably onomatopoeic. But it may have the same root as *Ikuk*, meaning 'to peck' (of birds; also means 'to chop', 'to hew'); a related term is *K'ot*, meaning 'to break', 'to fracture' (Samala, 185).

Hypothesis: The Ravens peck out the human eyes of the newly dead at Point Humqaq. The soul replaced them with poppy eyes which enable the soul to see in the red light of the decaying sun.

The English verb **Raven** means 'to devour greedily', 'to have a voracious appetite' (like Coyote). Thus **Ravenous** means 'to be hungry' in English, 'to be very eager for gratification'; and **Ravening** means 'to greedily search for prey'.

Mixin means 'to be hungry' in Chumash (Tsmuwich, 17; and probably has the same root as *Exen* meaning 'to eat up', 8, and *Sexen*, 'to finish eating', 59; and *Apexen* meaning 'to gobble up', 8).

Discussion of terms: *Carrion* is a Latin word, referring to a carcass, [the decaying flesh of a dead body]. By implication, the Raven [and other carrion eaters, like the coyote] is repulsive to humans who fear death. But the Raven is not repulsive to educated Chumash who have been trained in theology and do not fear the death of the body. Note that the Raven was also venerated by the Tongva (Gabrielino), the Uto-Aztecan of the Los Angeles basin who lived just south of the Chumash. The Tongva adorned their funeral poles with crow feathers, perhaps indicative of similar carrion/death symbolism.

• Qiliqutayiwit located the Ravens in the Deep Ravine (December, 99). In this text the underworld is presumed to be this ravine, which implies that the soul did not get its Poppy eyes until in the underworld. It should be noted that the soul was exposed to the red lights of clouds at sunset, prior to descending into the lower world.

- A recapitulation is a deliberate traversing or reenactment. Qiliqutayiwit explained that: “Between the third and fifth day it (the soul) wanders about the world visiting the places it used to frequent in life.” It returns to the grave on the fifth day “after death” to oversee the destruction of its personal property by its relatives. (December, 98).

RECAPITULATION OF LIFE The author's phrase, used to describe the Chumash soul's rapid visitation of all the earthly sites (and events associated with them) known to it in its previous life.

Compare Wandering.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Recapitulation**.

Related terms: *Saxkhit* means ‘to remind’ (Samala, 303, literally means ‘to take one back’; the root *Axkhit* means ‘to revert to’).

Saxtalaqwa’y means ‘to remember’ (Samala, 304, a root is *Aqway* meaning ‘to hit the mark’). *Aqwa’y* means ‘to hit the mark’ (Tsmuwich, 4).

Axitun means ‘to happen twice’ (Tsmuwich, 5).

Kimi means ‘to do again’ (Tsmuwich, 13). *Kimi* means ‘to repeat’ (Samala, 567; 468, ‘to do again’).

- We do not know if the human soul begins with the place of birth, going towards death or if it began with its place of death and returned from there to its childhood places of familiarity. If the latter, then it was moving in a ritual opposite direction from its previous life. Perhaps the ‘*Antik*’ soul mirrored the behavior of the Sun, reversing its movements on the horizon each solstice in a mirror opposite pattern to its previous (half-year) movement. See **Retrograde Motion** for related commentary.

RED The color red is associated with diminished solar light, such as the color of the declining sun at sunset.

Also see **Red Clouds of Sunset**.

See *Mishup* (Anderson) for related commentary on the red color of the declining sun as it descends towards the nadir of the underworld. See *Autumn Equinox* (Anderson) for commentary on the diminished red light of the autumn light as the sun enters the weakening season of its annual cycle.

Terms: *Tasin* means ‘to be red’ in Tsmuwich (32). *Tasin* (Samala, 363).

Yuntasin means ‘to be bright red’ in Tsmuwich (42, ‘to blush’; *Apiyuntasin* means ‘to blush suddenly’).

‘*Apiyutakla*’ means ‘to blush’ (Samala, 57, ‘to turn red suddenly’; one root is *Yu-ta-kla*’ which means ‘to be bright red’). *Apiyuntasin* (Tsmuwich, 3).

- After the Ravens pecked out a soul’s earthly eyes, the soul replaced them with Poppy Eyes which enable it to see in the red spectrum of the upcoming journey on the path of the dead. See *Mishup* (Anderson) for related information on the fading red light of the lower world in the sun’s daily light pattern. See *Autumn Equinox* (Anderson) for the diminished red light of the autumn light as the sun enters its weakening season in its annual cycle.

RED CLOUDS OF SUNSET The beautiful red clouds of sunset symbolized the sexual union of the Sun and Mother Earth.

Also see **Blushing, Sanddollar**.

Terms: ‘*Iqc’i*’ means ‘a cloud’ (Samala, 146). *Iqc’i*’ (Tsmuwich, 10).

Tasin means ‘to be red’ (Tsmuwich, 32). (Samala, 363). *Apiyuntasin* means ‘to blush suddenly’ (Tsmuwich, 3); the prefix *Api* means ‘by fire’ (Samala, 55). *Apiqen* means ‘to be sunburned’ (Samala, 286). *Apiyutakla*’ means ‘to blush’ (Samala, 57, ‘to turn red suddenly’; *Yu-ta-kla* means ‘to be bright red’).

- In Chumash mythology the sunset was the time when the male sun joined in coitus with Mother earth at the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun. Red clouds at sunset reflect the sexual passion of coitus.

REINCARNATION The Chumash believed that the souls of the dead were reincarnated.

Compare **Qaliwa, Land of the Dead, Resurrection, and Shaman**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Reincarnation**.

Related terms: *Nik’oyi* means ‘to return’ (Samala, 242). *Nik’oy* means ‘to return’ (Tsmuwich, 19).

Discussion of terms: The renewal songs which are performed at the time of the winter solstice are reincarnation songs. This cycle of songs is called *Kiwaywinima* (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152). A related term may be *Kiwana’n* meaning ‘goodbye’ (Samala, 180, literally means ‘I’m going for a while’). The root *Iwana’n* means ‘to go for a while’; *Na’n* means ‘to go’ (Samala, 232). Perhaps this song is sung at the

beginning of the solstice, when the Sun dies and is gone for a while (four days) before being reincarnated on December 25.

RELIGION The Chumash did not separate their government, religion, and customs.

Also see **Religious Leader**.

Terms: *Iswana'n* means 'a religion' (Samala, 149, 'a custom', 'a way'; one root is *Na'n* meaning 'to go'). *Swana'n* means 'a religion' (Samala, 233, 'a custom', 'a way', 'a manner').

Related terms: *Nespi* means 'a way of life' (Tsmuwich, 19, 'a way', 'a means').

RELIGIOUS LEADER This phrase is used in this text to refer to spiritual leaders among the Chumash and their neighbors.

Compare **Shaman** for related discussion.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed Chumash terms for **Religious Leader** or **Priest**. They did not list **Priest** because their spiritual leaders were not enforcing a strict dogma. See **Religion** for a related Samala term.

Discussion of terms: American scholars have misused the Siberian term **Shaman** in many ways to refer to a confused assortment of spiritual leaders and healers among native Americans. In this text it refers only to spiritual healers who travel on the path of the dead to locate '*Antik* souls and bring them back to their bodies in a healing process.

REMOVED ONES A Chumash ritual phrase used to describe the souls of the dead which have successfully ascended into the heavens, and thereby have been removed from an earthly existence. This phrase is similar to the Catholic phrase "The Departed."

See **Flowers of the Dead**, **Disappear** and **Image** for a related discussion.

Terms: *Penhes* means 'removed ones' and referred to the dead ancestors. *Pen* means 'to remove' (Tsmuwich, 22; also means 'to strip off') and is one root of the ritual phrase *Tsaqwiti Loka Penhes* which means 'Images of the Removed Ones [the dead]' *Tsaqwiti* means 'an image' as in the Samala term '*Aqwicuy* meaning 'an image' (77, 'a shadow'). '*Axtawayaya*' means 'a shadow' (Samala, 95; *Axtawayan* means 'to cast a shadow'). See **Image** for related terminology.

Related terms: *Egen* means 'to remove' (Tsmuwich, 8; it also means 'to be separated from', 'to be away').

Niq'alaw means 'to remove' (Samala, 244, 'to detach'; one root is *Q'alaw* meaning 'to come lose', 294, 'to detach').

Is'a'liyin means 'ancestor' (Samala, 147, literally means 'one's own elders').

- Most of the Removed Ones dwell in a celestial heaven (see **Heaven**) from which they will be +reincarnated, but the most pure (refined, uncorrupted) souls remain in the heavens as stars and other celestial objects. See **Saint**.

REPENTANCE Text.

Also see **Suffering, Sin**.

Terms: *Uxnikwayapi* means 'to repent' (Tsmuwich, 37). The prefix *Uxnik* means 'to run away from' (Samala, 409).

- The mermaid was a figure of repentance for refusing the sexual overtures of Coyote (December, 166, Kitsepawit; she sang "a song of repentance"). As a result of this experience, the mermaid became a symbol of female sexuality.

RESTLESS SOUL See **Shanan Phase**.

RESURRECTION The Chumash believed that the souls of the ill were separated from the body, but the person will recover if the soul is reunited with the body.

Also see **Shaman**. Compare **Reincarnation, Renewal**.

Terms: *Atik* means 'heart' (Samala, 82, also 'soul', 'spirit', 'to recover', 'to get well'). Related terms include the phrase *Schoho ha atik* meaning 'to be happy' (82, literally means 'one's heart is good'). *Alatlatik* means 'a living being' (Samala, 82). *Atikiy* means 'to revive' (82) and *Satik* means 'to cure' (82, 'to heal').

Related terms: *Tsik'oyi* means 'to return with difficulty' (Samala, 357; the root of the suffix is *Tisi* meaning 'with difficulty', *K'oyi* means 'to go back'). These term presumably were used in near death cases where

the soul has traveled far along the path of the dead and was difficult to return to its body. A related term is *Nik'oyi* which means 'to return' (Samala, 242). *Nik'oy* means 'to return' (Tsmuwich, 19; *Kinanik'oy* means 'to revive').

- The Chumash believed that the souls of the ill were separated from the body, but the person will recover if the soul is reunited with the body.

- *The Fox Jumps* (Anderson, 1994) features Chumash resurrection stories, as does *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson, 1997). These resurrection narratives (renewal of health within the same body) differ from reincarnation stories (where the soul remains separated from the dying body and gains a new body as in *Enememe's Friends*, Anderson, 2002). See **Jumping-off Place** for related commentary.

RESURRECTION: JUMPING text.

Also see **Seaweed Dance**. Compare **Jumping-off Place**.

