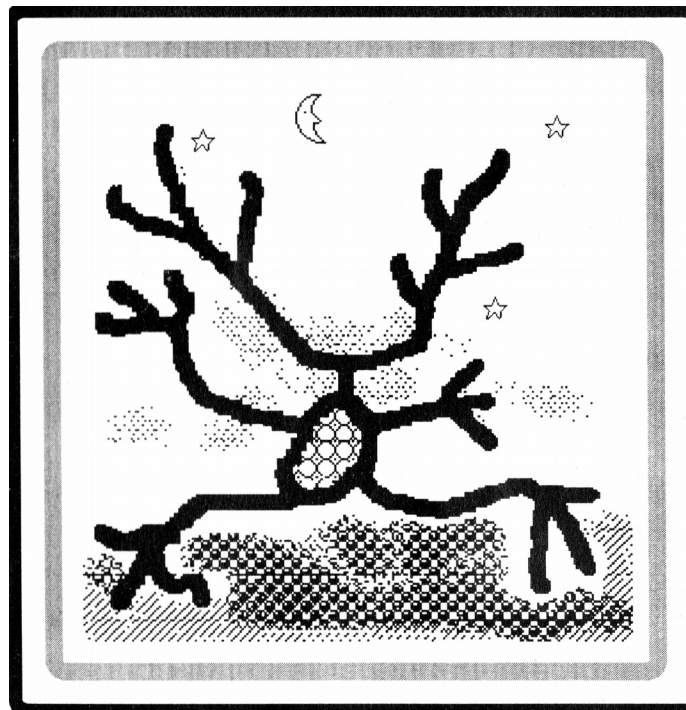


Chumash Demonology

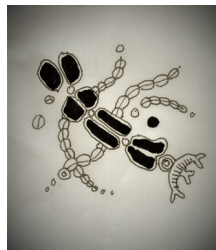
A glossary of
Chumash demonology terms,
with commentary



By John M. Anderson

Demons In Chumash Folk Lore

John M. Anderson has published numerous books on native American mythology from the western United States. Many of his books focus on history and culture of the Chumash Indians of southern California. In this text, he explores Chumash demonology and the role of suffering in Chumash folk lore.



** This publication was written for adults, including college students and members of the general public who are interested in native American religion. The heart of this text is a glossary, which features information about the demons who inhabit the dramatic cosmology of Chumash folk tales.*

Native American tribe: Chumash; Native American Religion: demonology, devil, guardian spirit, dualism, death, bad luck, Native American Astronomy: cosmic imbalance, misfortune, South Star; mythology.

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Fourth 2002, Third 2001,
Second 1999, first 1998



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Introduction



Demons played a fundamental role in Chumash history, representing the interference of evil supernaturals in human affairs. Greed is the fundamental flaw in human nature, which creates an opening for demons to enter. It leads inevitably to imbalance and suffering.

The Chumash called the social world of mankind *Muscalaltidwil*.¹ In *Chumash Psychology* it is described as shameless, violent, and promiscuous.² F. Kitsepawit used the phrase 'Rigors of the World' to describe the troubles which beset humans living in the turmoil of change in this social world. The role of demons in this realm of turmoil is examined in the text which follows. A man of knowledge is well informed about the demons, seeking self-restraint and mindfulness.

California Holocaust

Many of the Chumash narratives, those which survived the California holocaust, featured the actions of demons and human responses to these dangerous supernaturals. These passages are the raw materials from which we seek to understand Chumash demonology.

Unknown numbers of narratives were lost with the untimely deaths of Chumash in the Spanish invasion and occupation of

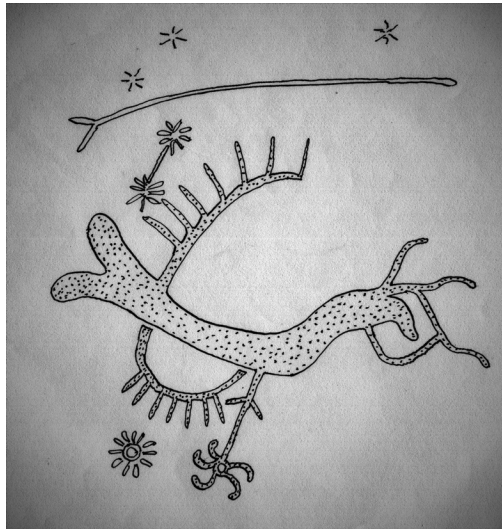
1 (Chumash Cosmology, Anderson, 92; glossary term *Muscalaltiwí*).

2 (Chumash Psychology, Anderson, 73).

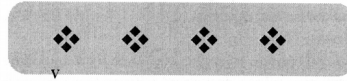
parts of coastal California. With the overthrow of Spanish rule by the Mexican revolution, power shifted to Mexico City. Unfortunately, the new regime continued the genocidal policies of the Spanish crown. And when the American army invaded California to protect gold mining interests, the first American governor of California declared a genocidal war against all native citizens. He proposed killing them all or forcibly relocating them out of the state. This is the context in which

F. Kitsepawit, Tata Xuse, M. Qiliqutayiwit and other Chumash of the early nineteenth century spoke of the demons which beset their people.

See Appendix A for information on
the 1996 introduction



Chapter 1

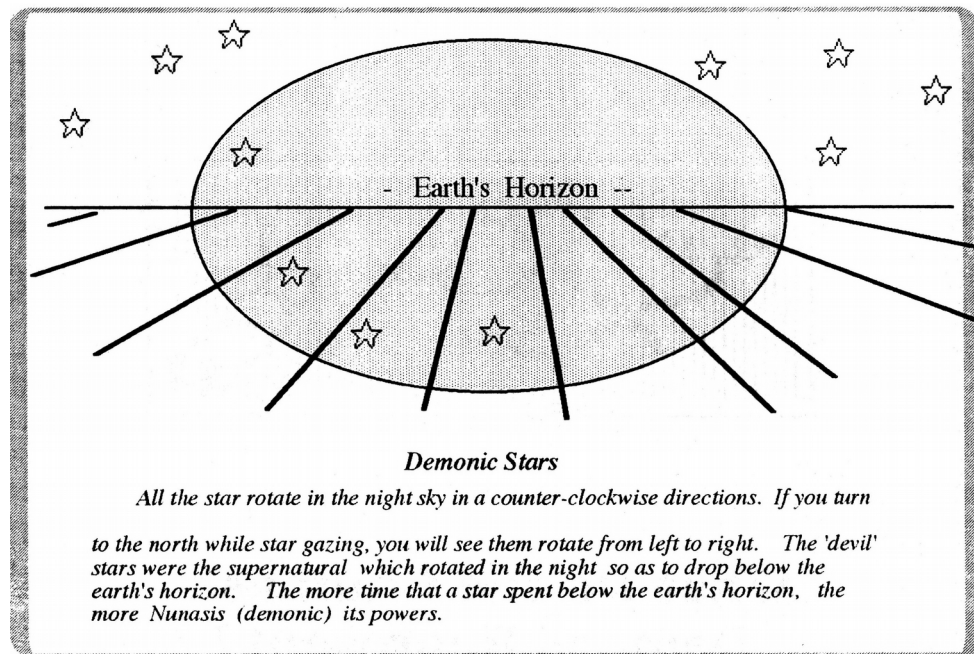


What Do The Chumash Demons Represent?

Thomas Blackburn made a major contribution to the study of native California culture when he edited *December's Child* in 1975. This popular collection made Chumash folk lore available for the first time in an affordable text.¹

In the last twenty years, this compilation has served the general public, scholars, and native Californians admirably as a primary source of information about Chumash mythology. It contains a large number of folk tales told by Qiliqutayiwit, Kitsepawit, Nutu and other Chumash narrators who considered the impact of demons important to their audience's understanding of the stories they were telling. Chumash characters appearing in these tales did not reside in a protected utopia, they explained, but lived in a world impacted by greed, witchcraft, murder, and sins of the flesh.

The Chumash called the demons who caused ill-fortune *Nunashish*. Blackburn correctly translated this term to mean 'a dangerous animal' and also 'a malevolent supernatural being'.² But Blackburn's commentary on these malevolent beings was flawed by a mistaken assumption that they resided only in the underworld. This misconception is closely tied to Blackburn's understanding of the Chumash term *Coyinashup* which refers to the supernatural world which lies both above and below the earth and not just below it.³



Chumash theologians believed that when stars were moving on the surface of the earth, they represented awesome threats to humans who were [tragically] inferior in spiritual power to the *Nunashish* stars.⁵

The root term in *Coyinashup* is *Coyin* meaning 'the opposite'.⁴ But what is the source of opposition, and what does this have to do with the demons whom the Chumash called the *Nunashish*? I proposed in a number of my books on Chumash religion, that the answer lies in the understanding that these devils are stars! They reside in the heavens, a realm of opposite attributes to life on earth. When stars reside in the uppermost heavens, which revolve in perfect circles around the North Star, human astronomers never see them dip down below the earth's horizon. But the majority of stars drop below the horizon sometime in their revolutions in the sky. During the times when these stars cannot be seen by human astronomers, they were considered dwelling either below the surface of the earth or upon it.

American and Chumash Demonic Pharmacology

Nunashish is a Chumash term for demons. It also refers to any source of supernatural power threatening to human beings.⁶ Thus a rock, tree, or body of water can be *Nunashish*, meaning

that it is a dangerous source of supernatural power.⁷ As such, it threatens humans who are incapable of experiencing such phenomenon without becoming disoriented or crazed.⁸

The exposure of normal humans to demonic powers can overwhelm them and in extreme cases make them incapable of functioning conventionally in human society. Depending on the reactions of others, they may be honored as spiritually developed individuals, persons of eccentric behavior, or even considered persons possessed by a demon and in need of exorcism. Contemporary Americans call victims of such demonic exposure crazy or insane. We have thousands of medical terms used to classify their various psychological problems, from depression to schizophrenia.

^ ^ ^

American pharmacology for controlling the demons of the mind is so extensive and important to contemporary culture that drugs play a fundamental role in the economy of the United States. Huge amounts of money are spent in American markets for pharmaceuticals designed to control every kind of psychological problem imaginable, from appetite repressants to regulate craving for food, to headache remedies to overcome demonic migraines, to antidepressants to bring us out of a slump (being 'down'), to cold medicines to overcome persistent flue symptoms.

The Chumash had an extensive herbal pharmacology, designed to control the very same maladies which have plagued humans from the beginning of time. A number of pharmacological drugs were prescribed by Chumash medical specialists (doctors) to remedy physical and psychological problems believed caused by demons.

And datura was considered the best cure for exposure to demons.⁹ This powerful psychotropic was in fact the preeminent medicine of Chumash pharmacology, and young adults were offered

The Benevolent Sun

The decaying of the physical body is necessary for the release of the soul, to begin its journey to the Land of the Dead and ultimate reincarnation. The properly educated Chumash realized, therefore, that the seemingly demonic residents of the Sun's House are actually helpful, keeping the world cleansed of decaying bodies. Without them, the soul would have a difficult time separating itself from the dead physical body.

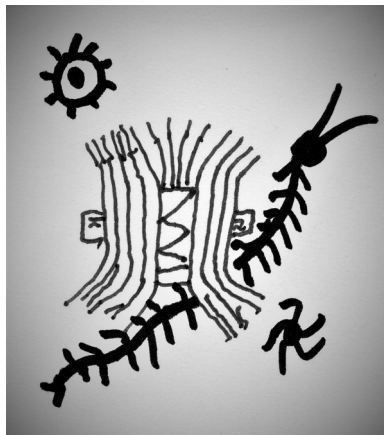
See Kuta Teachings (Anderson 1999) for further discussion of the Chumash beliefs about the release of the soul from the body after death. ¹³

an opportunity to experience the divine through its use during their adulthood initiation rites which were equivalent in social function to contemporary Christian baptisms (entering into the faith).¹⁰

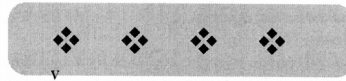
When under the influence of datura, the individual literally sees like the gods. But the drug is unbounded that many people are so overwhelmed by the experience that they never again choose to use it.¹¹ Most Chumash adults had great respect for datura, however, and many turned to it occasionally to help them overcome life crises. The demons they were struggling against represent all the physical and psychological woes which beset humans. This includes disease, accidents, murder, general warfare, plagues, despair, fear, haunting by ghosts, witchcraft, sexual infidelity, insanity, depression, and hysteria.

American Demonology And Satanism

Both Catholics and Protestants sects have been downplaying Satan in their late twentieth century theology. Yet F. Kitsepawit taught that the existence of demons is necessary to the cosmic balance. "If Satan turns Satan out, how will the reign of God subsist?".¹²



Chapter 2



Chumash

Moral Philosophy

A comprehensive discussion of Chumash ethical theory must, by necessity, include the topic of Chumash cosmology. The cosmos is divided into three basic realms, according to Chumash belief. Humans live in the Middle World, which consists of the surface of the earth. Above is the Upper World, or heavens; and below is the Lower World. Life for humans on the earth is impacted by influences from supernatural forces, from both above and below.