- The jumping Fox is featured in *The Fox Jumps* (Anderson) as an agent of resurrection whereby the *Ahash* soul is enabled to return to the body. The female governor of the Chumash islands named '*Ilihiy*', for example, was a legendary Fox official associated with resurrection at a time when the Chumash people faced genocidal death rates.

In *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson) Coyote played the role of resurrection when he jumped to the ceiling of the crystal house of the Swordfish (24). The captive soul of Xelix, a victim of drowning, was thereby leaped over and soon one of the Swordfish aided Coyote in bringing Xelix back to life.

RETROGRADE MOTION Chumash astronomers were well acquainted with the retrograde motions of planets and of the Sun's daily shifts as measured on the horizon and as it sinks through the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun.

Also see **Sanddollar, Portal of the Setting sun, Descension**.

Terms: *Axkhit* means 'to revert' (Samala, 89, 'to go back doing something'). A related term may be *Saxkhit* means 'to remember' (Samala, 89, 'to remind').

Related terms: *Kwayapi* means 'to return to' (Tsmuwich, 38, one root is *Wayap* meaning 'to exchange').

Discussion of terms: At first the reincarnating '*Antik*' soul flies west seeking the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun. '*Alawax*' means 'west' in Tsmuwich (1). '*Alawax*' (Samala, 154).

The sun goes into retrograde motion after moving down through the Sanddollar portal. '*Alaplish*' means 'east' in Tsmuwich (1). '*Alaplis*' (Samala, 40). The prefix *Alap* is a variant of the [Lulapin] term '*Ulop*' which means 'east'. '*Ulop*' means 'the cardinal direction east' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 154).

A related term is *Matikiyimin* meaning 'to turn backward' (Samala, 214). And *Olk'oyili* means 'to turn back' (Samala, 255, 'to turn around'). *Olk'oy* means 'to go around' (Tsmuwich, 20).

- After the Sun, Venus, and human souls descend through the Sanddollar portal, they begin a retrograde motion. Instead of continuing west, they suddenly head east (and downward). The specifics of this eastern journey are examined in *Mishup* (Anderson).

ROT See **Decay**.

SACA LAKE A Chumash 'gateway' to the land of the dead, for souls drowned in fresh waters (Blackburn, December, 282; M.S. Qiliqutayiwit).

See *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson, 1997) for a related discussion of souls drowned in the ocean (salt water).

SACRED The Humqaq Shrine was a sacred place.

Terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary did not list **Sacred**.

Discussion of terms: The Samala dictionary listed *Sawi'l* as meaning 'a sacred place' (338, 'a shrine'). One root may be *Wil* meaning 'to exist' (433). *Wil* means 'to exist' (Tsmuwich, 38, 'to be'). *Chwashtiwil* means "sacred" (Hudson/Underhay, 150). The root term is a variant of *Sawi'l* meaning 'a sacred place'.

- Hudson/Underhay translated *Chwashtawi'l* as "sacred"). The [Lulapin] root is a variant of the Samala term *Saw'il* meaning "a sacred place".

SAGE The Chumash sage is a *Sipis* (wise person) of extraordinary achievement.

Also see **Sipis**.

Terms: *Sutsutisipictas* means 'sagacity' in Samala. The Samala dictionary with its Catholic bias, however, translated this term to mean 'sorcery' (340, 'witchcraft', 'shamanism'). The root of *Sutsutisipictas* is *Sipis* meaning 'to be wise' (Samala, 340).

SAINT A saintly soul is rare and does not walk the path of the dead.

Also see **Removed Ones**. Compare **Sin**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Saint**.

Related terms: *Alikitwoc* means 'to be outstanding' (Samala, 43, 'to be excellent'; one root is *Kitwon* meaning 'to stand out'). *Kitwo'n* means 'to come out' (Tsmuwich, 13, 'to emerge').

Lo'x means 'to surpass' (Samala, 203).

- The Chumash saintly soul was capable of flying up into the upper heavens and becoming an immortal star (divine soul). The ordinary soul, on the other hand, sought to successfully journey on the path of the dead to reach *Similaqsa*, the celestial abode from which a soul is reincarnated.

SALT The soul's flight from Point Humqaq over the salty ocean is filled with peril.

See **Water: Salt, Pacific Ocean**.

Terms: *Tip* means 'salt' (Tsmuwich, 33); (Samala, 570; *Sutipas* means 'a salted food item').

Hypothesis: Souls which drown in salt water cease to reincarnate. In contrast, souls which drown in fresh water do not suffer the same tragic fate; they continue on the path of the dead to *Shimilaqsa*, the land of the dead.

See Qiliqutayiwit's narrative of a drowning in Zaca lake (December, 282) for related commentary.

SALVATION Chumash traditionalists believed that the newly dead soul could only be saved from a disastrous post-death experience by knowing the proper ascension upward to the Milky Way which leads to reincarnation

Terms: *Salusnana'n* means 'to save someone's life' (Samala, 335; one root is *Na'n* meaning 'to go').

Related terms: *Suninapay* means 'to save' (Samala, 322, 'to rescue'; the suffix *Apay* means 'to go up').

- When seen as an epistemological issue, educated Chumash believed that salvation came only through proper religious training.

SAMALA The name used in this text for the Chumash people who occupied the middle stretches of the Samala (Santa Ynez) river valley in western Chumashia.

Compare **Tsmuwich** for the coastal Chumash living in the Santa Barbara area.

Terms: *Shamala* (Samala, 299; used for a single person, the tribe, the language; called *Ineseno* by the Spanish).

- The Samala Chumash were affiliated with the *Alajulapu* (Santa Ynez) production center, which the Spanish called *Santa Ynez*. M.S. Qiliqutayiwit spoke the *Samala* [*Shamala*] language.

SANAXIL POINT The name used in this text for the rocky ocean point of land, found at the mouth of the White Deer (Honda) creek - located downstream from a number of Vandenberg launch facilities (including Slick 6).

Compare **Flint** for further discussion.

Terms: *Shnaxil* is the Chumash translation of the Spanish place name *Pedernales* which means 'flint'. *Shnaxil* means 'flint' in Tsmuwich (30; also *Snaqil*). *Sanaxal* is an Americanized spelling for this term.

Wis means 'flint' in Samala (439). *Tixo* means 'a flint knife' (Samala, 377). *Shahac* means 'to be flint tipped, like an arrow' (Samala, 514). The suffix *Hac* may be related to the Samala prefix '*Ax* meaning 'a bow' (Samala, 84; *Axic* means 'to wage war', 85).

- This point of land is composed of flint rocks, whose ability to generate sparks may have associated them with the sparks of the soul. In modern times, *Snaxil* Point has been associated with bad luck and ill fate. This is partially due to the wreck of a number of naval ships at this site and partially due to repeated launch failures of rockets from the nearby Slick 6 launch facility on the Vandenberg base.

SAND CRICKET In Pamaskimait's narrative, the sand cricket opposed Coyote's proposal to allow old humans to be rejuvenated through immersion (baptism) in a body of water (December, 95).

See **Kumelpi Phase** for related discussion.

Terms: *Qs'inin* is the Samala name for the 'Jerusalem cricket' (294; also called the "potato bug"). The root term may be *S'ini*. A related term may be *Siniwe* meaning 'to kill' (Tsmuwich, 26). *Siniwe* in Samala has the connotation of 'putting to sleep' (307).

Another common name is the Sand cricket.

Grillo means 'cricket' in Spanish. See **Deer (Venero)** for related terminology.

Discussion of terms: Pamaskimait used the term *Matavenero* for the Sand Cricket who warned that without death, the world would be destroyed by overpopulation. Unfortunately, no Chumash or English name was provided to identify the *Matavenero*. Blackburn identified it as a Jerusalem Cricket (December, 345, glossary). These crickets have long horns, and are burrowing and wingless.

The term *Matavenero* does not appear in standard Spanish dictionaries. It can be speculatively separated into *Matar* and *Venero* and so be translated as "kills deer" with the possible connotation of the Sand Cricket symbolizing the soul that ascends from the dead body (associated, in Chumash myth, with the deer). A similar association with death would result if the root of *Qs'inin* was *Siniwe* which means 'to kill' (Samala, 307, with the connotation of 'putting to sleep').

- Kroeber confirmed that Sand Cricket as the bringer of death was a widespread tradition in California. The Yurok (a northern California subdivision of the Algonquian language family), for example, described this cricket as the bringer of death (Handbook, 120).

SANDDOLLAR In Chumash cosmology, the Sanddollar is the symbol of the portal of the setting sun.

See **Sunset Portal, Pentacle**. Also see **Evening Star, Five**.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Sanddollar**.

The common [Lulapin] name for the sanddollar is '*Alteqpei Heisikas* meaning 'stuck in the sand' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 150). '*Alteqpei* means 'to be stuck'. '*Tineqpeyic* means 'to be stuck on' (Samala, 370; '*Tineqpey* means 'to stick to', 116); root is '*Eqpey* meaning 'to stick to', as in '*Teqpey* meaning 'to stick to', 116). A related term is '*Suteqp'ey* meaning 'to stick together' (Tsmuwich, 82; '*Pey* means 'to stick to'). '*Teqpey* means 'to stick to' (Samala, 270). And '*Kas* means 'sand' (Lulapin); '*Xas* (Tsmuwich, 40); '*Xas* (Samala, 445).

Related terms: '*Eqpey* also means 'to resemble' (Tsmuwich, 8). '*Uteqpey* means 'to imitate' (Samala, 532). '*Uteqpey* means 'to imitate' (Tsmuwich, 36). And '*Uqwaluteqpey* means 'to form an image of' (Samala, 395; one root is '*Uteqpey*). '*Uxwal* is a Tsmuwich term meaning 'to resemble' (37, 'to look like').

Discussion of terms: Hudson/Underhay reported that the ritual name of the sanddollar is *Chakwiti loka Kamunupmawa* which they translated to mean 'the shadow [image] of the child of the winter solstice' (Crystals, 150). This phrase probably did not refer to the Sanddollar but to the soul of the newborn sun.

Chakwiti means 'shadow' [Lulapin; presumably also means 'image'] and is a variant of *Tsaqwiti* meaning 'a shadow' (Kitsepawit, Eye, 48). '*Aqwicuy* means 'a shadow' (Samala, 77, 'an image'). '*Axtawaya*' means 'a shadow' (Samala, 574, 'shade'. '*Aqiwalmay* means 'to overshadow' (Samala, 63). Note that **Shadow** is not listed in the Tsmuwich dictionary.

Kakunupmawa refers to "the radiance of the child born on the winter solstice" (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 50). '*Aku* may mean 'to radiate' in Lulapin; a related term may be '*Aquc'oyon* meaning 'to radiate from the center' (Samala, 73).

- The Sanddollar was located at the border between the natural and supernatural realm. Once a reincarnating soul passed through this portal, it left the natural realm and entered the supernatural with its close associations with night. This supernatural realm is called *Coyinashup*; see **World: Other**.