The Chumash, under ideal conditions, live in a communal setting that is in balance and provides for their basic physical and emotional needs. But humans are often morally corrupted and overwhelmed by forces which impact both the physical body and the mind. Too often, the craving for food, sex, and other affairs of the body override our better moral judgment. We succumb to the influence of related 'demons' throughout our lives. And the wise Chumash knew that the demons even threatened us after death. The soul outlives the physical body, and begins a celestial journey to the Land of the Dead. By overcoming the celestial demons that await among the stars, the soul can achieve reincarnation.

When a Good Deed Is Repaid By a Bad Deed

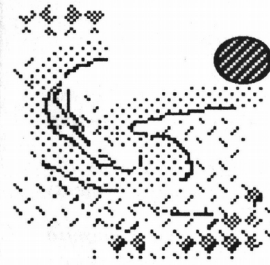
But what becomes of the Chumash soul, after it is reborn into another human body? Is it not once again plagued by demons? A number of Chumash narratives explore these problems in

discussions of ethical pessimism. Pessimism is a viewpoint held by many Protestant Americans. In some sects, traditions of pessimism back to the Puritans, Calvinist obsessions with personal sin, and stern New England consciousness. And it also appeared in the teachings of early Protestant ministers who came to California in the Gold Rush of the 1850's.

L.Y. Nutu, who was from the Santa Barbara area, provides some interesting commentary on the problem of evil and spiritual pessimism. She tells a story about the Tiger of the Sea. The species of this saltwater 'tiger' is not identified directly but is presumably a shark.¹⁴ This fierce ocean beast had been washed upon the shore and was found by a Chumash man. Feeling benevolent, the human pushed the Tiger back into the water so that it could regained his strength. Instead of thanking the man and swimming away happily, the demon seized the man's hand and threatened to eat him, explaining "Well, its like this: a good deed is repaid with evil."¹⁵

The man managed to persuade the shark to let an old Oxen, who happened upon them while grazing in the nearby sand dunes, decide his fate. But this Ox related how he had been himself mistreated by his human master all his life, so he advised the shark to eat his benefactor for "a good deed is repaid with evil." The man was desperate and began to protest against the Ox's pessimistic judgment. He finally persuaded the shark to let an old lame Coyote decide his fate instead.

This Coyote had been walking along the shore. Being very clever he quickly sized up the



Devil As A Liar

Like Satan of the Christian religious texts, Coyote has immense powers but persistently succumbs to urges of the physical body.

See The Frog Stole the Waters for a discussion of the deceitful cultural hero celebrated in eastern native lore. Glooskap, for example, was the cultural hero of the Algonquin peoples of New England. He was called The Liar.²³

Coyote of the western tribes, such as the Chumash, was also a liar and cheat. He lured others into the realm of decadence (like Satan of the Christians) by his immense powers and persuasiveness.

In the short run, Coyote makes lying and cheating seem appealing to the naive and inexperienced. Inevitably, however, his questionable ethics catch up with Coyote and he comes to ruin. The Chumash understood this and thus considered him a dangerous person.

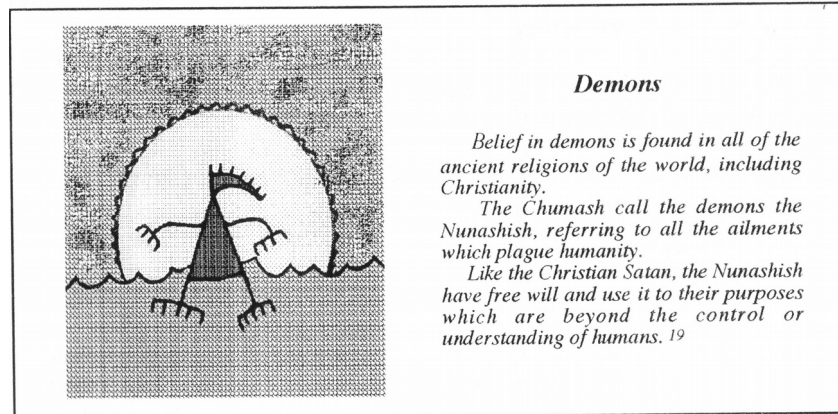
situation. He feigned deafness and pleaded with the shark to come closer. The shark protested, but Coyote tricked him into swimming into shallower and shallower water. Finally he succeeded in getting the shark and the man out of the water completely. The man escaped from the distracted shark's grip and the "shameless and ungrateful" shark was stranded once more. Coyote advises the man to kill the demon, and his advice was quickly followed.

Now, Nutu's story takes an unexpected twist. The newly rescued Chumash invites Coyote home to reward him with three chickens for his dinner. But immediately after feeding him, the man loosed his watch dogs on Coyote who fled in terror. Nutu concludes with the moral of the story, which is that a good deed is repaid with evil.¹⁶

How can we make sense of this narrative and its theme of general cynicism? The answer lies in the understanding that evil does not necessarily pervade the whole Chumash cosmos, but rather that it dominates life in the Middle and Lower worlds.¹⁷ When Nutu looked around, she saw that cruelty and greed lay in the human heart just as much as the animals. F. L. Kitsepawit confirms this in his moral teachings as well. In an especially poignant narrative about a Flute Player, Kitsepawit tells how he was studying the affairs of the world. "He found conflicts that went as far as people killing one another, and the cause of it all was gain. He stopped playing his flute, put it to his ear, and listened to the world. And he heard that all was gain. Then he played the tune again, listened again... After figuring it all out the man concluded that profit is the voice of all. All the time it is a single voice like the humming of the air. Gain is the touchstone of the human heart."¹⁸

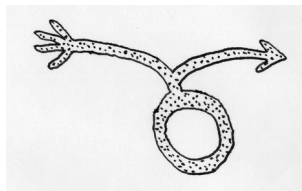
Similarities to Other Philosophies

One way to expand our understanding of Chumash ethics can be to compare their narratives with those of neighboring Hoka speaking peoples of California. Ipai, Yuman, and Mohave myths, for example, provide many sources of interesting comparisons. Blackburn is especially impressed with the similarities between the Chumash teachings and those of the Pomo, a Hoka-speaking peoples of northern California.²⁰

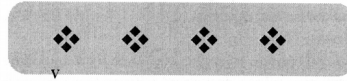


Our understanding of Chumash ethical philosophy can also be enriched by looking at other religions of the world where reincarnation of the soul is a basic belief. In India, for example, the teachings of Hinduism are quite similar to those of the Chumash.

The Hindu god Siva enacts a perpetual dance of universal destruction, but advises humans not to fear. All things of the physical body are extinguished; but life goes on, new forms emerge, and individual humans live on as their souls are reincarnated in the future. Joseph Campbell described an image of Siva in which his bracelets, arm bands, and ankle rings are living serpents. Siva appears very similar to such Chumash persona as the two daughters of the Sun with their skirts of snakes. "This means that he is made beautiful by the serpent power - the mysterious creative energy of God."²¹ In his hair Siva wears the flowers of a datura, from which an intoxicant is prepared (which compares with the wine of Dionysis and the wine of the Christian mass).²²



Chapter 3



The Physical Dimension

The fall season is depicted as the time when the animals and plants of Chumashia begin preparation for the upcoming winter. Like Chumash spiritual leaders, the trees and shrubs begin shedding their physical bodies. The trees and shrubs drop their leaves, so the Chumash called July *An Ciwolhoyoyo* meaning 'the month when the plants dry up and their leaves blow away'. September is the month of the harvest festival, when the fruits of the earth are celebrated, and September is called *Ciyam Loqayi'alaxsiw* meaning 'the time when the last of the dry fruits and leaves fall to the ground to eventually decay'.²⁴

The fall months are a time of preparation, including harvesting and storage of food and firewood. Thus, the plant world serves as an example for humans, who also need to shed their excess physical body during the winter. The Chumash needed to harden themselves for the rigors of the cold and of the diseases which plagued families kept indoors by bad weather.

Rotting of the Physical Body

Humans are born 'soft' like a newborn child with its soft skull and flexible limbs. Eventually, the baby learns to crawl and is permitted to explore the outdoors. The healthy child's body is thus sun hardened during the summer months, baked in the reality of sunlight. After years of being in the sunlight, the child's bones become larger and stronger so he is able to walk in the light of the sun for the rest of his life.

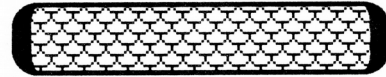
The Chumash believed in the importance of hardening the body and therefore encouraged the boy child to start to break free from the care of the mother around age eleven, for fear she would spoil or 'soften' him. His uncles urged him to run and exercise vigorously. And they taught him prayers to protect him from disease and ill-fortune.

Disease Demons

Even the strongest child, blessed with proper religious training and the vigor of youth, is susceptible to disease. And when a person is ill or in old age and incapable of walking around, they often begin to deteriorate physically. The lungs begin to fill with fluids and the digestive system becomes ineffective. One begins to rot, like a tree which has fallen to the ground. Many demons represent this decaying phenomenon.²⁵ Each separate disease was probably depicted as a unique demon, whose body carried the sores and discolorations brought by that malady. Measles, for example, was probably depicted as a different demon than small pox or influenza.

Demons of the Southern Sky

The stars of the southern sky are especially dangerous to humans, because they 'set' down onto the earth as they rotate. Thus, they roam the world and threaten to overwhelm humans with their awesome power.



Dualism

As in many other religions, the Chumash saw the earth as a cosmic middle ground where two opposing forces clashed.

Some scholars attribute religious dualism to the ancient Persians. In their dualism, the Creator of Order and Light struggles against the Ruler of Chaos and Darkness.

But dualism is much older and of world-wide diffusion. Through the millennia, various peoples embraced dualism and then rejected it. Apocalyptic Jewish theologians, for example, embraced a similar cosmology along with the conviction that the Devil had gained rule over the middle earth. Woe to the sinner, they preached.

Evangelical Christians continue to adhere to this cosmology, disagreeing over particular prophecies as to whether a new balance will be established through a cleansing, or if time itself will stop in an apocalyptic battle which is won by the stars of the high heavens.

The Opposite World

The dead lived in an opposite world, where living visitors from the Middle earth saw [with their limited earthly eyes] skeletons behaving in seemingly bizarre ways. The Chumash called this realm *Coyinashup*, which literally means the opposite world or place. But *Coyinashup* is not limited to the Land of the Dead which the Chumash called *Similaqsha*. It is the heavens itself, a place of mystery and supernatural power.

Why did the Chumash call the heavens the Opposite World, and believe that events took place there in opposite [mirror] patterns to life on earth? The answer lies in the daily cycles of the Sun creating day and night. The Chumash, like other ancient peoples, saw that the stars and planets faded from view when the Sun rose in the east and spread its powerful light across the sky. This visual phenomenon was depicted as the withdrawing of the celestial beings from activity. Thus during the day, the celestials slept while humans were active.

In an important sense, this is an example of dualistic modeling in Chumash cosmology. But the preeminent Chumash use of dual (mirror) imagery is in their House of Fate, where the two opposing (opposite) gambling teams were led by Eagle and Coyote.³³

Sirius is the brightest star in the southern sky and is almost certainly the ruler of this area of the cosmos. Coyote is probably the representative of Sirius in Chumash mythology, a persona of awesome powers but constantly falling into trouble because of his lack of discipline.²⁶

Demons of the Northern Sky

In contrast, the stars of the highest northern sky never drop down below the earth's horizon. As such, they do not threaten humans except when human souls enter the sky. Spiritual leaders called *Shaman* by white anthropologists, send their souls into the heavens to try to rescue the souls of the sick and to engage the aid of stars in the higher heavens. The souls of the dead also enter this area of the cosmos, on their journey along the Milky Way [which is the Path of the Dead]. On such celestial adventures, they encounter many supernaturals such as Scorpion Woman, but if they are properly trained they will avoid problems and reach the Land of the Dead safely.