- Sunset is the time when the male Sun entered *Xutash* (Mother Earth) through a portal depicted as a sanddollar. Red clouds at sunset reflect the sexual passion of this coitus. *Xutash* refers both to Venus as the Evening Star and Mother Earth. See **Xutash** for related commentary.

- The sanddollar is an Echinoderm. It can change colors. It can be green, blue, or purple. The green color (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 63) is associated with the green glow which sometimes accompanies the setting of the sun. See **Sunset: Green Glow**.

Commentary: The Chumash solstice measuring device [a *Miwalaqsh*] has a stone glued to the top of a wooden post. This stone is painted a greenish or bluish color like the Sanddollar (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 63). Such stones were called *Helo* (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 63). Perhaps *Helo* is a variant of *He'lo* which means 'in the water' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 150) and refers to the bursting of a newborn after the bursting of the water sac.

To reach the Sanddollar, a soul had to descend into the Pacific ocean down to its bottom where sanddollars are found. This immersion in salt water suggests the salt water in a mammalian womb, from which mammals like humans are birthed. Perhaps the Sanddollar portal was a birthing place into the supernatural. See **Womb** for related commentary.

SEA See Ocean.

SEA PEOPLE This phrase was used by Qiliqutayiwit in a narrative about the Swordfish and Mermaids (December, 94).

See **Swordfish** and **Mermaids**.

Terms: Qiliqutayiwit referred to the mermaids as “sirens”. She called the Swordfish ‘*Elye’wun*’.

SEA: SICKNESS Text.

Also see **Nauseating, Sickness**.

Hypothesis: Souls flying through winds and storms can become seasickness during their flight from Point Humqag to the portal of the setting sun. See **Drowning, Mermaids, and Swordfish** for related commentary.

SEAWEED DANCE This dance was associated with the sexual movements of seaweed swaying in the currents of the sea.

Also **Resurrection: Jumping**.

Terms: *Sutiwiwish* is the name of the seaweed dance performed by Limu islanders (Hudson, Eye, 72).

This term is not listed in neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary.

Discussion of terms: One root could be *Wiy* as in *Ilwiywi* means ‘for water to slosh’ (Samala, 439, ‘to slop’; the prefix *Il-* has the connotation of ‘of water’). Perhaps the connotation of *Sutiwiwish* is of a plant which sloshes with the waves of the ocean. From the movements and the lyrics, this dance appears to be sexual in association, alluring and positive in intent.

“Those who danced would imitate the movement of seaweed, any kind of seaweed.” (Hudson, Eye, 73). It was danced, among other things, to cheer up a melancholy person sick for love. The lyrics include the line: “I will always endure in the future”. (74).

- Coyote danced the *Sutiwiwish* dance when contesting with the Swordfish for the soul of a drowned person (December, 186, Suleumait). The dance was intended to awake the sexuality within the Ahash soul of the drowned person who was jumped over at the end of the dance.

SEED Compare **Flowers of the Dead**.

SEPARATION OF SOUL FROM THE BODY See **Kumelpi Phase** for discussion.

SETTING SUN PORTAL The portal used by the Sun to enter the underworld is symbolized as a Sanddollar. This portal is the sexual organ of Xutash (Mother Earth).

Also see **Sanddollar, Lure, Evening Star** and **Retrograde Motion**.

Terms: *Mitipi’n* means ‘a door’ (Samala, 223) with the connotation of entering. One root is *Tap* meaning ‘to enter’ (Samala, 360).

Related terms: *Loq* means ‘to have a hole’ (Samala, 202; thus *Sloq* means ‘a hole, 203). *Wololox* means ‘to step in a hole’ (Samala, 202). Also *Lox*.

- Qonoyo stated that the souls of the newly dead follow the sun through the “portal of the Sun” (December, 98).

Hypothesis: The Sanddollar is a ‘portal’ between two realms, the surface of the earth (Middle World) and the underworld. Both Venus and the souls of humans on the path of the dead use this same portal, following the sun.

Hypothesis: The Sanddollar symbolized the coital entrance into mother earth.

SEXUALITY Chumash souls on the path of the dead are tempted with sexual lures to test their full rejection of the pleasures of the physical body.

See **Venus, Mermaid, Physical Body**. Also see **Sanddollar, Setting Sun Portal**.

Terms: ‘*Octis*’ means ‘sex’ in Samala (255, ‘intercourse’); ‘*Os*’ means ‘to have sex’ (Samala, 258; ‘*Octis*’ means ‘intercourse’). ‘*Osh*’ (Tsmuwich, 21).

- The flight across the ocean tested a soul’s determination and endurance, and also its ability to resist its remaining attachments to sexuality and other pleasures of the physical body. The Sun [the beauty of the world] lures the soul towards the portal of the setting sun. And on days when the Evening Star is in the western sky it also acts as a powerful sexual lure.

- Qiliqutayiwit described the Swordfish, rulers of the ocean, as having no wives (December, 94). It implies that they were beyond the influence of sexuality, but it is possible that they were only widows.

SHADOW A shadow was a shaded area within an outline of a person or object illuminated by the rays of the sun. It is not a soul.

See **Cold, Night**. Also see **Image, Soul**.

Terms: '*Aqwicuy*' means 'a shadow' (Samala, 77, 'an image', 'a reflection as in water').

'*Axtawayya*' means 'a shadow' (Samala, 95, 'a shade', with the connotation of being in the shade as opposed to being directly in sunlight; a sunshade, 428). *Axtawayan* means 'to cast a shadow' (95). *Axt'awayan* means 'to be very cool' (Tsmuwich, 6)).

Related terms: *Chakwiti loka Kakunupmawa* is the ritual name for the newborn sun on December 25 when the Chumash new year begins. This phrase means 'the shadow of the child of the winter solstice'. *Chakwiti* is a variant of '*Aqwicuy*' meaning 'a shadow'. *Kakunupmawa* is a ritual name for the sun at the new year (December, 25).

In late December, the newborn solar deity (Kakunupmawa) is incapable of driving away the cold and darkness of winter, so it remains in relative shadow until spring. In a daily cycle of day and night, the surface of the earth is illuminated by the sun in a varying pattern, with the longest shadow persisting at dawn and dusk. The reincarnating soul approaches the Sanddollar portal at the bottom of the sea, in shadow.

- When sunlight ceases to illuminate any area on the surface of the earth, it returns to the primordial condition of darkness (Night) and cold.

SHADOW OF THE SUN See **Sanddollar**.

SHAMAN A healer who follows a soul which has separated through illness or death from its physical body and wandered.

The Shaman finds the soul and brings it back to the body which is reanimated.

Also see **Sipis, Resurrection, Religious Leader**.

Terms:

Related terms: *Satikiy* means 'to revive an unconscious person' (Samala, 481). The root is *Atik* meaning 'a disembodied soul'. *Atik* means 'soul' (Samala, 82, 'a spirit'). *Antik* means 'soul' (Tsmuwich, 2, 'spirit', 'heart').

The embodied soul is called *Ahash* (Tsmuwich). *Ahas* (Samala, 32, 'soul', 'spirit'). '*Ahasis*' refers to an embodied soul which has wandered from the body and failed to begin its journey on the path of the dead. The Samala dictionary defined *Ahasis* as 'a ghost' (32, 'spirit').

More related terms; *Suxniwana'n* means 'to go after' (Samala, 233, 'to pursue'). *Salusnana'n* means 'to save someone's life' (Samala, 234, 'to save'). *Suxni'nan* means 'to chase' (Tsmuwich, 37); the root '*Uxni'nan*' may mean 'to run away'.

Discussion of terms: *Shaman* is not a Chumash term. It is used so often by American scholars writing about Chumash religion, however, that the Samala dictionary lists it in a number of places. For example, *Sipis* meaning 'a wise person' is mistakenly translated as 'to be a shaman' (Samala, 575; '*Asipis*' is translated as 'a shaman'). See *Sipish*.

And the Tsmuwich dictionary translated '*A'latishwinich*' as 'shaman' (5) when it should be translated as a general term for those who have power visions, i.e. religious leaders. See *Religious Leader*.

Discussion of terms: The renewal songs which are performed at the time of the winter solstice are reincarnation songs. One of these songs is called *Kiwawinima* (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152). A related term may be *Kiwana'n* meaning 'good-by' (Samala, 180, literally means "I'm going for a while"). The root term *Iwana'n* means 'to go for a while'; *Na'n* means 'to go' (232). Perhaps this song is sung at the beginning of the solstice, when the sun dies and is non-moving for a while (four days) before being reincarnated.

Discussion of terms: The (Catholic biased) Samala dictionary mistranslated *Sipis* as "to be a shaman" (340). But this is misleading, for *Sipis* means 'a wise person' in traditional theology.

- In *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson): "The spiritual leader who rescues souls in the heavens (the Upper World) is called a Shaman by American anthropologists. In many native traditions the same spiritual leader (who entered the upper world) also entered the ocean to save souls" (Swordfish, 40, footnote 67). Coyote's rescue of Hawk from the Swordfish symbolized such a healing.

SHANAN PHASE The name used in this text for the phase of the Chumash soul's journey on the path of the dead, that took place after the *Kumelpi* phase.

See **Ghost** and **Kumelpi Phase** for related information.

Terms: The traditional Chumash name for this part of the soul's journey is undetermined.

Sha'nan is used to facilitate discussion of this phase. It means 'to move' (Tsmuwich, 29; also means 'to move around', 'to move over'). *Axna'n* means 'to glide' (5); thus *Manan* is a related Samala term, meaning 'to be

restless'. *Tiwana'nan* means 'to go wandering around' (18). One root for all of these terms is *Nan'* meaning 'to go' (63). *Xa'nan*, meaning 'to fly' (40) is a related term, as is *Xina'n* meaning 'to float away' (19).

- The *Shanan* phase is a recapitulation of life. This phase probably does not end until the soul reaches the Humqaq region. See chapter three for further discussion.

SHILIMAQSHTUSH A town located near the mouth of *Xalama* (Jalama) creek which is the drainage immediately north of Point Humqaq.

Terms: *Shilimaqshtush*. Variants of this town name include *Siliaqtus*, *Silmastus* (Merriam; also lists *Silimastux* and *Silimastux*).

SHIMILAQSHA The Chumash celestial realm where souls reside before reincarnation. It is in the lower heavens, in the constellation called Aquila.

Also see **Dead, Land of the Dead, Path of the Dead, Removed Ones, Ancestors, Western Gate, World: West**.

Terms: *Shimilaqsha* means "Land-of-the-Dead" (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 153). *Similaqsa* (Samala, 339).

- *Shimilaqsa* is located in the Aquila constellation. Qiliqutayiwit's attribution of a "gate" guarding this celestial realm is a Catholic intrusion into traditional narratives featuring this realm. In traditional lore it is guarded by the *Mesmu* bridge and its scary demons, and not by a gate.