Ghosts appear frequently in Chumash folk lore. They are not normally threatening to humans as long as they are left alone and allowed to leave the earth unhindered. These souls

Unlucky Months and Death

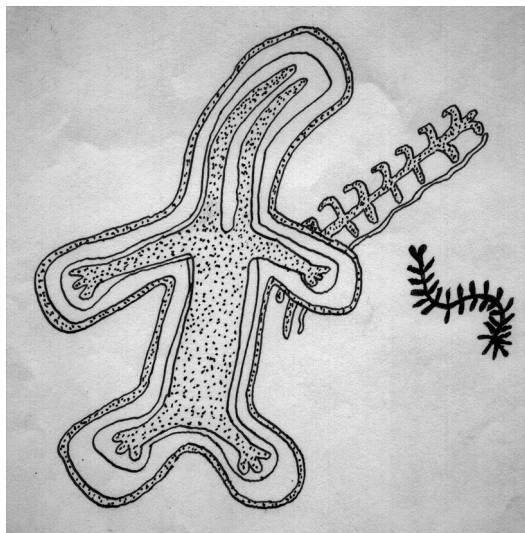


The Moon is the patron (deity) of those who use Datura. Thus Momoy is closely associated with the changing body, as seen each month in the changing shape of the Moon. See Chumash Astrology (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the twelve Chumash month signs and the good and evil associated with each 'moon' period. The month of September when the fall rainy season begins, for example, is considered by the Chumash as a time when humans should be watchful of dangers.²⁷

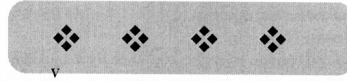
The Moon itself is neither good nor bad, lucky nor unlucky. It is considered neutral and fair, for it manifests all of these things in an endless cycle (phases of the Moon). See The House of Fate (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of good and bad luck and of the Moon's role as a referee in the struggles between the other gods.²⁸

can be seen as sparkling balls of light, moving a few feet off the ground. Sometimes, a soul is confused when it separates from its newly dead body and is unable to find the entrance into the sky. Usually, this condition is self-corrected in a short period of time, but in a few unusual cases the soul never succeeds in entering the heavens. These are the souls which keep haunting the living.²⁹

The Eagle is the ruler of the North Star, and he grips the rest of the stars in the northern sky so that they remain encircling without touching down on the earth.³⁰ He is described as an eater of humans, but this is a positive attribute pertaining to the elimination of the last remnants of physical body so that the most highly developed souls can enter the highest heavens.³¹ Fasting, consumption of tobacco and datura reflects this tradition of minimizing physical body. The most holy persons are indifferent to the affairs of the body and seek entrance into the highest heavens.³²



Chapter 4



The Psychological Dimension

Many modern psychologists would say that demons represent not only physical threats to our well being [such as diseases] but also our own worst fears, the subconscious and dark side of the mind. They explain that at least some of the demons represent the inhibitions taught young children, so they would refrain from compulsive behavior [the superego controlling the Id].

Contemporary Americans are not immune from fears of demons. A *Time Magazine* article found, for example, that over 60% of evangelical Christians interviewed in a 1995 survey acknowledged that they had personally been tempted by a devil.³⁴ The authors of the article concluded that the demonic forces of the universe fascinate Americans because they are both evil and alluring. One of the topics covered in this article was the moral dangers of capitalism, which champions self-assertion, ambition, and material wealth. Not surprisingly, many of the Americans who relocated to California in the Gold Rush era were adherents to this creed. They participated in genocide against the Chumash and other native peoples of California and are vulnerable to criticism of succumbing to greed and demonic influences.

But greed takes many forms, and it is not simply restricted to adult morals. Some of the Chumash demons, for example, appear to have been social control tools used by adults to intimidate their children and teach them moderate behavior. The snatching demons carrying back packs, for example, were surely psychologically intimidating. Any parent concerned over

Demons Which Warn of Disaster

This category of demons does not always harm persons directly, but either frightens them into behaving more properly or warns them of approaching disaster.

The *Muhu*, the Great Horned Owl, is a classical example of a warning demon although it also was known to sometimes seize little children and eat them. The *Mamisimis* is a demon whose name means one who weeps much⁴¹ and the angry *Malaxsisinis*, whose name means one who growls⁴² are other examples of demons in this category.

the kidnapping of their children while they are away would benefit by telling their children stories making them fear strangers.³⁵ By depicting the snatching demons as old women, perhaps the stories served a secondary purpose which was to make children more respectful of older women. One of the primary tasks of elderly women was the routine gathering of firewood and the harvesting of berries and other foods. While out in the back lands, these old women were susceptible to harassment, especially from young boys who were tempted to torment them. As a secondary benefit, these children would respect their grandmother baby-sitters³⁶

Similarly, the Chumash Owl demon may have served the purpose of discouraging children from going out in the dark and being hurt by animals or kidnapped. Throughout the Pacific region, the Great Horned Owl (with its awesome night vision) was feared as a kidnapper of children.³⁷

To Laugh at a Demon

The lighter side of Chumash stories involved the audience, soliciting laughter at the frailties of human existence. Typically, comic Chumash narratives involve the antics of Coyote, but other tales taught the importance of laughing at ourselves and the need for overcoming our fears.

A story about the one-legged *Paka Asil* demon, for example, teaches a related moral. In this classic demon narrative an old woman finds herself lost on a trail, all alone in the night. This tenacious grandmother refuses to be frightened, when she first hears the thumping sounds of the approaching *Paka Asil* devil. She holds her own against seemingly

overwhelming odds and would not stand aside from the path to allow the monster to proceed on its journey.³⁸ Through the heroics of this decrepit old woman, the audience learns not only to laugh at the predicaments of others, but also to recognize similar dilemmas in their own lives. Laughter lightens the burden of human travail.

The Chumash House of Fate

Demonology, negativity, bad luck, and greed play an important role in ancient Chumash cosmology. The demons associated with unlucky (unfortunate) events were probably considered allies of Coyote's team among the competing gods, representing the supernatural powers of the middle and lower worlds against the upper world team of Eagle.

The Chumash were not alienated from Coyote and his representation of risk-taking, because they believed that all of life is a gamble, a game of chance.³⁹ As Kitsepawit says: "From the beginning of man, all we have suffered or come into contact with have been spiritual ideas... If Satan turns Satan out, how will the reign of God subsist?"⁴⁰



Contemporary Demons

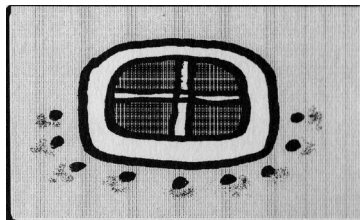
Demonology did not disappear as Americans became more educated and scientific. The old bogeyman just takes on new forms. Like the metamorphosed First People of Chumash mythology, they change garb and take on a new identity from time to time.

America's unique brands of demonology in the late 1990's included such diverse targets as Russian communism, Serbian nationalism, various Muslim religious leaders, and greedy sport

heroes and team owners who kept television viewers from enjoying a full season of television coverage.

In studying this glossary of Chumash demons, perhaps the reader will recognize some of their own. What about the demon who makes us forget to bring our own overdue books back to the library, or the demon who seizes our fathers and brothers and compels them to push noisy lawn mowers every Saturday morning? And very close to my own heart, is a dread of the writers' demon who lives in computers and erases one's whole file just as you are putting the finishing touches on a chapter.

Remember: The heart of this book
is the glossary, which provides you
with a quick reference to Chumash demonology.



Appendix A

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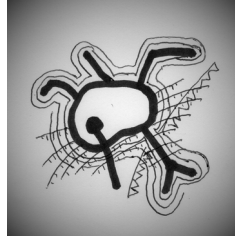
Commentary on The Related Text Entitled ***'When Demons Rule California'***

The first edition of this text was published in 1996 with the title *When Demons Rule California: A Chumash Halloween*. The introduction to this text intended to reach out to Christian readers who for generations were taught to dismiss the Chumash culture as extinct and irrelevant to the modern world. This introduction was written with the hope in mind of interesting modern audiences in the relevance of Native California folk lore to the popular holidays of the mainstream Christian culture. The demons in Chumash folk narratives had their parallels in many of the demons of the American Halloween tradition. By demonstrating the similitude of the fears and angst caused by the demons in all cultures, it was hoped that long established prejudices against the Chumash might be lessened.

Unfortunately, reader feedback on this introduction to *When Demons Rule California* suggested that public hostility to native culture is still deep seated in California. Although most readers accepted the premise that Chumash and Christian demonology had ancient roots in basic human nature, some rejected the text on the false premise that the ancient Chumash celebrated Halloween, imagining perhaps that the Chumash children went about asking for candy on one night of the year like modern children. To avoid such misrepresentations, the title was changed and the introduction was revised to focus on the specific Chumash demons appearing in folk lore which survived the California holocaust. Many other demons undoubtedly made their appearances in Chumash lore, rising out of human fears, anguish of the unknown. Like European demons, they had their roots in disease, physical and psychological impairments, and fear of death. Perhaps, in time, Xenophobia will be overcome in California and a deeper appreciation of our rich aboriginal heritage will be realized.

John Anderson
2020





1996 Introduction to *When Demons Rule California*

Author's warning:

*Don't recite
From this book
To little children,
For bedtime stories.*

*And Most decidedly, don't read it
by yourself on a stormy night.*

The American holiday of Halloween takes place on October 31. It's roots are in Christian and pre-Christian Europe. For some people this holiday may not appear, at first consideration, to have anything to do with California Indian lore. So why publish a book on Halloween you might ask, featuring the Chumash Indians of Southern California?

Connecting the Chumash to Halloween is actually easy. Their ancestral story tellers had a great deal to say about the demons that roamed the earth in the fall season, when American children now go trick-or-treating. The Chumash have a fascinating legacy of prayers, songs, poems, folk tales, and other sources of commentary on their demonic traditions. And, as the largest population group in California prior to the invasion of the Spanish, their commentary on these themes continues to be of special interest to many people .

For a number of years now I have wanted to put together a reference book on Chumash demons. Many of the 'classic' Chumash tales in this genre have appeared in magazines, newspapers, and books lacking explanatory glossaries. Hopefully, these notes I have compiled over the last two decades will be of help to people wanting to expand their understanding of

this fascinating subject.

The first part of this book provides commentary on to the role played by demons in the Chumash religion. Some readers with an in-depth background on Chumash religion may want to skip right into the alphabetized catalog. But for the majority of readers, the introductory chapters will be of help in orienting themselves to the rich vocabulary of Chumash demonology.

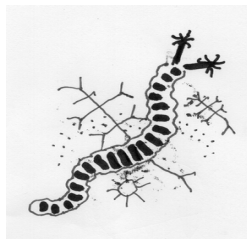
The ethnographic materials on the Chumash that has been recorded by American scholars is fragmentary, contradictory, and frequently distorted by Christian bias (both conscious and subconscious). Hopefully, this commentary will make the reader aware of the many similarities between Christian demonology and the Chumash variety. If successful, it will not demonize either tradition but help the reader see demons as part of the cultural heritage for all contemporary societies.

The text is often scary and full of monsters - some of which are sufficiently frightening that I wouldn't recommend reading it to young children. A large number of the glossary listings, in fact, involves the demons of the adult mind. But all is not gloom and doom. There is a deeper and even a lighter side to demonology, and I talk about this in chapter four.

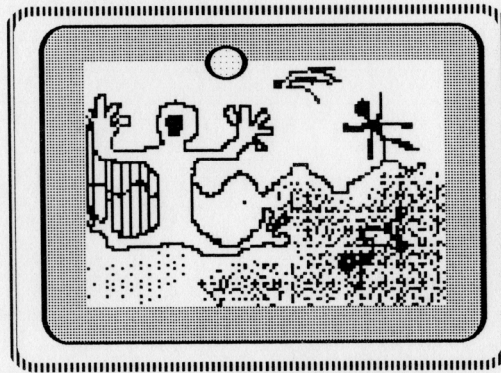
Among the Chumash, as well as many other native Californians, the wise listener comes to recognize the demons in their own fears - of the sounds in the night, of becoming sick, of death and other frightening events. Americans have adopted this 'contrary' emphasis on fun and masquerading for Halloween. For at least one night of the year, we collectively allow ourselves and our children to stop taking the demons so seriously.

John Anderson
September, 1996

P.S. Hopefully this glossary will serve you not just as a reference guide, but will also be useful in choosing your next Halloween costume!



1996 Commentary On Halloween



Native Californian Demonology On the Internet

You will find very little on the web about native American traditions associated with Halloween (a Euro-American holiday occurring at the end of October and beginning of November).

But you can uncover a lot of interesting information if you use the keywords " Demon" and "Native American." or "Devil" and "Native American ."

Have fun searching the internet, and keep in mind that most of the demons which tormented the ancient native peoples of this continent are still alive in our contemporary mass culture. Just look at a headache commercial to identify many of their modern representations. Or watch soap and under-arm deodorant commercials to study contemporary American fears of body odors and the demons they activate when left unattended.

Appendix B

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Demonizing The Chumash Indians

2007 Second Edition³

Excerpt

Buffy Episodes: Television Stereotyping of the Chumash Indians of California

In 1999 the producer of the popular television series called “Buffy the Vampire Slayer” aired a highly controversial episode, which depicted the Chumash Indians as demons, seeking vengeance against all viewers of European descent. I can only describe this episode as an unfortunate example of cultural bigotry against the aboriginal peoples of California.

One overview of this episode explains: “The Europeans inflicted such brutish atrocities on the peaceful tribe that they swore vengeance on Anglos in general...” After twenty years of working with Chumash people, I find this characterization offensive and unfair. In fact if Latino or Asian-Americans had been characterized as demons and beasts, I would expect that this episode would have caused an uproar in California. The Chumash Indians do not deserve this treatment. Again and again, I am impressed with efforts of surviving Chumash families to find reconciliation, forgiveness, and peaceful co-existence with the non-Indians occupying their lands.

This does not mean that they are passive or have given up hope of regaining title to parts of their ancestral lands. And viewers should realize that this type of demonizing of Chumash makes traditional families cringe, especially when it continues to occur in obvious violation of good taste and basic fairness to a minority that is struggling to rebuild its shattered economic and cultural base...

3 The first edition of “Demonizing the Chumash Indians” was published in 2002.



List of Chumash Folklorist

* A list of the Chumash folklorists
cited in the Blackburn footnotes,
based on John Harrington's
Smithsonian records.

Kitsepawit: used the colonial name Fernando Librado. His father was from Santa Cruz island and his mother was from the mainland seaport near Point Mugu. Kitsepawit met John Harrington in the last four years of his life. Through their collaborative efforts a large number of traditional Chumash tales were recorded for future generations.

Nutu: used the colonial name Luisa Ygnacio. She was born at the Spanish 'mission' in Santa Barbara and preserved many of her people's traditional narratives. Her daughter was L. G. Tumayalaset.

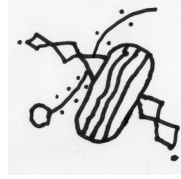
Pamaskimait: a Ventura area Chumash, who used the colonial name Simplicio Pico (Piku).

Qiliqutayiwit: used the colonial name Maria Solares. She was married into one of the leading Santa Ynez Chumash families. Maria was also related to Tejon Chumash, and played a pivotal role in preserving their history and culture (as well as that of the Tejon area Yokut and other related peoples).

Suluemeait: the Santa Barbara area Chumash traditionalist, who used the colonial name Juan Justo. (Xustu).

Tata Xuse the uncle of S. Pamaskimait. He was the narrator of the metaphysically rich folk tale featured in *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson)

Tumyalaset the daughter of Luisa Nutu (above), who was also born in Santa Barbara.



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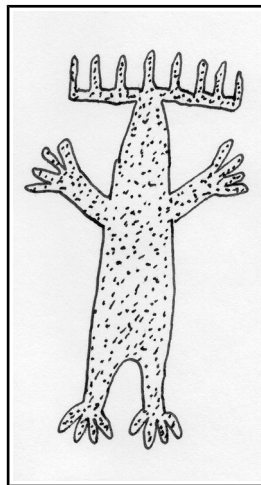
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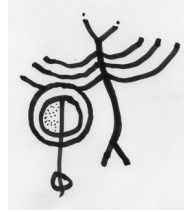
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Endnotes

Blackburn's collection of Chumash tales, *December's Child*, is used as a basic reference in this glossary because it is widely available to the reader. The original source of the majority of surviving Chumash folk tales resides in John Harrington's field notes stored in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Note: This glossary reflects the viewpoint of its author and, like all glossaries, should be read with an inquisitive mind. Numerous scholarly works have previously reached different conclusions about Chumash demonology. They are cited here and there, for the sake of discussion, but documenting conflicting viewpoints is not the focus of this text. What is presented here is speculative and no claim is being made as to an authoritative source of 'truth' about the Chumash demons. Given the mystical roots of Chumash theology, a search for final truth is not even in the spirit of Chumash religion.

* Wherever possible, the Chumash name of each narrator cited by Blackburn is included. For information on the European names used by these Chumash folklorist see the notes at the end of the glossary.

1 Thomas Blackburn deserves praise for his editing of the Chumash narratives featured in *December's Child*. He estimated that this anthology contains over ninety-five percent of all Chumash narratives and traditions collected by John Harrington (December, 16). Even though I have criticized Blackburn's assessment of these materials in a number of my books, I have at the same time expressed appreciation for his ground-breaking work in compiling and evaluating these important narratives from

Harrington's field notes.

My criticisms focus on Blackburn's assessment of the structure and content of the narratives, which appears in chapter three of his text (December, 43-88). *The Chumash House of Fate* provides my most systematic critique of Blackburn's conceptualization of Chumash cosmology. Footnote 36 of this text focuses on Blackburn's basic "assumptions." Of critical importance is his misrepresentation of supernatural power, which he argues is always "amoral" in Chumash theology. Consequently, Blackburn concludes that "Morality is egoistic and essentially situational in nature" (68). My commentary in *The House of Fate* provides an alternative model of Chumash cosmology and of their beliefs about ethical behavior.

If I am correct, the demons represent powerful celestial beings of the southern sky, whose rotation during the night brings them into contact with the earth, i.e. they drop below the earth's horizon as they rotate. Unlike the stars which always stay above the horizon, these celestials were believed to be supernaturals behaving relatively independently of the Eagle (pole star). According to this cosmological model the Eagle represents moral power in the cosmos and serves as an ethical example for human morality.

Contrary to Blackburn's assertions, all supernatural power is decidedly not amoral! Chumash political philosophy recognizes, for example, the benevolence of social norms (group morality). Many of the speeches, prayers, and folk tales recorded by Harrington place emphasis on group cooperation, adherence to rules of proper behavior, sacrifice of individual welfare for the good of others (family, village, society). The ideal Chumash ethical models are, if my cosmology is correct, the 'moral' stars of the uppermost heavens, which obey the rule of the north star. They rotate in perfect circles around the sacred center of moral power, but (unfortunately for humans) never touch the earth.

2 Blackburn described a Chumash demon as an "animal; dangerous animal; amalevolent supernatural being" (December, 342). See Nunashish in the glossary for further discussion.

3 Blackburn mistakenly limited *Coyinashup* to the Lower World, an underworld similar to the Judeo/Christian concept of Hell. He defined *Coyinashup* as an "underworld occupied by *nunasis*" (December, 341).

4 See Opposite World in the glossary for a related discussion.

5 'Alulkuwi means 'to be awe-inspiring' in Samala (49; 'to be supernatural', 'to be otherworldly'). One root is *Ulkuw* which means 'to be other worldly', 'to be night' (Tsmuwich, 35).

6 See Nunashish in the glossary for further discussion.

7 For a discussion of datura as a dangerous source of supernatural power, see *Tales For a Chumash Christmas* (Anderson

1996).

In this text grandmother Momoy (datura) warned her grandson Tupnek not to take too much liquid datura or else he would become *nunasis*. But, to the shock of his astonished grandmother, the miracle child named Tupnek drank any amount of datura he wished with no damaging side effects!

A demon Bear, Deer, and Coyote are all described as *nunasis* and dangerous in this complex narrative. The grandmother Momoy warns her heroic grandson: "Be careful, it is *nunasis* " (145).

8 See Crazy in the glossary for further discussion.

9 See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson, 1995) and *Tales For the Christmas Season* (Anderson 1996) for examples of datura being administered by grandmother Momoy (datura) as the best medicine in Chumash pharmacology.

10 Datura is the most revered source of psychotropic visions among all the plants in the middle world.

See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995, 15) for a discussion of the influence of datura and tobacco on Chumash spiritualism. Footnote forty two in this text identifies tobacco as the cultural hero's favorite daily source of supernatural power. Datura (with its superior powers) seems to be reserved for non-ordinary circumstances.

11 Most Chumash adults used datura during times of great stress, and trusted it to help them through a life crisis.

Thus in Chumash stories celebrating the lives of cultural heroes the grandmotherly Momoy (Datura) appeared as the administering agent of the visionary datura. She was a kindly relative, who never pressed her grandsons to use datura but assisted them in their struggles against the demons.

On the other hand, the Chumash also recognized the unpredictable power of datura and did not take it casually. Thus parents warned their children of its dangerous side effects as in folk tales where Trickster Coyote appears as the official responsible for its prescription to the young.

12 (Hudson, Breath, 115).

13 The text reads: "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. The body dies, but the soul is 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" (Anderson, *Kuta Teachings*, 1998; box, page 9).

14 Nutu does not describe the "Tiger of the Sea" in sufficient detail for us to identify it as a shark or any other specific animal of the ocean.

From the context of the narrative and the term "tiger" we

can presume it is a large predator which attacks humans. The Chumash did not have tigers in their territory and the 'tiger' presumably referred to a shark.

15 (Blackburn, December, 309; Nutu).

16 (Blackburn, December, 311; Nutu).

17 Greed does not rule all of the Chumash cosmos. See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson, third edition, 1996) for Kitsepawit's statements about the celestial House of Eagle, which is "pure" and "without black mystery".

18 (Blackburn, December, 253; Kitsepawit).

19 See Free Will in the glossary for related discussion).

20 Blackburn concluded that Pomo and Chumash folk tales "seem amazingly alike in general outline" (December, 29).

21 (Campbell, Thousand, 129).

22 (Campbell, Thousand, 130).

23 The Algonquin cultural hero named *Glosskap* was considered by Charles Leland to be the ruler of both men and animals.

His favorite messengers were Loons. These birds called *Glosskap* the Subtle One and the Deceiver. "And Glosskap, being crafty, told the truth and yet lied; for his name was the Liar, yet did he never lie for evil or aught to harm" (Anderson, Frog, 18).

24 Due to the unique climate of the Chumash area of coastal California (which is often frost-free throughout the year) the dry season comes in July, August, and September.

The Chumash call July *Hesiq'momoy* (month of 'An *Ciwolhoyoyo* (when everything blows away) because it is the time when the plants shed their leaves and the wind blows them around (Blackburn, December, 102; Kitsepawit). The suffix *Hoyoyo* is related to Tsmuwich term *Xoyoyon* which means 'to fly' (41). *Xonowon* is the Samala variant (450, meaning 'to fly through the air').

August is the month of the harvest festivals (Thanksgiving). And September is 'An *Ciyam Loqayi'alaxsiw*, referring to the month "when those that are dry come down" (102).

"The Chumash, like many contemporary Americans, consider the cold winter months 'unlucky' compared to the warmer months of summer. This pattern reflects the high levels of debilitating diseases which cause great suffering among confined people during the winter months. Chumash astrologers, in remembrance of such seasonal tribulation, described September as watchful of danger, November as never satisfied, February as a time of uncertainty, and March as a time of lingering illness"(Anderson, Astrology, 26).

25 "Putrid Man" of the Pomo is a classic example of the putrefaction demon of ancient Hokan California. See the

section called the "Realm of the Fly" in *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995) for discussion of eating putrid materials such as pus, phlegm, blood.

26 See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson) for a discussion of the ruler of the southern sky in Chumash astronomy. The devil challenged a Chumash cultural hero in this passage, trying to confuse him about his origin. But the clever hero speaks plainly: "Here we are going to begin where you come from, look to the south" (Anderson 1995, 17).

27 This book describes the threat of supernaturals, called demons, to the Chumash social order. See Witches in the glossary for further discussion.

28 Compare the dualism discussed in the Chumash 'house of fate' to Manicheanism, which flourished from the third century to the seventh century after its founding by the Persian prophet Mani. Followers of this sect believed in a dualistic universe, split between the forces of good (light, soul, the high god) and evil (darkness, the body, the Devil).

Many Christians who came to Chumashia in California were members of sects which embraced a dualistic cosmology like the Chumash. Those who read Saint Augustine, for example, were influenced by such thinking. He was the Bishop of Hippo, in north Africa, and was one of the leading thinkers of the Christian church. He was a typical young man of his times, indulging in affairs of the physical body. Later in his middle age Augustine became remorseful, describing evil as having no existence of its own, but residing in an Abyss. See Abyss in the glossary for further discussion.

29 See *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson 1998; chapter one) for a discussion of the souls of the dead which haunt the living.

30 See chapter four of *The House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the celestial Eagle and his association with the North Star. "Eagle is called *slo'w* by the Chumash. He almost certainly resides at the North Star, which is the ruling star of the northern sky" (19).

Many religions have advocated an elitist social system, in an effort to mirror the perceived behavior of the gods (stars) in the Inner Heaven of the northern sky. Only a relatively few stars, rotating closest to the North Star, never drop down to touch the earth's horizon. These are the heavenly elite.

Christian readers will recognize Yaweh and his faithful remnant of angels as being similar to the North Star and the encircling stars that never touch the horizon. This old pattern can be seen in the evangelical Christian emphasis on the limits of the number of souls who will live with god in the heavenly paradise. It is also reflected in the ideologies of some Christian sects, which see its members as elevated or superior to other Christians (often denigrated as the ignorant masses

who are like the stars of the southern sky, i.e. relatively lost and of inferior position).