- *Shimilaqsha* is located near the fork of the Milky Way. Qiliqutayiwit's attribution of a "gate" guarding this celestial realm is a Catholic intrusion into traditional narratives featuring this realm. In traditional lore, *Shimilaqsha* is guarded by the *Mesmu* bridge and its scare demons, not by a gate. This bridge with its demons is featured in *Alsuyuopos* (Anderson).

- Qiliqutayiwit's description of a "western" location for *Shimilaqsa* reflects the astronomical location of the Aquila constellation at the time of the winter solstice. But a Chumash soul cannot go directly west to reach *Shimilaqsa*. The path takes many turns and the successful soul must be educated to know its way if it is to succeed on its journey. See **Retrograde** for discussion of the paradox of having to turn east and downward in order to eventually reach *Shimilaqsa*.

SHRINE The shrine at Humqaq was described by Qiliqutayiwit as a "great" place of worship (December, 98).

Also see **Mysticism, Humqaq Shrine**.

Terms: *Sawi'l* means 'a shrine' (Samala, 338, 'a sacred place'). The Tsmuwich dictionary did not list **Shrine** or **Sacred**.

'Us'akmu' means 'a shrine' (Samala, 398, literally means 'an offering place.'). One root is *Axks* meaning 'to give' and the suffix *Mu* is locative, i.e. 'a place to give'.

Discussion of terms: Hudson/Underhay translated *'Ush'akmu'* as 'shrine' (Crystals, 154), referencing a particular shrine on a hill near Solvang. The Samala dictionary also translated *'Us'akmu'* as 'shrine' (576). But this term very likely referred to a specific site. The root of this placename was probably *Ush* meaning 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 35) referring to a [sulfur?] water source. The suffix *Mu* is locative.

- Qiliqutayiwit reported that nobody went near Point Humqaq, except those who went to the Humqaq shrine to worship (December, 98).

- The exact location of the Humqaq Shrine has not been determined by American scholars. There is good reason to believe, however, that the shrine (a *Sawil*) described by Qiliqutayiwit was not in the immediate vicinity of Point Humqaq but is located in a larger Humqaq religious complex.

SHUP One of the names used by the Chumash for the earth is *Shup* (*Chupu*), focusing on its association with the soil [from which plants grow].

Also see **Earth, Xutash**.

Terms: *Shup* means 'earth' in Tsmuwich (30, also means 'soil', 'land', 'world'). The Samala dictionary translated *Shup* to mean "Earth Mother" (348, [a] "god" [goddess]).

Hudson/Underhay translated *Chupu* [loosely] as 'world' (Crystals, 150), ignoring the important association with the soil. See **World** for related commentary.

Related terms: Many terms reference the earth as associated with 'soil', down, and the underworld. *Mishup* for example, means 'down' (Tsmuwich, 17, 'to go down'). *Mishup* also means 'for the sun to set' (17), and it has the additional translation of 'hell' (17).

SICKNESS The Chumash believed that the physical body began to decline when the [reincarnating, and air] soul separated from the body.

Compare **Dead**. Also see **Nauseating, Seasickness**.

Terms: *Yuxpan* means 'to be sick' (Tsmuwich, 43; thus *Yuxpacchish* meaning 'a sickness'). Related terms: *Aqshan* meaning 'to be sick (4, to be dead', 'to die').

Yuxpan means 'to be sick' (Tsmuwich, 43); (Samala, 462). A related term is *Yuqs* meaning 'to stink' (462). *Yuxpacchish* means 'sickness' (Tsmuwich, 43). *Yuxpachi's* means 'sickness' (Samala, 462).

Xawawa'n means 'to be sickly' (Samala, 576).

- Separation of the soul from the body happened nightly during dreaming, but it had little negative effect on the well-being of the individual. But if the soul stayed separated from the body for more than a night's sleep, then illness may occur. By the time that the body died, the ties between it and the soul were very weak.

SIN A Chumash soul can successfully journey on the path of the dead in spite of sinning while in the *Ahash* (embodied) stage.

Also see **Repentance, Ugly, Suffering**. Compare **Saint**.

Terms: *Ackaw* means 'to sin' (Tsmuwich, 1, 'to suffer an accident', 'to be ugly'; '*Achkawish* means 'a sin', 80). *Akaw* means 'a mistake' (Samala, 32, 'an error'; "to make a mistake", 358, 'an error', 507). *Ackaws* means 'to go wrong' (32). *Tipackaws* means 'to sin' (32).

Related terms: Luck and accidents are closely linked to sinning. *Usta'lackaw* means 'to have bad luck' (Samala, 473), for example, and one root is *Ackaw* meaning 'to sin'. *Talackaw* (Samala, 358).

Hypothesis: The average Chumash is not a saint without sin. It is destined for reincarnation, however, if it can successfully journey on the path of the dead and reach *Similaqsa* (the land of the dead).

SIPIS The Chumash called a person with wisdom a *Sipis*.

See **Sage, Mysticism, Supernatural**. Also see **Shaman**. Compare **Knowledge**.

Terms: *Sipis* means 'a wise person' with the connotation of 'a philosopher'. *Sipis* means 'to be wise' (Samala, 606).

- A person can have great knowledge, yet not be wise. And most ordinary souls have sufficient knowledge to successfully traverse the path of the dead and achieve reincarnation. But the saintly soul is so wise that it does not seek reincarnation but ascends into the Inner Heavens to become a star (supernatural soul).

- The earthly Coyote is called *Sipisiwas* meaning 'one who once had great wisdom but has declined in wisdom, i.e. is a worn out *Sipis*. Compare **Snilemun** for the celestial coyote.

SIREN See **Mermaid, Lure**.

SLEEP The Chumash soul is probably in a sleep-like state after the death of the body, for a few days before the soul separates from the decaying body and begins its journey to the land of the dead.

Compare **Reincarnation, Resurrection**.

Terms: The suffix *-we* means 'to sleep' (Tsmuwich, 38, 'to go to sleep; *K'iliwe*' means 'to be sleepy'). *We'* means 'to sleep' (Samala, 429; *Qilwe*' means 'to be sleepy'; *Suwe'n* means 'to put to sleep; *Uteiwe*' means 'to fall asleep'; *Wene'mu*' means 'a sleeping place').

Discussion of terms: See **Sand Cricket** for discussion of the term *Siniwe*' meaning 'to kill' with the possible connotation of putting to sleep'.

Discussion of terms: The translation of *Enememe* may be 'he who sleep' with the root *Me* being a [Lulapin?] variant of *We* meaning 'sleep' (Tsmuwich, 38).

- In Chumash theology *Enememe* is the supreme deity known as He Who Sleeps. He is a deistic god, withdrawn from the affairs of life on the surface of the earth. In a key passage, Tata Xuse praised '*Eneme'me* commenting that "he sleeps, but his heart is vigilant" (December, 162).

SMOKE The Chumash and native peoples generally used smoke to symbolize the ascension of spirit into the heavens (as in the ascending soul).
ending soul).

Also see **Soul: of the Air**. Compare **Disappear, Physical body** and **Kuta Teachings**.

Terms: *To'w* means 'smoke' (Tsmuwich, 34; thus *Yolinito'w* means 'blue smoke'). *To'w* may have the same root as *Woli*, which means 'to be dizzy' (39; also means 'to spin', 'to revolve' in Samala), with the connotation of a substance which spins and whirls in the air. *Sit'ow* means 'to cleanse with smoke from burning' *We'wey* (26; 'sage'); such cleansing was probably done in an abalone shell, whose coloration symbolized mystic

vision (compare **Rattlesnake Shelter**). *Alaltip'xopic* is the Chumash name for a healer specializing in smoke rituals (Hudson, Breath, 65; Kitsepawit). One root is *Tipxop*, referring to a stone pipe (74).

- Both souls and smoke are insubstantial (minimal physical body) and thus easily rise into the heavens.

The body of the newly dead Chumash has smoke blown ritually upon it, to remind the soul of its proper role of 'rising' up like smoke into the heavens.

SNILEMUN The Chumash name for the celestial Coyote. *Snilemun* is featured in *Mishup* (Anderson).

Compare **Sipis** for commentary on *Sipiwas* who is the earthly coyote.

Terms: Blackburn described *Snilemun* as "the Coyote of the Sky" (December, 95).

SOLARES See **Qiliqutayiwit**.

SOUL The supernatural soul was immortal and animated the animals and plants of *Itiashup* which is the surface of the earth.

See **Antik**, **Ahash**, **Soul: Disembodied**, **Soul: Embodied**. Also see **Supernatural**, **Deity** and **Demon**.

Terms: Both *Antik* and *Ahash* are translated as 'soul' in Tsmuwich. See **Antik**, **Ahash**, **Soul: Disembodied** and **Soul: Embodied** for related commentary.

Related terms: '*Alatlatik* means 'a living being' (Samala, 40, 'a creature'). *Atik* (*Antik*) is one root meaning 'to live' (Samala, 82, 'to be alive').

- The soul is eternal (Kitsepawit, December, 97). It's essence is Fire which enables life to overcome the primordial cold of the cosmos. See **Cold**.
- The soul was supernatural yet was capable of entering the physical realm of mundane space/time. Living animal and plants have physical bodies animated by souls, as do stars and demons which visit the earth.

SOUL: ATTACHED TO A BODY See **Ahash** and **Bone Soul** for discussion.

SOUL: DISEMBODIED See **Antik** and **Soul: of the Air** for discussion of the disembodied soul.

Discussion of terms: In earlier publications by the author, such as in *When Demons Rule* (Anderson) the disembodied soul was designated as the **Air Soul** (22, **Antik**, glossary). This terminology is no longer used.

- The Pomo *Duwel* soul is a variant of the Chumash '*Antik* soul. Both souls are disembodied (Barrett, Pomo, 23).

SOUL: EMBODIED See **Ahash** for discussion of the embodied soul. Compare '**Antik** soul.

Discussion of terms: In earlier publications by the author, such as in *When Demons Rule* (Anderson) the embodied soul was designated as the **Bone Soul** (21). This terminology is no longer used.

SOUL: FLIGHT OVER THE PACIFIC The soul's perilous flight across the ocean tested its determination and endurance.

Also see **Portal of the Setting Sun**, **Evening Star**, **Sunset**, **Sexuality**, **Drowning**, **Swordfish**.

Terms: *Xonowon* means 'to fly through the air' in Samala (250). *Xoyoyon* is the Tsmuwich term used in chapter two of this text to describe the flight of the soul over the Pacific. It means 'to fly' (62).

Related terms: *Xa'nan* means 'to fly' in Tsmuwich (40, *Xana'nan* means 'flying all over').