31 Qiliqutayiwit taught that *Slo'w*, the Eagle who ruled the heavens, "ate people."

The place where *Slo'w* lived is "surrounded by hills and hills of bleached white bones that can be seen from afar. They are the bones of people of this world that *Slo'w* has eaten." (Blackburn, December, 92).

32 For a discussion of the importance of fasting for Chumash cultural heroes see the story of Ciqneq in *A Chumash Christmas*, (Anderson 1995).

The hero named Ciqneq came back from his celestial adventures hungry, since he did not eat food while being tested by the demonic forces which tried to hinder his journey. Ciqneq ate only tobacco for spiritual strength, and when he returned to the mundane space/time of his home town he sang: "I am very hungry. I am the son of the dead. And therefore I am hungry." (Anderson, Christmas, 13).

33 "As in European and Asian cosmologies the gods of the Chumash divided themselves into two rival sides. The opposing teams were led by Eagle and Coyote" (Anderson, House of Fate, 11).

This text also discusses the Chumash use of water to neutralize a demonically possessed person. The witch in this story was not killed "by an animal" but by drowning under ocean waves. In traditional Chumash mythology, this witch thus fell under the sway of the *Elye'wun*, the Swordfish demons (*Nunashish*) who rule the ocean. Compare New England witch trials, for Christian examples 'dunking' witches in water to neutralize them.

34 (Smith/Keene-Osborn, *Times Magazine*, page 68).

35 Compare this Chumash narrative, for example, to Yakima folk tales [told far to the north in central Washington].

Yakima stories identify five female demons, who captured people in their back packs and ate them. These demons lived in a cave and were from California (Hines, Ghosts, 63).

36 Ramsey provides an interesting Tillamook example of social control of children through fear of elderly female demons with back packs.

These Oregon demons killed and ate only the children who stole food from the family storage bins while their parents were working out of the home. These she-devils smelled the breath of each child, and knew immediately which children were guilty (Coyote, 148; "Wild Women Ate Children"). Clearly, Tillamook children reared with such narratives would be hesitant to cheat on their grandmothers who were their care-takers.

Compare these Tillamook examples to Chinook backpack female demons, who seized Coyote and his friends and tried to

roast them in her home (139). Wasco back-packing demons are very similar, eating children they seized. One was a sucking monster like the Chumash *Haphap*, pulling people into her mouth with her inhaling breaths (75).

37 The Yakima *Tah-tah kle'ah* was an owl kidnapper of children who wandered in the night. It ate "bad things" such as frogs, lizards, and snakes (Hines, Ghosts, 63; none of which were eaten by good Yakima).

This kidnapping demon was considered the most dangerous persona on the earth (with excellent night vision,) and all Yakima children feared its call. They believed that the owl demon would carry them away in her basket, to be cooked and eaten (very much like Germanic witches in Grimm's fairy tales). "This way, the children grew up to be honest, to mind what was told them. They were afraid to do wrong" (Hines, 65).

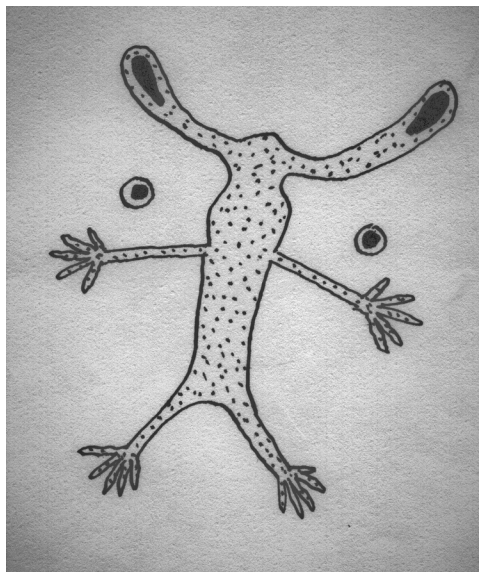
38 See Demon: One Leg, Demon: Wrestling, and Demon: Female for related discussions.

39 See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for a related discussion of the Chumash philosophy of free choice.

40 (Hudson, Breath, 115).

41 (Blackburn, December, 341).

42 (Blackburn , December; 341; also means 'one who is angry').





GLOSSARY

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

ABYSS Chumash astronomers conceived the Abyss to be a realm of infinite potentiality which preceded the existence of the physical cosmos.

Terms: The Chumash call the Abyss the '*Alampawauhani* (see Anderson, *Within the Abyss*, 1993, for further discussion).

■ The 1996 edition of *Demons In Chumash Folk Lore* (Anderson) assumed the '*Alampawauhani* (Abyss) to be located in the southern region of the sky (23; glossary term *Abyss*). Further research led to the reconceptualization of the Abyss as "a realm of infinite potentiality existing before the realm of Ideas and the physical universe was created" (Chumash Cosmology, Anderson, 69).

AHASH One of two Chumash terms for soul. In this text, *Ahash* is used for the embodied soul.

Compare *Antik* for discussion of the disembodied soul. Also see *Skeleton* for discussion of a hypothetical bone soul.

Discussion of terms: In early writing by the author, *Ahash* was associated with the heart and emotions. It was described as an Air Soul. With the publication of *Chumash Cosmology* (Anderson), however, the term *Ahash* was used to refer to the embodied soul, and the term *Antik* was assigned to the disembodied soul (101; glossary term *Soul*). This assignation of terminology was utilized in later editions of *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson, 90; glossary term *Ahash*)

ALXELEKESH See *Supernatural Beings*, *Free Will*, and *Amorality* for further discussion.

AMORALITY Chumash demons were immoral, not amoral.

Also see *Free Will*.

■ *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson) describes the primary gods responsible for the fate of humans living on the surface of the

earth. From the perspective of humans, these gods were moral.

Hypothesis: The Chumash demons were immoral from the perspective of humanity. Other supernaturals, however, were amoral from human perspective, seemingly indifferent to their impact on human affairs. Presumably, these amoral stars were those in the Outer Heavens which are not fully within the chaos of the southern sky. They were relatively indifferent to the fate of life on the surface of the earth.

Hypothesis: *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson) describes the behavior of *Enememe*, the Chumash supreme deity, in mythic space/time when he descended temporarily onto the surface of the earth. *Enememe* is fundamentally inscrutable and cannot be judged by humans as moral or amoral.

ANGER The Chumash considered anger to be a negative emotion, associated with the stars of the southern sky (the *Nunashish* demons) and unworthy of the stars associated with the highest heavens.

Compare Balance, Health.

See South Star and North Star for further discussion.

Terms: *Xu'wil* means 'to be angry' (Tsmuwich, 41).

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

Related terms: *Axchik'in* means 'to hate' (Tsmuwich, 5).;

Axsikin is a *Samala* variant. one root is *Sikin* meaning 'to feel hurt' (26; also means 'to be offended').

Axsic means 'to be afraid' (Samala, 93; *Saxsic* means 'to frighten'); compare *Saxsic* which means 'to curse' (Tsmuwich, 17) and '*Alaqsisi* meaning 'to be angry'. Compare *Aqsisin* meaning 'to growl', 'to be angry' (Samala, 67). See Demon: Voice for information about the angry (growling) demon.

■ In Chumash community theory anger was considered detrimental to both the individual and the social order (Chumash Psychology, Anderson, glossary term *Anger*).

ANT See Demon: Ant.

ANTIK One of two Chumash terms for soul. It is used in this text to refer to the disembodied soul.

Compare Ahash for the term used in this text for the embodied soul.

Discussion of terms: In early writing by the author, *Antik* was associated with air, the heavens, and reincarnation. It was described as an Air Soul. With the publication of *Chumash Cosmology* (Anderson), the term *Antik* was assigned to the disembodied soul (101; glossary term *Soul*). This assignation of terminology was carried over to *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) which focused on the path of the dead used by the disembodied soul.

ATISHWIN '*Atishwin* means 'supernatural power' in Chumash, and refers specifically to supernatural power of the spirit.

Terms: '*Atishwin* means 'supernatural power'.

Too much power can overwhelm, thus the term '*Atishwicchish* means 'poison' (5; and '*Tip'atishwicchish* means 'to be poisonous'). See Demon: Smell and Poison for related discussions.

Discussion of terms: The Tsmuwich dictionary defined 'Atishwin to mean 'power'(5); thus 'A'latishwinich means 'a person who has power visions' (5; a "shaman"; and a root term is 'Atishwich which means 'to dream'). Note that not all power is supernatural, so this definition is seemingly misleading. For example, 'Ushk'a'lish means 'strength' in Tsmuwich (36; the root is Ushk'al meaning 'to be strong'). It refers to strength in the natural world which is separate from 'Atishwinic strength. See Mundane Space/time and Mythic Space/time for related commentary.

- Humans, who dwell in the Middle World have relatively little spiritual power, as compared to the awesome supernaturals of the Upper and Lower Worlds. Compare Balance, Greed.

- To understand the Chumash demons (*Nunashish*) and other frightening beings such as ghosts, one needs to understand the nature of 'Atishwin, or supernatural power.

- Applegate argued that power is a "dangerously amoral force" in the cosmology of the native Californians (Atishwin, 15). Blackburn builds upon this theme, in his controversial argument that: "Morality is egotistic and essentially situational in nature" (December, 68). But both Applegate and Blackburn are probably incorrect, in their implicit denial of group morality, or what can be called communal values. Moreover, their model appears to be flawed by its failure to distinguish between the power that is obtained from the supernaturals of the higher and lower heavens. Power obtained by humans from the supernaturals of the Upper World apparently differs from power obtained from the supernaturals of the Lower world.

- The supernaturals of the Upper world (upper heavens, consisting of stars which rotate around the pole star and never touch the earth during their rotation) do obey 'rules' and are not egotistic. They are part of the celestial community led by Eagle. They move in circles around Eagle, in a never ending display of order and cooperative motion. Chumash political leaders sought power to keep their own communities in balance, and they often had Eagle or Hawk as guardian helpers. Unfortunately these winged celestials were relatively withdrawn from normal human contact.

In contrast, it is the supernaturals of the Lower world (lower heavens, consisting of stars which rotate in the heavens and drop below the earth's horizon) which demonstrate relatively egotistic and essentially situational ethical behavior. Unfortunately for mankind, these are the supernaturals which are the most accessible to humans, causing both great pleasure and pain. The demons called the *Nunashish* have immense 'Atishwinic power, but it is capricious, erratic, and generally damaging to mankind.

AYIP A medicine used by Chumash for heart problems and to stimulate physical activity generally.

- *Ayip* was a medical compound, which included powdered rattlesnake (sidewinder) flesh. It was so strong a stimulant that Chumash spiritual leaders reportedly used it to make a skeleton rise from its grave and move about. See Skeleton for a related discussion. Compare Datura for an ever more powerful medicine used for exposure to the supernatural.

BALANCE The ultimate goal of Chumash theology is to achieve

spiritual balance. When humans are able to do this (normally only temporarily) they enter the mental realm of peace known to the uppermost stars surrounding the North Star. Compare Greed.

■ The Stars in the uppermost area of the sky move in perfect circles around the pole star, and never drop below the earth's horizon where they can be corrupted by the physical body concentrated on the earth (Middle World) and the Lower World. The lower realms, in contrast, consist of the Middle and Lower Worlds which suffer from periodic and persistent imbalance. See Imbalance and Crazed for related discussions. See Free Will for a discussion of moral balance and the *Alxelekesh*.

BASKET-CARRYING DEMONS See Demons: Kidnaps People In a Pack.

BATS Bats are associated with the night, when they feed on insects in large numbers. Also see Datura.

Terms: *Makal* means 'a bat' (Samala, 206). *Makal* (Tsmuwich, 16).

BEWITCH To bewitch means 'to use magic', 'to cast a spell'. Also see Witch.

Terms: '*Axlapus* means 'to enchant' (December, 276; Qiliqutayiwit; "witchery"); thus *Saxlapis* means 'an enchanter' (Blackburn, December, 347); as in the term *Axlap* meaning 'to bewitch'. *Axlap* means 'to cast a spell' (Samala, 89, 'to bewitch'). Compare *Apu'lish*, meaning 'to grab' (Tsmuwich, 3; 'to get hold of'). See Witch for related terms.

BLOOD Many Chumash demonic narratives feature blood, which is depicted as a life-giving substance whose loss results in death. Significant exceptions to this rule include blood lost in menstruation and birthing.

Compare Flesh, Menstrual Blood, Blood Drinkers, Bloodclot Boy. See Fly, Mosquito, Sun, Sun: Daughters of and Condor for drinkers of human blood.

Terms: '*Axu'lish* means 'blood' (Tsmuwich, 6; also means 'pus'). '*Axu'lis* (Samala, 97).

BLOODCLOT BOY A Chumash cultural hero, magically born from a bloodclot and raised by Datura to become a demon slayer and eventually metamorphosed into a Fly. (Blackburn, December, 126; Qiliqutayiwit). See Demon Slayer for related materials.

BLUE LIGHT See Ghost for the blue light following the fiery path of a soul.

BONE: SOUL See Skeleton for discussion.

CARNIVORES See Xolxol, Sun, Venus, and Fly as consumers of human flesh and blood. Note that the Chumash did not condemn all carnivores as demons, since they were a natural part of the ecological system. Compare Flesh.

CAVE Many demons live in caves, or burrows located in the Lower World (below the earth). Compare Drowning: to Kill a Witch for discussion of use of a cave for witch killing.

CHILDREN See Demon: With A Pack and Owl for demons threatening to children. See Demon: Child for a young boy demon.

CHUMASH A southern California native peoples who spoke a Chumashan language. They lived along the coast from Malibu, north through Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and northern counties.

CIQNEQS The personal name of the hero in a Chumash tale, who is described as a "child of the clouds." He was a demon killer. See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson) for more information.

CLEANSERS OF THE WORLD A group of supernaturals, who eat the flesh of the dead so as to cleanse the world of filth.

In Mexico a deity in this classification is called Eater of Filth. Dead physical body (flesh) has to be cleansed from the earth, so that humans and the other animals can prosper. Although the common person may think of these beings as demonic, the wise man sees them clearly in the light of their beneficial role in the ecology. The Chumash held similar beliefs; thus even their guardian of the North Star, the Eagle, is described as a eater of humans (cleansing them of their physical bodies, to purify them so they can enter the highest heavens). See Sun, Sun: Daughters, Condor, Fly, and Muhu. Also see Blood.

CONDOR See Xolxol.

COYINASHUP The Chumash Opposite World, which functioned as a mirror image of the world known by humans (the earth, the Middle World). *Coyinashup* is the realm of the supernaturals, who dwell in all three cosmological realms (Upper, Middle, and Lower Worlds). Compare Crazed.

The Chumash Land of the Dead is located in *Coyinashup*. The souls of the Chumash dead are described, therefore, as acting in opposition to the behavior of humans living on the earth. Many Euro-Christian scholars have misunderstood this information to imply that the Land of the Dead is located in the Lower World.

Hudson & Underhay identify *Coyinashup* as the Lower World (Crystals, 150). But the definitive conceptual root is *Opposite* (not *Lower*). Blackburn makes the same mistake, describing *Coyinashup* as "the underworld occupied by *Nunasis*" (December, 341).

Terms: *C'oyinasup* is the name provided by Qiliqutayiwit for the Opposite World (December, 91). One root is *Coyni* meaning 'other' (Tsmuwich, 7). *C'oyini* (Samala, 105).

COYOTE The Trickster of Chumash folk lore. A cognate of the Id in Freudian psychology, and the Jester (trickster) in European mythology. Coyote is very intelligent and has great powers, but he lacks restraint and seeks out physical pleasure rather than disciplining himself for long-term goals. Compare Crazy.

See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the role of Coyote in Chumash cosmology. In his manifestation as Snilemun, the celestial Coyote, he is described by Qiliqutayiwit as "our father" and compared to the Christian creator deity ("God"). But

in some Chumash Trickster Coyote narratives he is a powerful supernatural not to be trusted. Compare Liar, Stars: of the Southern Sky.

Qiliqutayiwit described Coyote as "a bad customer" (Blackburn, December, 228). K. Suluemeait taught that "Coyote is very smart, and also very stupid (305; Juan Justo). Hudson and Underhay identified one Chumash celestial Coyote called 'Aska' with Alderbaran ("Coyote, the popular supernatural being" Crystals, 150). But in a different passage, they speculatively identified the celestial Coyote called *Snilemun* with the North Star (154). But this is incorrect. See Sirius for the identity of the Chumash Sky Coyote.

CRAZY The human soul may, if improperly educated, become crazy when it enters the revolving heavens and no longer has the security of its life on the the unmoving earth (Middle World).

Compare Datura for a cure [if taken in moderation under the supervision of a trained doctor] for humans disoriented by exposure to the 'crazed' supernatural world. Coyote, for example, was a crazed character featured in many Chumash tales. The properly educated Chumash soul quickly regains its equilibrium, but the ignorant soul remains crazed. Thus the newly ascended soul walking on the Path of the Dead is easily overwhelmed by the demonic (frenzied) stars of the southern heavens, which spin rapidly in the sky. See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995) for the story of Ciqneq whom the devil tried to get "all mixed up". Compare Poison and Balance for related discussions.

Terms: Ciqneq's craziness is a form of disorientation caused by whirling, which the Chumash call *Oxyoyon* as in the term *Stipoyoxon* meaning 'a whirlwind' (Tsmuwich, 27).

Oxyoyon means 'for a person to be crazy' with the suffix *Yoyon* meaning 'to whirl'; as in *Stipoyoxon*, 'a whirlwind' (Tsmuwich, 27) and in *Susoloyoxon* meaning 'to agitate', 'to shake up' (Samala, 349). *Oxyoyon* (Samala, 261, 'to be crazy').

Wolowol means 'to be drunk' (Tsmuwich, 59); with the root *Wol* meaning 'to spin' as in *Wotolk'oy* meaning 'to wind around' (39). *Wolowol* means 'to be dizzy' (Samala, 439, the root term is *Wol* having the connotation of spinning).

Discussion of terms: Not all Chumash terms for being crazy have a spinning connotation. *Momoyich*, for example, means to be under the influence of a psychotropic drug such as datura. *Itaxmay* means 'to be amazed' (Tsmuwich, 11; 'to be surprised'); it also means 'to astonish' (Samala, 156). Perhaps *Aximay*, meaning 'to be black' (Tsmuwich, 5) is a related term, with the connotation of surprises coming in the dark, i.e. where we cannot see around us.

CRYING See Demon: Weeping.

CURSE See Bewitch.

DANGER Every encounter with a demon has the potential of danger.

Terms: *Xutinanpi* means 'to be dangerous to' (Samala, 452 'to harm').

Naqsan means 'to be harmful to' (Samala, 236, root is *Aqsan* meaning 'to die'; *Naqsa'nin* means 'to be adversely affected by

something or someone'). *Naqshan* means 'to be sick from' (Tsmuwich, 19).

Aqit'ul means 'to be harmful' (Samala, 63).

Suyulumec means 'to be harmful' (Samala, 525).

DATURA The Chumash sacrament, allowing humans to see like the gods (the supernaturals). Datura was the most powerful remedy in Chumash pharmacology, for exposure to supernatural forces (including the demonic type). See Crazy for a related discussion. Compare Vision, Tupnek, and Witchcraft.

Warning: Datura is an extremely dangerous drug and it should not be used by untrained people experimenting with its Hallucinogenic properties. Doctor Andrew Weil (author of *The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon*, considers datura the most dangerous psychotropic drug he ever took, and Weil advises against its use by people raised in a non-datura culture. It can bring psychosis or even death.

Terms: *Momoy* means 'datura' (Blackburn, December, 342). *Momoy* (Samala, 226). *Momoyich* means 'to be under the influence of a psychotropic drug' such as datura. *Momoyic* means 'to be craze' (Samala, 226). See Danger for related information.

Discussion of terms: Hudson and Underhay tentatively identified *Momoy* as the Moon (Crystals, 152). *Momoy* means 'datura' for it is not the Moon but a plant closely associated with the moon. The datura flower follows the moon during the night, to keep maximum reflection needed to draw flying pollinators such as bats.

Discussion of terms: The term *Demon* has the Greek root *Daimon*, which means 'a divider', with the connotation of one who appropriates. These Greek *Daimons* were classified as spirits and demigods, i.e. secondary divinities ranking between the gods and men; hence guardian spirits. But the term *Daimon* was adopted by the Christian church to represent not messengers and guardian spirits, but negative supernaturals opposed to the powers of the Creator god. The term *Demoniac* means possessed by a demon; it also means frenzied, frantic (like the stars of the southern heavens). *Demonic* means 'to have a guardian spirit, and thus to be inspired'.

■ Normal humans can not bear too much exposure to the (overwhelming) divine sight given by datura, which is the drink of supernaturals. The Chumash cultural hero Tupnek was Momoy's grandson who proved to be even stronger than her (Blackburn, December, 148). Too much datura can kill a person or turn them "into a devil" (December, 135; K. Suluemeait).

Qiliqutayiwit reiterated this theme in her statement that datura is both the most benevolent and most potentially damaging medicinal herb known to humans. *Momoy*, she warned, is part sorceress, one who can not only heal but also "bewitch" (Blackburn, December, 130). Datura dilates the eyes, allowing a person to see better in the night. Thus it was used by Chumash to move about secretly in the night, giving them advantages over ordinary humans. Also see Night Vision.

DEAD: FAKING See Demon: Faking Death.

DEAD: LAND OF See Land of the Dead.

DEAD: FEAR OF See Fear and Physical Body.

DEMON A supernatural being, which threatens humans due to its overwhelming powers.

■ Negative encounters with demons take place most often while the demons are traveling in the Middle World (the surface of the earth). The demons are presumably the stars of the southern sky and other celestial bodies (including the planets). They came out after nightfall" (Blackburn, December, 93; Qiliqutayiwit). See Guardian Spirit for supernatural beings which do not normally harm humans, but instead help them. Sometimes a human's relationship with these supernatural 'guardians' becomes demonic instead of beneficial. For further discussion see Atishhwin (supernatural power), Demon: Middle World, Demon: Lower World, and Demon: Upper World for lists of three basic types of demons.

Terms: *Nunashish* refers to a being saturated with supernatural power. Whistler defines a *Nunashish* as "a devil" (Dictionary, 58), an explanation that implies an early Judeo/Christian belief in multiple devils that cause people to go awry. Hudson & Underhay located "most" of the *Nunashish* in the Lower World (Crystals, 153), but their model lacks a coherent astronomical explanation. The solution lies in the realization that Chumash *Nunashish* are probably all the stars which touch the horizon or dip below during their rotation in the night sky.

■ Like the Hopi "scare" *Kachinas* ("monsters", Waters, Hopi, 228), the Chumash *Nunashish* probably represent the stars of the lower sky, which spin wildly within the Abyss of the south heavens [They go awry]. Abandoned by the orderly pull of the north star, they dip periodically below the earth's horizon. When they touch the horizon, they can step onto the earth surface (the Middle World). Or these demons can descend into the Lower World, from which they can enter the earth's surface from caves, springs, lakes, volcanoes, and other 'holes' in the earth. Their supernatural 'visitations' are watched by humans, who feared these night visitors who threaten to seize human souls and drag them into the oblivion of the Abyss.

Examples of Demons: The *Yowoyow* was a luring demon, presenting a singing threat. The *Hap* (also Haphap) was a swallowing monster who, like the *Lewelew*, was from Santa Cruz island. The *Monso* was a demonic weasel which killed Simiwowo (Younger Brother). The Siwon demon is a Thunderer (see Demon: Thunder). The *Pakasil* is a one-legged demon. The *Malaxsisinis* demon growls (see Demon: Voice Threat).

DEMON: ANTHROPOLOGIST These despoiler demons appeared only more recently, to torment the Chumash about their cultural cohesiveness and authenticity. Variants include archaeology demons who raid cemeteries, history demons who spread falsehoods, and comparative religion demons who spread dementia to anyone within earshot of their voices.

Note: These comments were originally entered humorously, partially in laughing at my own role as a white person studying Chumash culture. But the more I watch the often times dysfunctional relationship of white intellectuals and contemporary Chumash, the more

I am aware that there is a serious side to these stereotypes. I have heard Chumash describe anthropologists as grave robbers and ghouls. A ghoulish person is a person who robs graves. This tradition is widespread throughout Europe and Asia, found for example in the Oriental tradition of a ghoulish spirit as an evil spirit that digs up graves and feeds on the flesh of the dead.

DEMON: ANTS The Chumash used the bites of ants to enter a powerful visionary state, which Kitsepawit rated [along with tobacco and datura] as one of the best source of visions known to humanity.

■ Between datura [tobacco] and formic acid, the Chumash were taught "all things" (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 30). The formic acid of ants is the source of psychotropic visions, but if too much formic acid is ingested then it become demonic. See Crazed for a related discussion.

DEMON: BATHING IN WATER See Night for related discussion.

DEMON: BIRDS Birds are generally considered powerful cosmological persona because they are capable of moving easily in the sky (the heavens). Compare Demon: Trees, Xolxol, Eagle: Heavenly, Pelepel.

■ The Eagle represents the leading (the highest) bird in Chumash cosmology, followed by the Hawk. Below these elevated birds are many species which appear in both positive and demonic roles in Chumash myths. Some particularly interesting birds appear in folk lore as eaters of human bodies, i.e. cleansers of physical body.

DEMON: CANE THROWING See Demon: Spear Throwing.

DEMON: CAT A number of Chumash demons are in the cat family.