Xalnapay means 'to fly up' (Tsmuwich, 40; the prefix *Xal* means 'to fly' with the suffix *Napay* having the root *Apay* meaning 'up').

- Souls which fell exhausted into the ocean drowned, and the fire of these souls were extinguished so they could no longer be reincarnated. *Xutina'n* means 'to do something to the point of exhaustion' (Samala, 452).

SOUL: MYSTICISM See **Mysticism**.

SOUL: NOBLE The Chumash praised the immortal soul for its qualities of high ethical ideals.

Also see **Supernatural**.

Related terms: *Suyuwachisi* means 'respectable' (Samala, 354, 'to be sacred', 'to be awesome', 'to be formidable'). See **Awe** for related information.

- Kitsepawit considered the souls of all of humanity to be sacred and immortal. He praised "the noble principles of the soul" (December, 98). He did not believe that the noble principles of the soul make it eternally perfect, however. It is clear, from the many dangers of defilement, and even extinction on the path of the dead, that the soul can be defiled.

SOUL: OF THE AIR In earlier writings by Anderson, the term *Antik* was defined as an **Air Soul**.

See **Antik** for the convention used in this text. This is the soul which separates from the body at death and rises into the heavens (air) to walk on the Milky Way and enter the Chumash Land of the Dead.

Also see '**Antik, Soul: Disembodied, Smoke, Sparks of the Sun**. Compare **Ahash** soul.

- The '*Antik*' stage of the soul differs from the *Ahash* stage (the embodied soul) which is also capable of leaving the body but always returns to the living body. Dreams and comas are examples of the soul in its *Ahash* stage leaving the body temporarily.

SOUL: SAINTLY The saintly soul escapes the circle of reincarnation and ascends directly into the heavens to become an immortal star.

Also see **Sipis, Sage**. See **Star** for the after-death fate of a saintly soul. Compare **Path of the Dead** for the after death journey of less than saintly souls.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed **Saint**.

Related terms: *Sipis* means 'a wise man' (Samala, 340). See **Sipis** for related commentary. **SPACE LAUNCH COMPLEX # 6** A commercial spaceport nicknamed Slick 6 is located just upstream from *Shnaxil* Point.

See Appendix F for related information.

- Tranquillon Mountain, a sacred Chumash peak, is located immediately to the south. Titan, Delta, Scout, and Atlas launch facilities are located just to the north.

SPACE/TIME: MUNDANE See **Mundane Space/time, Nature**.

SPACE/TIME: MYTHIC See **Mythic Space/Time**.

SPARKS OF THE SUN This phrase was used by the Chumash to describe the stars, which were believed to be saintly souls.

Terms: '*Ipc'ic'ixis*' means 'a spark' (Samala, 145; '*Ipc'iyiwin*' means 'to sparkle')>

Related terms: *Ixut* means 'to be on fire' (Samala, 161). *Sixut* means 'to burn' (Tsmuwich, 26).

Discussion of terms: the souls of dead humans ascended into the heavens (air), where they could be seen as stars in the Milky Way; they were called Sparks of the Sun (Anderson, Enememe's Friends, 16). See '**Antik, Ahash** and *Sanaxil* Point' for related discussion.

SPIRIT See **Soul, Fire** and **World: Other**. And see *Soul: of the Air* and **Soul: of the Body** for related discussions.

Terms: The Samala dictionary listed both *Atik* and *Ahash* as 'spirit' (583). See **Soul**.

Discussion of terms: Qiliqutayiwit used the terms **Spirit** and **Soul** interchangeably. In one narrative about a haunting soul called "Seeing People Who aren't There" she described a haunting soul as a "spirit" (December, 298). This soul was in the *Ahash* stage, still attached to a living body near death.

STAR A star is a heavenly soul. Those of the upper heavens have awesome supernatural powers.

See **Evening Star, Morning Star, Xutash, Sage, Pentangle, Flower: of the Sun**. Also see **Path of the Dead**.

Terms: '*Aqiwo*' means 'a star' (Tsmuwich, 3); (Samala, 63). '*Aqiwoc*' means 'to be starry' (Samala, 63). Discussion of terms: The root of '*Aqiwo*' may be *Iwon*. The Tsmuwich dictionary defined *Iwon* as 'to resound'. *Iwon* (Samala, 160; 'to make a sound'). Perhaps *Iwon* is associated with the concept of 'manifesting' as in a star manifesting light.

- Drowned souls never become stars in the heavens. See **Drown** for related commentary.
- Human souls on the Milky Way segment of the path of the dead can be seen dimly as stars. Not only were they a great distance away from the earthbound viewer, but compared to the brilliant light of the stars they were of faint illumination.

- The ultimate goal of a Chumash soul is to become a saint and escape the circle of reincarnation to become immortal as a star in the heavens.

STAR: FIVE POINTED See **Pentangle**.

STAR: TWELVE POINTED See **Sun: Flower of**.

STORMS: OCEAN One of the perils of the 'Antik soul when it flies over the Pacific ocean to the portal of the setting sun are ocean storms.

Terms: *Sishilin* means 'a storm' (Samala, 587; *Ishilin* means 'for storm winds to blow').

Sxa'minun means 'for the ocean to be stormy' (Tsmuwich, 29; the root term is *Sxa'min* meaning 'the ocean').

Related terms: *Saxkkit* means 'wind' (Tsmuwich, *Axkkit* means 'for the wind to blow' (Tsmuwich, 5).

• Like the Pomo Thunders the Chumash Swordfish (who also thundered) were masters of ocean storms. If a soul drowned in such storms, they would never return to the path of the dead.

STUPID Chumash epistemology distinguished between a person of low intelligence and a person who has adequate intelligence but does not use it properly

Also see **Sun Crazyed**.

Terms: *Kilamu* means 'to be stupid' (Tsmuwich, 13, also means 'to be crazy'; *Sukilamu* means 'to fool'). *Kilamu* means 'to be stupid' (Samala, 177); *Wisukilamu* means 'to stupefy').

Discussion of terms: *Tosot* also means 'to be stupid' (Samala, 383, 'to be dull'; the root *Sot* means 'skinning'). It is not associated with being stupefied by exposure to the sun. Instead *Tosot* has the connotation of taking the sharp edge off a cutting object by dulling its edge.

Hypothesis: The soul waits until sunset to approach close to the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun because the full light of the sun (e.g. at noon) stupefies the soul. The light of the soul normally enables it to function in nature but it does not assist it in comprehending the supernatural.

STUPOR See **Stupid**.

SUFFERING The embodied soul suffers physically, while the disembodied soul suffers spiritually.

See **Fear, Awe, Nauseating, Repentance, Sin** for examples of psychological suffering.

Terms: *Axsu'mu* means 'to suffer' (Tsmuwich, 5, 28). *Axsumu* means 'to suffer' (Samala, 92).

Related terms: *Ackaw* means 'to suffer an accident' (Tsmuwich, 1; also means 'to sin'). *Ackaw* means 'to make a mistake' (Samala, 31; *Talackaw* means 'to have an accident'; *Ackaws* means 'to go wrong').

Uqmawil means 'to suffer by undergoing misfortune' (Samala, 392, 'to undergo adversity'; *Uqmawilas* means 'misfortune' (Samala, 393, 'suffering').

Unchus means 'to feel pain in' (Samala, 390).

Aqc'a'lin means 'to feel sudden pain' (Samala, 60).

SUN The Sun is one of the four major Chumash demigods, who rule life on the surface of the earth.

See **Burial, Sun: Flower** and **Disappear** for related discussions. Also see **Sun** in the glossary of *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson, 1995) for related discussion.

Terms: *Alishaw* means 'the sun' in Tsmuwich (11; thus *Ishaw* means 'for the sun to shine', 'to be hot'). *Isawus* means 'to sweat' (Tsmuwich, 11). *Isawus* (Samala, 148), and *Shishawi* means 'summer' (Tsmuwich, 11). (Samala, 340, *Sisawi*).

Qsi means 'sun' in Samala (590; thus *Sya'a Qsi* means 'a sunbeam'). *Si* is probably related to the Samala term *Ci* which means 'to be hot' (104; *Yic'i* means 'to be hot', 105).

Discussion of terms: Chumash officials called themselves Rays of the Sun, acknowledging that they are living under the dominant influence of the sun's illumination of mundane space/time. This also involves recognition of associated entropy, including the aging of their physical bodies through the 'cooking' (aging, mortal, entropy theme) rays of the sun. See **Stupid** for related commentary.

• Sun is on the divine team led by the Eagle (north star). See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) for related commentary. Compare **Snilemun** (celestial Coyote) and **Morning Star** for the leaders of the Other team of demigods.

• The Sun is called the Beauty of the World (Autumn Equinox, Anderson, 8). See **Beauty**.

• Qiliqutayiwit stated that the Chumash Sun was an eater of man (Blackburn, December, 93) Her reference presumably was to the decay of dead human bodies when exposed to the sun's heat. See **Soul: Embodied** and **Bone Soul** for related information.

SUN: ALL-SEEING The solar deity was omniscient in his range of sunlight, which includes the surface of the earth during daylight and the underworld during the night when humans are sleeping.

• S. Qonoyo taught: "The Old men who understood such things once gathered together to discuss the nature of he who watches over us: Sun. Sun sees everything" (December, 98).

- The ability of the sun to see everything falls into a daily and annual pattern in which the light of the sun varies dramatically. For example, the power of the sun diminishes as it approaches sunset. At this time objects on the surface of the earth cast long shadows to the east, into which the solar deity cannot see. At nighttime, all of the surface of the earth is in shadow, i.e. it is dark.

SUN: CRAZED Too much exposure to solar rays can cause sunstroke and disorientation.

Also see **Stupid**.

Terms: *Apigen* means 'to be sunburned' (Samala, 56, 'to burn entirely up'). *Peq'en* is one root, meaning 'to sun one's self' (Samala, 270, 'to lie resting').

Kilamu means 'to be crazy' (Samala, 177, 'to be stupid').

Related terms: '*Axtawayaya*' means 'a sunshade' (Samala, 95, 'shade', 'shadow').

- Sun exposure was moderated by the Chumash who respected how the sun's supernatural powers can overcome a normal human. See **Supernatural**.

SUN: FLOWER A twelve rayed star is used as a symbol of the sun. Each ray represented a month of the annual solar cycle of mundane space/time.

Compare **Pentangle** for the five pointed star symbol used for the portal of the setting sun.

Terms: *Tspe'ey Kakunupmawa* means 'flower of the sun' (Eye, 51, Hudson). *Spe'y* means 'a flower' (Tsmuwich, 27). *Kakunupmawa* is a ritual name for 'the sun'.

- *Autumn Equinox* (Anderson, 2001) mistakenly identified the five pointed Sanddollar star symbol as equivalent to the twelve pointed Sun Flower symbol (59). The Sun Flower is associated with mundane space/time measured by the solar calendar of 365 days and its division into twelve months. Note that the solar year was a count of 360 mundane days, followed by a four-five day separate thirteenth month associated with the winter solstice.

In contrast, Sanddollar pentangle symbolized a gateway into the realm of mythic space/time. This gateway was used each day by the sun as it transitioned from the mundane to mythic realm of the nether world.

SUNSET The souls of the recently dead wait to approach the Sanddollar portal until after sunset when the heat of the sun has significantly diminished.

Also see **Poppy Eyes, Xutash, Psychopomp**.

Terms: *Shamishup* means 'for the sun to set' in Tsmuwich, (29, 'to move down'). The suffix *Sha* refers to the Sun (as in *Ishaw* meaning 'for the sun to shine', and the suffix *Mishup* means 'down' (17, 'to go down', 'sun to set', 'hell').

Related terms: *Sutitapin* means 'twilight' in Tsmuwich (29). One root is *Tapin* meaning 'evening' (31, 'to get late' [in the day]. *Tapin* means 'to be evening' (Samala, 362); *Nutapin* means 'to do something all evening' (362). *Silumen* means 'to make something sink and disappear' (Samala, 307; *Ilumen* means 'to sink', 'to disappear'). *Ilumen* means 'to disappear' (Tsmuwich, 10, 'sun to set').

- When the sun sets illumination of mundane space/time radically diminishes, making way for the night and its associations with the supernatural. The Moon gains prominence and mythic time/space becomes available through dreaming and visionary experiences.

- In Chumash mythology the sunset was the time when the male sun entered Mother Earth (the Sanddollar portal of the sun, in the west). Red clouds at sunset reflected the sexual passion of this coitus.

Hypothesis: When the sun sets the stupefying effect of its rays are gone, allowing humans to enter the superior state of dreaming. See **Supernatural**.

SUNSET: GREEN GLOW Soon after the sun sets in the west, a green glow can be seen on the horizon where the sun disappeared.

Also see **Sanddollar**.

Terms: *Xulapshan* means 'green' in Tsmuwich (64). '*Aqulapsan* means 'to be green' (Samala, 74); thus '*Axulapsan* means 'a green plant' (97).

Related terms: *Sixto'lin* means 'to be greenish-blue' (Tsmuwich, 26; also means 'to be blue'()). *Ixto'lin* means 'to be blue' (12). *Yolin* means 'to be blue' (Samala, 457).

Hypothesis: The greenish image of the Sanddollar painted on the solstice measuring device (*Miwalaqsh*) symbolized the green glow associated with the afterglow of sunsets. This glow symbolized the green of the paradisiacal realm called *Shimilaqa*.

SUNSET: PORTAL See **Sanddollar**.

SUPERNATURAL In Chumash metaphysics the mythic space/time of the supernatural realm is separate from mundane space/time which dominates on the surface of the earth (Middle World).

See **Mysticism, Sipis, Soul, Datura**. Also see **Night, Coyinashup, Other, Opposite, World: Other, Awe, Fear**.

Terms: '*Alulkuw*' means 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49, 'to be otherworldly'); one root is *Ukuw* meaning 'to be night', 'to be otherworldly'. '*Alulkuwic*' means 'to be awe-inspiring' (Samala, 49, 'to be fearsome'; *datura* is supernatural, "otherworldly").

Sqilayiks means 'something supernatural' (Samala, 343; one root is *Qilayik* meaning 'to be supernatural'). Thus the constructed phrase *Sqilayiks a Antik* means 'the soul is supernatural'. *Xa'yiw* means "to be of the supernatural world in some fashion; this verb shows up once in the context of an entity nob being human" (Samala, 446).

Related terms: *Coyinashup* means 'the other realm'. *C'oyi* means 'other' (Tsmuwich, 7, 'different'). *C'oyini* (Samala, 105). *Shup* means 'a realm'. *Shup* (Tsmuwich, 30, 'world, 'ground', 'soil').

Nunasis means 'a supernatural being' (Samala, 253, also 'a demon').

'*Atiswin*' means 'supernatural power' (Samala, 82, 'magic power', 'talisman', 'dream helper'). '*Atishwin*' (Tsmuwich, 5).

- Supernatural souls animate the physical bodies of humans, plants, and animals of *Itiashup* which is the surface of the earth where humans live. These souls are immortal while the physical body is susceptible to entropy (aging and eventual death). See **Soul** and **World: This** for commentary. Note that the stupefying rays of the sun keep both the animals and plants in a relative state of stupor.

- Hudson/Underhay misidentified the sun as the Chumash supreme deity (Crystals, 51; "supreme supernatural being"). In *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson, first edition 1990) the flute-playing Lizard deity named *Enememe* is identified as the withdrawn supreme creator deity of Chumash deism. In *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson, first edition in 1997) the sun is identified as only a demigod helping to regulate life on the surface of the earth.

- Supernatural beings do visit the surface of the earth and are dangerous because of their powers. The reincarnating soul encounters some of these during its flight over the Pacific towards the portal of the setting sun. If the soul falls through fatigue or lack of determination into the ocean, it is seized by the mighty **Swordfish**, supernatural rulers of the deep. If it reaches the region of the Sanddollar portal it is lured by **Mermaids** and the **Evening Star**, both of which are supernaturals.

Hypothesis: The soul's flight from Point Humqaq to the portal of the setting sun involves supernatural phenomenon, such as the winds and waves of ocean storms. Mermaids and *Xutash* (Venus) were also supernatural.

Hypothesis: The soul on the path of the dead does not enter *Coyinashup* until it descends through the portal of the setting sun into the lower world. The rest of its journey is in *Coyinashup* and is supernatural (beyond the natural ecology of life on the surface of the earth).

SUSCHUCH A seaport located east of Point Humqaq. M.S. Qiliqutayiwit's story featured in this text takes place there.

Terms: also called *Shushuchy* (J.E. Piku), *Cu-cu-tei* (Henshaw), *Susuchi* (Merriam; also lists *Shushuchi*, *Cu'cu'tei*, *Sisuchi*, *Sisuch*, *Sisutxi*, *Sisuci* (C. Grant), Blackburn used *Sisac'i'* in Qiliqutayiwit's narrative, and entered the note "woodrat's den" in his glossary (December, 343). *Ch'i'* means 'wood rat' (Tsmuwich, 7); *Ci'* is a Samala variant. Kroeber's variants include: *Sisuchi*, *Sisithii*, *Lisuchu*. *Suschuch* was renamed *Quemada* by the Spanish, meaning 'a place of burning fire'. The Chumash self-name of the town called *Quemada* may have also meant 'to burn', with *Sixut* as a root term meaning 'to burn' (Tsmuwich, 26). *Ixut* (Samala, 161).

SWORDFISH Souls which fail in their flight from Point Humqaq fall into the ocean and drown. The Swordfish, rulers of the ocean, take such souls down to their crystal homes.

See **Water: Salt, Pacific Ocean, Ocean Storms, Thunder, Lighting, Drowning**. Also see **One Horn**. Compare **Sexuality**.

Terms: '*Elye'wun*' means 'swordfish' (Tsmuwich, 8; '*El'elye'wu'n*' is plural). '*Elyewun*' (Samala, 114). The translation is undetermined.

Discussion of terms: The 2005 edition of *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson) suggested a "possible" root of *Iwon* for '*Elye'wun*' (46). *Iwon* means 'to resound' (Tsmuwich, 12), and the Swordfish were thunderers. But this was only speculative. See **Thunder** for related information.

An alternative translation is suggested in the Samala suffix *Wun* which indicates plurality in nouns (Samala, 442). This suggests a root '*Elye*' which is of undetermined translation.

- The Swordfish thunder when they appear in a folk tale, and they are rulers of ocean thunderstorms. Qiliqutayiwit reported that they had no wives (December, 94).
- The use of mother-of-pearl in a Swordfish mask “almost certainly means that the Swordfish (and the Swordfish dancer) had divine sight, i.e. they were deities” (The Swordfish Race, Anderson, footnote 11). See **Abalone**.

SWORDFISH CAVE An important rock art site that may be located in the greater Point Humqag religious complex.

- G. Lee and R. Hyder researched this petroglyph site and concluded that it seemed to be a religious site (“shamanistic activities”). They speculate that the Chumash historian F.L. Kitsepawit may have lived in this cave in his later years. And it may have been he who carved the Spanish words *La Puerta* on its wall. *La Puerta* means ‘a portal’ or ‘gateway’ suggesting a place of spiritual transition. For related information, see **Point Humqag: Larger Religious Complex**.

TEMPTATION See **Lure**.

THREE WORLDS Qiliqutayiwit divided the physical universe into three realms (“worlds”).

See **World: Upper**, **World: Middle** and **World: Lower** for related information.

- Reincarnating souls have to travel through all three divisions of the universe in order to reach *Similaqsa*, the Land of the Dead.

THUNDER In Chumash lore, thunder is associated with numerous supernaturals including the Swordfish who were the rulers of the ocean.

See **Swordfish** for related commentary.

Terms: ‘*Oxkon*’ means ‘thunder’ (Tsmuwich, 21). *Oxk’on* (Samala, 260, ‘thunder’). The literal translation may be ‘loud noise’. A related term is *Axc’awan* meaning ‘to be loud’ (Samala, 84). *Axc’awawan* means ‘to be very noisy’ (Tsmuwich, 5).

Related terms: *Oq’won* means ‘to howl’ (Tsmuwich, 21). The literal translation is probably ‘loud noise’. The prefix ‘*Ox*’ may be a variant of the Tsmuwich term *Xax’* meaning ‘big’ (Tsmuwich, 40), and *Kon* may have the same root as *Iwon* meaning ‘to resound’ (Tsmuwich, 12). A related term may be *Yogwon* meaning ‘to howl’ (Samala, 457). *Oq’won* means ‘to howl’ (Tsmuwich, 21). *Oxlolon* means ‘to growl’ (Tsmuwich, 21).

Alahtimimi means ‘a bullroarer’. One root may be *Ahtim* which may be a variant of the suffix *-ti’min* meaning ‘frightened’ (Samala, 379, ‘startled’; *Iti’min* means ‘to be fearful’).

‘*Axmisis*’ means ‘to use a bullroarer’ (Samala, 90, ‘*Axmisis*’ means ‘a bullroarer’). *Axmululuk* means ‘to whirr’ (Samala, 91, ‘to hum’).

Hypothesis: While ‘to be thunderstruck’ is to be struck with amazement and awe, the sound of a bullroarer at the entrance of a *Siliyik* auditorium is not thunder. It is a loud humming, reminding the visitors of the chaos of ordinary life in comparison to the ceremonial order within the *Siliyik*. See **Awe** for related commentary.

TRANQUILLON MOUNTAIN A sacred Chumash mountain peak, located a little north of Point Humqag.