■ The *Maxulaw* (Crying demon) looks like a cat (Blackburn, December, 94; Qiliqutayiwit). It is presumably a Mountain Lion which the Chumash call a *Tuk'e'm* (Tsmuwich, 34).

DEMON: CAVE Some caves were associated with demons. Coyote, for example, is killed in a magically opening and shutting cave (Blackburn, December, 108; Qilikutayiwit).

Terms: *Mup* means 'cave' (Tsmuwich, 18). *Mup* (Samala, 230).

DEMON: CHILD Even little children and babies can be demons in disguise, in Chumash folk lore.

■ A number of Chumash narratives feature magical babies whose feats are of supernatural aspect. These wonder children are filled with Atishwin, and can even become Nunashish (demonic) when their powers overwhelm their judgment. One little boy demon, for example, had a "very evil" heart and carried a bow which shot flaming arrows that started fires wherever they landed (Blackburn, December, 121; Nutu). See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995) and *Tales For the Christmas Season* (Anderson 1996) for related discussions. Compare Children for a discussion of demons especially threatening to children.

DEMON: COOKING See Demon: Kidnaps People In A Pack for a

list of demons who cooked their victims in boiling tar.

DEMON: DISEASE Many of the demons of Chumash folk lore bring disease, both physical and mental.

See Witches for humans allied to these demons (and who also use poisons). See Demon: Medicine to Counteract, Witch and Demon: Sexual Impropriety for discussions of mental disease. Compare Health.

■ The *Yowyow* is a well-documented example of a Chumash disease demon whose body is covered with pus and his facial skin is loose (Blackburn, December, 93: *Qiliqutayiwit*).

The *Lewelew* is also a disease-bringing demon, as is the *Ququ* which is a Samala demon whose body is covered with pus, and whose facial skin is loose (*Qiliqutayiwit*, December, 93).

■ If a person died of a disease, the disease appeared as a fiery ball flying beside the sparkling ball of fire (see *Ghost* for further discussion).

DEMON: DREAMS See Dreams: Demonic.

DEMON: EARTHQUAKE See Poxono, Balance, Demon: Snakes (Binders of the Earth).

DEMON: FEAR See Fear for related discussion.

DEMON: FAKING DEATH Coyote is the most notorious of all Chumash mythological characters known to fake death. But a number of other persona faked death, including the Stink Bug and Fox. See *The Fox Jumps* (Anderson, 1994) for further discussion.

Terms: *Suxuxaw* means 'to play dead' (Samala, 452; literally means to be like Coyote whose name is *Xuxaw*). The *Taki'mi* (stink bug) plays dead (Blackburn, December, 231; *Tumyalaset*).

DEMON: FEMALE Many Chumash demons are female. See Demon: Kidnaps People In a Pack, Moon, Demon: Fire (*Asiqutc*), Scorpion Woman, Demon: Snake (Serpent Woman).

DEMON: FIRE Fire is associated with the soul. It becomes demonic when it is out of control, lacking balance.

See Demon: Child for an evil fire-starting demon.

Terms: *Ni* means 'fire' (Samala, 247). And the term *Xut* is closely associated with 'fire' nomenclature.

■ *Asiqutc* is an old woman fire demon, associated with the mountains west of Santa Barbara (Blackburn, December, 107; *Qilikutayiwit*); the Spanish called her *La Quemadora*. *Asiqutc* threw a fiery woven tray (which are used by Chumash women to fan fires) at her victims, and she is associated with the hot summer winds (called Santa Ana winds, which bring dry conditions and fan vast chaparral fires in Southern California even today).

■ Fire is the most pure of the four elements manifested in the newly created physical world (Chumash Cosmology, 83; glossary term *Fire*).

Terms: *Sixut* means 'fire' (Tsmuwich, 26).

Quemadora has a Spanish root meaning 'a burned portion of vegetation' such as the chaparral, *Quemor* means 'to scorch'.

DEMON: FISH See Demons: of the Ocean.

DEMON: FLY A cannibal demon, which eats (human) flesh and drinks blood. See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson, 1995) for a Chumash Fly riddle, and see *Tales From a Christmas Season* (Anderson 1996) for a Fly demon story. Compare Demon: Smell.

Terms: 'Axulpesh means 'a fly' (Tsmuwich, 6). One root is *Xulpe*, which means 'to pick up unwanted or discarded things' (Tsmuwich, 41).

Related terms: Compare 'Axu'lish, meaning 'blood' (6; also means 'pus') and *Uqsh* which means 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 35). Also see *Uskuy* which means 'to throw away', and *Uskuyas* which refers to trash.

■ In one Chumash narrative told by Qiliqutayiwit, a grandson of Datura, born of a blood clot, was metamorphosed into a fly (Blackburn, December, 126).

DEMON: GRABBING Many demons and witches are grabbers, i.e. they seize their victims and will not let go.

■ Qilikutayiwit described a blind witch, who seized her victims with a deadly grasp so they could not be escaped except at the witch's death (Blackburn, December, 107). See Demon: Wrestling and Demon: Kidnaps People for variants of the 'grabbing' demon.

DEMON: INSECTS See Mosquitoes, Scorpion Woman.

DEMON: KIDNAPS PEOPLE (WITH A PACK) Many Chumash demons carried off humans in a backpack.

See Poxono and Haphap for related discussions. Compare Demon: of the Water, Fresh for the frog woman who wove baskets to entrap the world's fresh water. Also see Demon: Grabbing and Demon: Wrestling for related discussions.

■ The *Yowoyow* with its basket full of boiling tar is a kidnapping demon (Blackburn, December, 257; Tumyalatset). The *Poxono* (kidnapping) demon steals children with its pack.

■ The *Alhelequ* demon is an old woman with a pack on her back, who steals children (291; she is a dwarf who wears shoes which make grizzly tracks, 292). One root of *Alhelequ* may be *Enequn*, meaning 'to act like a woman' (Tsmuwich, 8). One root of *Poxono* is *Xonon* meaning 'to steal' with the connotation of a theft of children, i.e. a kidnapper (as in 'A'lalxo, meaning 'a thief', 2).

DEMON: LIZARD A number of lizard demons appear in Chumash lore.

■ The *Pocoyi*, for example, is a big yellow lizard with a long tail. "It is very *nunasis*." (Blackburn, December, 120; Nutu; this passage also describes a smaller blue lizard which is another demon).

DEMON: MESSENGERS OF DISASTER Many demons only warn of impending events, and do not directly participate in the disaster.

■ The *Mamismis* is a demon who weeps constantly. Also see the *Malaxsininis* who is a growling demon.

■ Owl demons hooted and Coyote demons howled, to warn of impending death.

■ Comets are considered signs of impending disaster, as presumably were comets and falling stars (which may have transformed into demons, who warned of disaster).

DEMON: MEDICINE TO COUNTERACT The best medicine to counteract the influence of demons is datura (Blackburn, December, 295; Qiliqutayiwit). Many medicines like datura were taken in liquid form. Also see Datura, Demon: Ant.

■ Tobacco was the second best plant, for counteracting demonic influences (as in Blackburn, December, 253; Quilikutayiwit). Dried toadstools were also used to pacify demons (Blackburn, December, 108; Qiliqutayiwit, and 176; Justice).

■ The *Takusuksinas* (called a Coyote String) was sometimes useful in dealing with demonic experiences (as in Blackburn, December, 253; Qiliqutayiwit). Other medicines were used to revive the dead (Blackburn, December, 104; Qiliqutayiwit).

■ Water was routinely used to neutralize demonic forces in Chumash folk lore. Music, especially that of the flute was useful in counteracting the negative influences of the demons and for resurrecting the dead (Blackburn, December, 108: Qiliqutayiwit).

DEMON: NET Entrapment is a basic theme of Chumash demonology, either directly through nets or other hunting (trapping) tools or indirectly through puzzles, riddles, etc.

See Demon: Weaving and Demon: Riddle for related discussions. See Demon: Spider for a widely-distributed net making demon.

■ The *Xoy* (fishnet) is a supernatural, associated with the highest heavens and thus probably not a demon. The function of *Xoy* is not to lead astray like the stars of the southern sky but to keep the stars of the highest heaven moving in orderly rotation around the North Star.

DEMONS: OF THE MIDDLE WORLD (EARTH). The demons are stars, and most are encountered by ordinary people when the stars in the night sky rotate and drop to the earth's horizon. Such demons appear frequently in Chumash folk tales, as they move upon the surface of the earth and come in contact with humans.

There are many classifications of these demons. See, as examples: Demon: Sexual Impropriety, Demon: Weaving, Demon: Tooth, Demon: Kidnaps People, Demon: Swallowing Monster (see the Haphap, the "most powerful man in the world"), Demon: Water (Fresh), Demon: Rides a Horse.

DEMONS: OF THE LOWER WORLD These demons are the stars which drop below the horizon, i.e. appear to have burrowed down below the surface of the earth. They are often depicted as burrowing animals or living in caves.

■ Chumash burrowing demons include such European cognates as trolls, dwarfs, etc. See Demon: Cave for examples. Burrowing owl is a special case, living both in the upper world (air) and the lower world (its burrow); see Owl. and Physical Body for related discussion.

Terms: *Mishup* is the Chumash term for the Lower Word. Yee

translated it as meaning "Hell" (17; also means 'down', 'bottom', 'below'). Compare *Coyinashup* which means 'the Other World'. Blackburn describes *Coyinashup* as the "underworld" (December, 341), but this is a misleading explanation. Hudson and Underhay make the same mistake (Crystals, 150). The stars and planets rotate every evening and in yearly cycles, so that they are sometimes seen in the sky by human observers and sometimes are below the horizon, i.e. in the Lower World.

Terms: *Shup* means 'the Middle World', i.e. the middle level of the cosmos, where humans live ("the earth", Tsmuwich, 30; as in *Mishup* meaning 'on the ground', 64).

DEMONS: OF THE OCEAN The ocean is considered a separate realm from the Middle World (earth), and it is ruled by a separate set of powers. See Demon: Water (Salt) for a list.

■ See *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the Swordfish, awesome rulers of the Ocean. Also see Soul: Taker of.

Pacific Coast Mermaids (Anderson) contains discussion of demonic Water Snakes. Compare Demons: Water.

DEMON: OF THE TREES These demons generally lived in trees and/or flew high in the air, as distinguished from walking demons or burrowing demons which remained on or under the ground.

Compare Cleansers of the World, Xolxol, Sand Cricket, and Eagle: Heavenly.

■ Many of these demons are messengers of impending disaster or direct bringers of death such as the Sun, *Xolxol* and Owl. Also see Demon: Messengers of Disaster and Demon: Weeping (for the *Maxulaw* demon who weeps in trees). The one-legged Paka Asil demon is associated with the hollow of an oak tree (Blackburn, December, 256; Qiliqutayiwit).

DEMON: OF THE UPPER HEAVENS The supernaturals of the highest levels of the Chumash Upper World are presumably the (relatively few) stars which rotate around the North Star [Eagle] but never set below the earth's horizon.

■ Exposure to such awesome supernatural power (*Atishwin*) can cause a normal human mind to become demented, if the human is improperly educated. These supernaturals are seldom encountered by ordinary Chumash, except possibly when they experience mystical visions during their adulthood initiation or as a special curing ceremony taking place later in life to protect against demonic possession., soul loss, etc.

■ Applegate argued that supernatural power is "most concentrated" in the uppermost heavens (*Atishwin*, 14; this region of the cosmos is classified by Applegate as the realm of the creator figures in California myth).

■ Only highly trained spiritual leaders encounter the supernaturals of the upper heavens on a recurrent basis. And when such spiritual leaders make contact, it is not demonic (as with encounters involving the supernaturals of the lower heavens who lead people astray).

Upper supernatural encounters can be harmful in the sense of

becoming crazed by the awesome *Atishwin* of these gods, such as Eagle. Supplicants approach Eagle (north star) only with skeletonized bodies, for Eagle abhors physical body and tears the last vestige of 'meat' from the bones of supplicants. For the educated theologian, such 'cleansing' is not demonic but beneficial because it lightens the load on the soul, cleansing it of the weight of physical body.

Most human contacts are not with Eagle, Hawk, Xoy (net) and other supernaturals of the upper heavens. Instead, they involve the lower supernaturals (stars of the lower heavens). See *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson, 1998) for discussion of the supernaturals met by ordinary souls when they walk the Path of the Dead.

Terms: *Alapay* means 'sky' (Tsmuwich, 80), and *Alapayashup* means 'the Upper world'. '*Alapay*' means 'sky' (Samala, 39). Compare Guardian Spirit (for the beneficial stars who assist humans) and Supernatural Beings.

DEMON: OLD AGE The Chumash, like people everywhere, dreaded the declining health of the physical body in old age. Some Chumash demons thus reflected their subconscious fears of growing old.