See **Point Humqag: Larger Religious Complex** for related discussion. Also see **Window Cave** for a winter solstice astronomical site keyed to Tranquillion Mountain peak.

TROUBLE There are many places on the path of the dead where a weak or foolish soul can get into trouble.

Terms: *Alamsepelew* means ‘trouble’ (Samala, 38, ‘difficulties’, ‘a compromising situation’; the root is *Sepelew* meaning ‘to get into trouble’). *Sepelew* also means ‘to compromise oneself’, 114; the root is *Selew* meaning ‘to take something down’, literally means ‘to cause to come down’).

And *K’ilelew* means ‘for a person to fall down’ (Samala, 113), *Alamelew* means ‘a steep downhill’ (Samala, 113, ‘slope’, literally means ‘what they go down’).

TSMUWICH The name used in this text for the Chumash people who occupied the southern coast of Chumashia, in the Santa Barbara area.

- The Barbareno dictionary, which is cited most often in the text, is based on the Tsmuwich language. See **Samala** for a second language cited in the text.

TWELVE See **Sun: Flower of**.

UGLY text.

Also see **Sin**. Compare **Beauty**.

Terms: *Xinch'i* means 'to be ugly' (Tsmuwich, 40, 'to be bad') and probably has the same root as *C'i* which means 'to be sharp' (Tsmuwich, 6, 'pricked', 'pain'). *C'i* means 'to be sharp' (Samala, 104). *Yiqc'i* means 'to be sharp-pointed' (Samala, 105). Also see *Xi'* which means 'prickly pear' (Samala, 449).

C'ikaw means 'to be badly made' (Samala, 103).

UPOP A large Chumash seaport, and provincial capital, once located on the mainland directly across from the island of Tukan.

See **Point Humqaq** for a major religious shrine located nearby.

Terms: '*Upop* means 'shelter' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 154); also *U'-pop'* (Henshaw), *Upop* (J. E. Piku), *El Cojo Nuevo* (Spanish town name, meaning 'new town of the Cripple'; presumably referring to a Chumash town mayor; *El Cojo Viejo* is the old town site nearby, which was called *Ci-ca-lap* (Henshaw) and *Shisholop* (J. E. Piku). Merriam identified *Cojo* (*Coxo*) as the ancient seaport called *Xexo* (*Xixo*, *Xeno*); presumably Old *Cojo*. Henshaw described *Humqaq* (*Humkak*) as a large and important Chumash seaport, which suggests that he may have closely linked the religious shrine called *Humqaq* with the seaport of *Upop*. See **Kasunalmu** for related terminology.

UPOP HILL The assigned name for the prominent hill located about 3 miles north of the seaport called Upop.

Terms: The Chumash name is undetermined; the Spanish renamed it *Palo Alto* which means either 'tall poles' or 'tall trees'.

Discussion of Names: The 'tall pole' translation would be consistent with the presence of a graveyard in Cemetery (*Cementerio*) canyon which drains from the hill just east of Cojo (new *Upop*; also called *Shisholop*) canyon.

VANDENBERG AIR FORCE BASE This military base occupies a large part of the traditional western Chumash territory. It is located on the coast, just north of Point Humqaq.

See Appendix F for related information.

VENUS See **Evening Star**.

WANDERING SOUL A human soul which wanders aimlessly is a danger to living humans because it does not leave on the Path of the Dead and instead becomes a haunting ghost.

See **Recapitulation of Life, Drowning and Ghost**.

Terms: *Manana'n* means 'to wander around aimless' (Samala, 602, 207, 'to be restless'; 234). One root is *Na'n* meaning 'to go' (Samala, 232). *N'an* means 'to go' (Tsmuwich, 18). *Nahna'nan* means 'to be wandering round'.

Aqpalana'n means 'to wander around' (Samala, 66, 'to sneak up').

Maqutinana'n means 'to wander all around' (Samala, 212; one root is *Maqui* meaning 'around').

Tiwana'nan means 'to be loitering' (Tsmuwich, 14). *Wayan* means 'to loiter' (Samala, 428, 'to hang around'). *Wayan* means 'to hang' (Tsmuwich, 37).

WASNA MOUNTAIN This mountain shrine, is located along the Pacific coast of Chumashia near the contemporary town of Santa Maria.

Compare **Saca Lake**.

Discussion of terms: *Wasna* (*Huasna* in Samala) is not listed in either the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionaries. *Wasna'n* may be an associated word meaning 'to reach out for' (Samala, 423). Perhaps the connotation involves the soul reaching out for the portal of the setting sun when it leaves Point Humqaq.

• *Wasna* (*Huasna*) presumably is the cosmic Mountain of the West, among the regional Chumash or even among all the Chumash. It was near a "path" into the heavens (Blackburn, December, 235: Qiliqutayiwit).

Hypothesis: *Wasna* peak was not a Jumping-off point but rather an excellent lookout for watching the sun set on the winter solstice. Qiliqutayiwit's "path that climbs into the sky" (December, 235) is described as being "somewhere in that region" near Wasna. This path is the Point Humqaq's ascension point.

WEST The Chumash direction west is associated with the setting sun, death of the physical body, and the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun.

See **Sanddollar, Sunset**. Also see **Point Humqaq** for discussion on the Western Gate.

Terms: '*Alawax* means 'west' in Tsmuwich (1); also (Samala, 41).

'*Alkuyulul* means 'west' in Tsmuwich (1). *Alkulul* (Lulapin). *Alkuli* (Mountain).

Related terms: *Wotoko* means ‘the cardinal direction west’ (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 155). See **Wotoko** for related discussion.

Discussion of terms: The Tsmuwich term ‘*Alawax*’ may be associated with the western portal of the Sun, which led into the hollow earth below. *Xalalawax* is a related term meaning ‘to be hollow’ (Samala, 443). Thus *Sxalawax* means ‘a hollow space’ (443).

- The Land of the Dead (*Shimilaqsa*) is located in the Constellation Aquila. It is not always in the west, but rotates in the sky like all the stars. What is significant about Aquila is that it is in the west during the days of the winter solstice.

- In part two of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) the proclivity of American scholars to describe souls leaving Point Humqaq and moving west continuously to reach the Land of the Dead is discussed in detail. The topic of retrograde motion is key to this commentary. See **Retrograde Motion**.

WESTERN GATE The name **Western Gate** has been used in association with Point Humqaq as a ‘Jumping-off place’ for Chumash souls on the path of the dead.

See **Jumping-off Place**. Also see **Door, Ascension, Portal** and **Point Humqaq: Larger Religious Complex** for discussions on the many sacred sites which may be part of a larger Point Humqaq religious complex.

- Qiliqutayiwit was trained in Catholic religious symbolism at the *Alajulapu* (Santa Ynez) mission. In a discussion of Point Humqaq as a Jumping-off place, she mentioned “the gate of Similaqsa” which made a thunderous noise as it closed (December, 99). This comment about the Similaqsa gate followed her commentary on Point Humqaq. It is cryptic, without details about the long and perilous journey from Point Humqaq to *Similaqsa* (land of the dead). Over time, an unproductive debate focused on Qiliqutayiwit’s commentary and whether there is a “gate” (door) at the Humqaq site.

Point Humqaq clearly was a sacred site where souls on the path of the dead moved from life on the surface of the earth, soaring over the waters of the Pacific to the sanddollar shaped portal of the setting sun. In this context, Point Humqaq is described in this text as a Jumping-off place which is an appropriate description and consistent with the Chumash conceptualization of this religious complex. See **Jumping-off Place**.

WHALE The whale is a Chumash symbol of Physical Body.

See **Physical Body**.

- The Chumash Swordfish ate whale meat, tempting drowned souls to enjoy the pleasures of eating. If a soul succumbs to this temptation, it is unable to renew its journey towards reincarnation.

WIDOWS: LAND OF A realm on the path of the dead which is visited by the soul after it descends through the portal of the setting sun (Sanddollar). This realm is featured in *Mishup* (Anderson).

WILCOXON, L. See Appendix F for related commentary.

WIND: WEST The winds blowing off the ocean, from west, are associated with thunder and lightning in Chumash ocean lore.

Also see **Swordfish**.

Terms: *Ishilin* means ‘for the winds to blow from the oceans [from the west]’ (Samala, 148, ‘to storm’; *Sishilin* means ‘a storm’, ‘a strong wind’).

Related terms: *Saxkkit* means ‘a wind’ (Tsmuwich, 5; *Axkkit* means ‘for a wind to blow’). *Saxtakhit* means ‘a wind’ (Samala, 605).

Niwawilpi means ‘for wind to blow hard as it rains’ (Samala, 246). The suffix may be a variant of *Wilpi* which means ‘to direct at’ (Tsmuwich, 39).

Axtipocon means ‘for the wind to blow steadily’ (Samala, 96; the suffix *Con* has the connotation of being ‘smooth’). The prefix *Axti* has the connotation of ‘blowing’ as in *Axtipakum* meaning ‘wind to blow toward’ (Samala, 96). *Aqtipac’i* means ‘to be very windy’ (Samala, 605). The suffix *Paci* means ‘all the time’ (Samala, 263).

- The Swordfish, rulers of the seas, controlled the west winds with their thunder storms (Swordfish, Anderson, 47, glossary **Wind: West**).

Hypothesis: The Swordfish sent the constant west winds to discourage mariners from traveling long distances westward over their watery realm. Only the souls of the recently dead were capable of such achievement.

WINDOW CAVE An important Chumash astronomical site located north of Point Humqaq.

- G. Lee and R. Hyder researched this petroglyph site and concluded that it probably had ritual links to the winter solstice [and thus the reincarnation of the Sun's soul]. The 'window' in this cave is a solstice marker, aligned to Tranquillon Peak. For related information, see **Point Humqaq: Larger Religious Complex**.

WISDOM The Chumash called a wise soul (philosopher) a *Sipis*.

See **Sipis** and **Sage**. Compare **Knowledge**.

Terms: *Sipis* means 'a wise man' (Samala, 340). See **Sage** for the highest level of a *Sipis*.

- A Chumash sage of extraordinary achievement escapes the circle of reincarnation and ascends directly after death into the high heavens to become an immortal star. See **Saint**.

Hypothesis: A Chumash soul needs knowledge, but not necessarily wisdom, to successfully travel the path of the dead and be reincarnated.

WOMB Chumash females were honored for their wombs from which new life is born.

See **Ahash** (embodied soul), **Reincarnation** and **Sanddollar** for related commentary.

Terms: *Sumalku'y* is the common Samala term for 'womb' (207; *Mal* has the connotation of 'birth'; *Kuy* means 'to contain').

Saqli'yinis means 'womb' (Samala, 606).

Hypothesis: Bodies of salt water are associated in Chumash lore with the salt water in a human womb. In contrast, fresh water is associated with cleansing, such as the pool at Humqaq. See **Sanddollar** for a salt water birthing and see **Humqaq: Pool** for an example of cleansing.

WORLD The term **World** is used by Harrington to refer to the various cosmological realms of the Chumash cosmos.

Terms: *Sup* means 'world' (Samala, 347, 'earth', 'soil', 'place', 'earth', 'year'). *Shup* means 'world' (Tsmuwich, 30, 'earth', 'soil', 'dirt', 'land').

C'oyinashup means 'the other world'.

Discussion of terms: It is not sure what Qiliqutayiwit meant by "this world". It is possible that she meant the surface of the earth which she called '*Itiasup*' and described as "this world here" (December, 91). But this interpretation contradicts her other comments on necro-geography in which she spoke of *C'oyinasup* as [the part of] "the other world" where the *Nunasis* demons live (91). This passage can be confusing since a closer inspection shows that *C'oyinasup* also includes the heavenly realm where the stars are found. See **World: Other** for related commentary.

WORLD: LOWER In Chumash cosmology the realm below the surface of the earth is called the Lower World.

See **Demon**. Also see **Ocean Flight** for the last phase of the soul's journey in the Middle World before entering the Lower World.

Terms; Qiliqutayiwit used the term *C'oinasup* for "the world below" (December, 91; "the other world" where the demons live).

Discussion of terms: Qiliqutayiwit used the term '*Misupasup*' for the Upper World (December, 91). But this term does not appear to refer to the Upper World, but rather the Lower World. *Musup* means 'to go down' in Samala (223; 'down', 'the ground'). *Mishup* means 'down' in Tsmuwich (17, also means "hell").

- Human souls on the path of the dead enter the lower world through the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun.

WORLD: MIDDLE In Chumash cosmology the surface of the earth is the Middle World.

See **Earth**. Compare **World: Lower** and **World: Upper**.

Terms: Qiliqutayiwit used the term '*Itiasup*' for the surface of the earth, where humans live (December, 91). '*Itiasup*' means 'this world' referring to the world around the speaker. The prefix '*Iti*' means 'here' (Samala, 156; as in the phrase '*Iti' Kilik'in*' which means 'I'm sitting here').

- The last phase of the soul's journey in the Middle World was its flight over the Pacific ocean. See **Ocean Flight**.

WORLD: OPPOSITE In *Alsuyuopos* (Anderson) the phrase **Opposite World** is used to refer to the realm on the opposite side of Mesmu bridge.

Compare **World: Other**.

Related terms: *Etemesus* means 'to be opposite' (Tsmuwich, 8, 'to be across from'). One root is *Mes* meaning 'to cross over' (Tsmuwich, 17) so that *Etemesus* presumably has the connotation of being on the opposite side, as in the opposite bank of a body of water. *Shimilaqsa* (land of the dead) is, for example, on the opposite side of the Mesmu bridge as depicted in *Alsuyuopos*, Anderson, "").

- In the earliest editions of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) the **Opposite World** and the **Other World** were treated as similar, if not equal concepts. In this text and other textual revisions the phrase **Opposite World** is used to describe life on the opposite side of the Mesmu bridge (*Alsuyuopos*, Anderson, research file).

WORLD: OTHER Life in the Other World acted in a different pattern than life on *Itiashup* (the middle world, i.e. the surface of the earth).

See **Supernatural**.

Terms: The Other World is called *Coyinashup* by the Tsmuwich. One root is *C'oyini* meaning 'other' (Tsmuwich, 7; 'different', 58) and *Shup* means 'world' (Tsmuwich, 30). *C'oyini* means 'other' (Samala, 105). Related terms: '*Alulkuw* means 'to be otherworldly', 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49; one root is *Ulkuw* meaning 'to be otherworldly', 'to be supernatural', 'to be night'). '*Alulkuw* also means 'to be of the spirit world' (Samala, 49).

'Awini means "the other side" (Tsmuwich, 5, 'the other half').

Discussion of terms: When it is night on the surface of the earth, agents in *Coyinashup* are active. This is an aspect of Chumash pragmatic observation and also of their dualistic cosmology. Hudson/Underhay mistranslated *Coyinashup* as the 'lower world' (Crystals, 150). They were following Qiliqutayiwit's mistaken identification of *Coyinashup* as the lower world where the demon's live (December, 91). This caused great confusion in their analysis of Chumash cosmology, for the Other World includes the ocean realm (shallow levels where the sun shines), the underworld, and the heavens.

- The upper layers of the ocean follow the light cycle of the earth's surface and thus is presumably part of *'Itiashup*. But the deeper layers of the ocean, where the sun never shines, are probably part of the Other World.

- The soul on the path of the dead does not enter *Coyinashup* until it descends through the portal of the setting sun into the lower world.

WORLD: SPIRIT See **World: Other** for the spirit world.

WORLD: THIS See **World: Middle** for related commentary.

Discussion of terms: It is not clear what Qiliqutayiwit meant by "this world". It is probable that she meant the surface of the earth which she called *'Itiasup* and described as "this world here" (December, 91).

WORLD: UPPER In Chumash cosmology the Upper World is the celestial realm above the surface of the earth.

Compare **World: Lower** and **World: Middle**. Also see **Deity**.

Terms: Qiliqutayiwit used three names for the upper world: '*Alapay*, '*Alapayasup*, and '*Misupasup*.

'Alapay means 'in the sky' (Samala, 39, also 'up', 'above'; the root *Apay* means 'to be above').

'Alapayasup means 'the upper realm' [of the physical universe]; the root *Sup* means 'world' (Samala, 347).

Discussion of terms: '*Misupasup* does not appear to refer to the Upper World, but rather the Lower World. *Musup* means 'to go down' in Samala (223; 'down', 'the ground').

- The Upper World is "sustained" by "the great *Slo'w*" (December, 91, Qiliqutayiwit).

- The behavior of the soul in the Upper World is featured in *Alsuyuopos* (Anderson) and *Similaqsa* (Anderson).

WORLD: WEST In numerous narratives *Shimilaqsa* was described as a westward land. The soul's journey over the Pacific ocean led it west to the portal of the setting sun.

See **West, Wotoko** and **Shimilaqsa**. Also see **Retrograde Motion** for related commentary.

- Kitsepawit's narrative called "The Soul" (December, 97) used the phrase "the land in the west" to identify *Shimilaqsa*. He also described the path of the dead over the ocean involving a westward flight. But after descending through the Sanddollar portal of the setting sun, the soul went eastward and down to the nadir of the lower world.

- *Shimilaqsa* rotates like the other stars in the heavens, changing its position nightly. On the winter solstice, however, it can always be seen in the west at the point of the setting sun. At this critical time, *Shimilaqsa* was the western land.

WOTOKO Chumash nationalists used this ritual term, during their struggles against Spanish imperialism, to symbolize reincarnation and the renewal of their population.

Also see **World: West**.

Terms: Hudson/Underhay defined *Wotoko* as ‘the cardinal direction west’ (Crystals, 155).

- During the first days of the year in late December the sun rises in the southeast, by the spring equinox it rises due east. During the summer solstice it rises in the northeast. By the end of the sun’s annual cycle when it is dying the sun sets in the star *Aquila* located in the west.

Hypothesis: The root of *Wotoko* is *Tokoy* meaning ‘circle’ (Samala, 381, ‘hoop’, ‘disc’). *Wotoko* is used to designate the west because it was the direction which closed the annual sun cycle which begins with the south, then east, north, and west.

XALAMA The Chumash creek located just north of Point Humqaa. This creek drains west into the ocean at the Jalama Beach county park.

Terms: *Xalam* means ‘to wrap something up’ (Tsmuwich, 40; thus *Xalamish* means ‘a bundle’, as in something wrapped up). *Xalam* means ‘to wrap up’ (Samala, 443).

Also called *Halama*, *Jalama*. The colonial name for this site was San Julian, a.k.a. *Jolon*. See

Malutiqipin for related information.

Discussion of terms. Is it possible that this is a ritual name associated with the reed wrapping used to bury the Chumash dead? Note that *Hoya* means ‘a grave’ (‘pit’, ‘hole’, or ‘valley’) in Spanish.

A Chumash town called *Xalam* (*Halam*, *Jalam*) was located in this drainage (probably in the middle section of the creek, upstream from *Sililaqtus*). J. Johnson located *Xalama* on *La Hoya* creek to the immediate north, on the site identified as *Anahatsuh* by Harrow.

XOYOYON FLIGHT The phrase used in this text for the flight of the soul after it leaps from Point Humqaa.

Also see **Jumping-off Place, Point Humqaa**.

Terms: *Xoyoyon* means ‘to fly’ (Tsmuwich, 41). This term is adopted in this text to explicitly distinguish the particular flight characteristics which are connected with this portion of the path of the dead.

Related terms: At first the leaping soul at Point Humqaa flies up into the air, before flying westward to the Portal of the Setting Sun. *Xalnapay* means ‘to fly up’.

Discussion of terms: *Xana’nan* does not apply to the successful flight of a soul from Point Humqaa. This term means ‘to fly all over’ (Tsmuwich, 40; one root is *Xa’nan* meaning ‘to fly’) while the knowledgeable soul aims straight to its destination, i.e. the portal of the setting sun.

XUTASH The Chumash called the earth (Mother Earth) and the Evening Star (Venus) by this name. Also see **Five-pointed Star** and **Pentacle** for the symbol on the Sanddollar associated with the feminine earth and the Evening Star. Also see **Lure, Earth, Gestation**.

Terms: *Xutas* means ‘the Evening Star’ (Samala, 452, ‘the Earth Mother’, ‘Venus’, ‘pupil of the eye’). *Xutash* (Tsmuwich, 41, ‘pupil of the eye’, ‘berry’). *Hutash* is a Lulapin variant which Hudson/Underhay associated with both “the planet earth” and Venus as the Evening Star (Crystals, 151).

Discussion of terms: The root of *Xutash* may be *Xut* meaning ‘to burn’ as in the term *Ixut* meaning ‘to be on fire’ (Samala, 161). *Sixut* means ‘to burn’ (Tsmuwich, 26). This would be consistent with the role of light in seeing and in the brilliant fire of the planet Venus when it is visible in the evening sky. It shines with supernatural light after the Sun with its mundane time/space illumination has sunk below the horizon.

Discussion of terms: Blackburn did not mention the use of the [Samala] term *Xutas* for the Evening Star, focusing instead on its appropriateness for ‘earth’, ‘coffeeberry’ and speculatively ‘chia’ (December, 344). In a similar fashion, the Tsmuwich dictionary also ignored the Evening star and listed only ‘berry’ and ‘pupil of the eye’ (41).

Hypothesis: Both Venus and Mother Earth are associated with the term *Xutash* because they are leading symbols of female fecundity.