Terms: *Enexiwash* means 'an old woman' (Tsmuwich, 88; one root is '*Eneq*' meaning 'woman', and the second root is the suffix *-iwash* which presumably means 'worn out', 'old'. *Pakuwash* means 'an old man' (22); and *Kuhiwash* means 'a corpse' (14; with the root *Ku* meaning 'a person').

Related terms: *T'atax* means 'to be lame' (Tsmuwich, 68); *Saqina'n* means 'to be lame' (Samala, 233 'to limp'; the root term is *Na'n* meaning 'to go'); *Matinana'n* means 'to stagger about' (Samala, 234); *Xantapa* means 'to stagger' (40); also see the suffix *-Sisin*, meaning 'to be badly formed'.

■ Old age demons appeared in the guise of old men or women, slow moving, hunched backed, stooped over, lame, or wrinkle faced.

DEMON: ONE LEG A one-legged demon, who utilizes a stick (crutch) to roam about the Middle World ("goes around the world", Blackburn, December, 256).

Compare Demon: Spear-throwing.

Terms: *Pak'as As'il* means 'a one legged one' (Blackburn, December 342; 'a *nunasis*'). *Pak'a* means 'one' (Tsmuwich 22); thus *Saqipakas* means 'to go on one leg'. The Samala called him the *Mapaqas 'As'il* (December, 256; Qiliqutayiwit). *Paka's a s'i'l* (Samala, 264; *Saqipaka's* means 'to go on one leg').

■ The *Paka Asil* is presumably one legged because the other half of him is in the supernatural realm. Also see Supernatural, Atishwin.

DEMON: RIDDLE A number of Chumash demons try to ensnare (net) their victims with riddles.

See *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995) for a riddling demon story. See Cigneqs for the Chumash cultural hero who outsmarted the riddling demon. Also see Demon: Weaving and Demon: Net for related discussions.

DEMON: RIDES ON A HORSE This demon was from the Mexican

colonial era.

- The Horse Rider demon [from the Mexican colonial era] appeared on a black horse in the night (Qiliqutayiwit, December, 292; "That's not the devil, that's just someone trying to frighten me," he assured himself). This tale demonstrates how demon mythology accommodates itself to changing socio-economic stress.

DEMON: SEXUAL IMPROPRIETY Sexual freedom is a fundamental threat to social conformity (including the economic responsibility for the next generation). These carnal demons reach a peak during the sexual maturity of teenagers.

Compare Tupnek for an asexual cultural hero. See Poxono for a discussion of inappropriate homosexuality.

- Coyote stories frequently feature the theme of sexual impropriety, because Coyote is the preeminent lecher after women.

- Qiliqutayiwit relates a dramatic story in which a sexually active young Chumash woman is chased by a grasping demon (December, 293).

- P. Shoyana warned young boys against excessive sexuality, warning that their very existence was at stake if their fouls failed to transcend the pleasure of the physical body (Chumash Psychology, 47; glossary term *Abyss*).

DEMON: SKUNK The Skunk can be demonic, killing with its strong odor. See Demon: Smell and Demon: Weasel for related discussion.

DEMON: SLAYER The Chumash cultural hero is celebrated for slaying demons including many demons living in the mythic, i.e. Moloq era.

- Coyote, Cioqneq, Tupnek and the two heroic brothers are among the most celebrated Chumash cultural heroes who killed demons.

DEMON: SMELL A number of Chumash demons threatened humans with their smell. Compare Demon: Tracker for a predator demon who tracks humans by their smell. Compare Demon: Voice.

- The *Watikishlop*, or 'stinkbug' (Tsmuwich, 37), appears in a number of Chumash tales. The *Taki'mi* is a closely related stinkbug, which plays dead, but is fierce when aggravated (Blackburn, December, 231; Tumiyalaset). The *Taxama*, or skunk, threatens with its smell. The Skunk and Weasel are also demonic threats, with strong smell.

Terms: *Uqsh* means 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 35). *Uqs* (Samala, 394; 'to stink'). *Noxsh* meaning 'a nose', (20) is probably a related term (See Demon: Tracker for related discussion). *Taxama* means 'skunk' (32); one root may be 'Ax meaning 'a shooting device like a bow or gun' (Tsmuwich, 5), with the connotation of shooting smell from a skunk's gland? *Axtapil* means 'to sting' (Tsmuwich, 5; 'to burn').

DEMON: SNAKE The serpent is frequently associated with demons in Chumash mythology. See Demon: Earthquake and Sun: Daughters for further discussion. Compare Demon: Lizard.

- Serpent Woman is a giant snake associated with a cave and a lime quarry. A Samala man who met Serpent Woman lost his will to live (Blackburn, December, 254; Qilikutayiwit).

■ A huge river serpent living near Tejon, was appeased with 'Atishwin (a charm stone), fasting, and tobacco (Blackburn, December, 253; Qilikutayiwit).

■ The *Ma'aqsiq' Ita'sup* are supernatural snakes, the Binders of the Earth, giant snakes who cause earthquakes when they move in the Lower World.

■ The Sea Serpent is another threatening snake, of the salt waters (Blackburn, December, 255; Kitsepawit).

DEMON: SNAKE SKIRT A number of Chumash demons wore skirts made of living rattle snakes.

■ The two daughters of the *Haphap* wore snake skirts which frightened human visitors (Blackburn, December, 109; Qilikutayiwit). The two daughters of the Sun also wore skirts made of live rattlesnakes (December, 131; Qilikutayiwit).

DEMON: SOLAR See Sun.

DEMON: SPEAR THROWING A number of Chumash demons threw objects (a stick, cane) to kill humans. See Demon: One Leg & Poxono.

DEMON: SPIDER These demons trap humans and human souls in their webs, for they are the weaving demons. *Arachnophobia* means 'fear of spiders and spider webs'

DEMON: SCORPION These demons sting humans with their poisonous tails.

■ Scorpion Woman, who is encountered by the Chumash souls on the Path of the Dead is thought of by the ignorant as a demon. She actually is a benefactor of the soul.

DEMON: SWALLOWING MONSTER Demons of the middle world who threaten to swallow humans. They represent devouring threats including uncontrollable winds such as whirlwinds, storms, tornados and also other natural phenomenon which threaten to swallow people such as landslides, earthquakes, etc. Compare Abyss.

■ The *Haphap* was a great swallowing monster demon, who lived on the islands off the Chumash south coast. The *Haphap* was "the most powerful man in the world" (Blackburn, December, 139; X. Justice). The *Haphap* probably represented a waterspout (tornado over water). Also see the Frog, which swallows all the fresh water of the earth, causing drought; see Demon: Water (Fresh).

DEMON: THUNDER A number of Chumash demons are associated with thunder (and lightening). The celestial Eagle is the ruler of the heavens, associated with Thunder and Lightening. Scorpion Woman was known as She Who Thunders. Compare Eagle, Scorpion, Demon: Voice Threat.

Terms: 'Oxkon' means 'to thunder' (Tsmuwich, 21); as in Axcawan meaning 'to be loud' (Samala, 84). *Walkamuth* means 'to resound' (Tsmuwich, 37; also means 'for an object to make a noise'). The *Siwon* demon is also a thundering demon, whose root term *Siwon* means 'to resound' (12);

DEMON: TOOTH The Chumash tooth demon is called the *Kulilaw*.

Compare Demon: Voice Threat.

Terms: *Kililaaw* is the tooth-demon's name, referring to a "mythological creature" to whom fallen (out) teeth are offered. The primary root may be *Qlaw*, meaning 'to descend' (Tsmuwich, 24; 'to come down', 'to be born'; as in *Suqlaw* meaning 'to give birth'). Compare *Ssa* meaning 'a tooth' (29).

■ Teeth which fall out were offered to this supernatural, in a tradition similar to the European Tooth Fairy. Another tooth demon was assuredly toothaches, caused by the pain of bad teeth.

DEMON: TRACKER A predator demon who hunts people by their footprints and by their smell.

Mountain Lion and Grizzly demons exemplify this category.

Terms: *Uqsh* means 'to stink' (Tsmuwich, 35). *Noxsh*, meaning a nose' (20) is probably a related term, as in '*Alch'anoxsh* meaning 'one who has a very good sense of smell' (20). *Nananawas* means 'a track' (18, 'a foot print'); one root is *Na'n* which means 'to go' (18). *Naqc'i-Wayan* means 'to squat' (Tsmuwich, 19); also means 'to skulk about' (Samala, 236 *Naqc'iwayan*, 'to sneak around').

■ Humans wanting to avoid such demons must bathe regularly and use cleansing herbs to cover their body odors.

DEMON: VOICE THREAT A number of Chumash demons threatened humans with their voices. Compare: Demon: Thunder, Demon: Smell Threat.

■ The *Malaxsisnis* is the demon who growls. Blackburn describes this demon as "one who growls, is angry." (December, 341); compare *Qulksnini* which means 'to snarl' (Samala, 294).

Qiliqutayiwit described the *Malaxsisnis* as a tall, white, and thundering female, with a long poisonous tail (Blackburn, December, 111); see Scorpion Woman for related discussion.

Sih'usus is one of the two Thunder Brothers, Hudson and Underhay speculatively associated him with Venus as the Morning Star (Crystals, 154). *Axhish* means 'to call' (Tsmuwich, 5; also means 'to invite'). *Axsis* (Samala, 93; 'to invite').

■ Thunder is "always bloodthirsty" in native American myths of the west (Ramsey, Coyote, 105). The *Yowoyow* was a luring demon, whose voice drew victims into unsafe places (Blackburn, December, 114; Nutu). The *Mamismis* attracts victims with its weeping (same as the *Maxulaw* which is a *nunasis*, Blackburn, December, 341). The *Wonono* is the Screech Owl; a demon frightening Chumash children at night (called *Mothaho* in Mohave).

DEMON: WATER (FRESH) Fresh water demons appear in many Chumash narratives. Compare Demon: Water(Salt).

■ The Frog is the guardian of springs and wetlands who becomes a demon during drought (hoarding of water). The Snake is the guardian of rivers, and the flooding caused by overflowing rivers. *When Frog Stole the Waters* (Anderson 1996) contains numerous tales of fresh water demons such as the Chumash Frog. *The Demon Deer* (Anderson) features demonic water snakes, with deer horns.

■ Chumash who sought spiritual enlightenment bathed in cold streams and ponds in the night, but they avoided contact with the demons who bathed there in the hour before sunrise. At this time, these waters give off steam, and should be avoided.

■ The *Anaxixi* were "old men" demons (with frog-like characteristics), who controlled the flow of fresh water springs (Blackburn, December, 289; Qiliqutayiwit); *Anaxi'* means an old man (Samala). See *When Frog Stole the Waters* (Anderson 1996) for further discussion. Datura is the best cure for the "misfortune" of encountering a river guardian (Blackburn, December, 228, Qiliqutayiwit; "the entire river was filled by the body of a giant serpent with scales as big as baskets").

■ Note that water was routinely used to neutralize demonic forces in Chumash myth.

DEMON: WATER (SALT) Ocean demons include Swordfish (Rulers of the Sea), mermaids, ocean dragons (snakes), etc.

■ Water extinguished the fire of the soul, thus drowned Chumash had no energy to reach the Land of the Dead where they could otherwise achieve reincarnation. See Soul: Taker of and Drowning.

■ Drowning demons include two musicians in a cave, playing wind instruments (Blackburn, December, 289; Kitsepawit). Similar drowning demons also appeared in a variant of this tale, playing an elderwood flute and a bullroarer (Blackburn, December, 291; Qiliqutayiwit). See *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson, 1997) for further discussion of the Swordfish as rulers of drowned souls.

The 'tiger' of the sea taught that "a good deed is repaid with evil" (Blackburn, December, 309: Nutu). This demon is probably a shark. Compare the Sea Serpent called the *Psos 'i Alnuna Hee Soo* which means 'the snake that comes from the water' (Blackburn, December, 255; Kitsepawit); *Pshosh* means 'a snake' (Tsmuwich, 23), and 'O' means water (20).

DEMON: WEASEL The demonic Weasel killed Younger Brother who dismissed him as a threat because of his small size (Blackburn, December, 116; Nutu).

Terms: *Monso* means 'weasel' in Tsmuwich (18). '*Eqmeyeme'y* means 'a weasel' (Samala, 603); the root term is *Meymey* meaning 'to be soft' (Samala, 220) like the coat of a weasel.

■ The Weasel and Skunk are members of the same mammal family, which is characterized by a strong odor. See Demon: Skunk for a related discussion.

DEMON: WEAVING A number of Chumash demons were weavers or carried dangerous woven objects such as nets, baskets, etc. The web, net, and riddle all weave intrigue to capture a victim.

See Demon: Spider, Demon: Kidnaps People in a Pack, Yowoyow (net-carrying), Demon: Net, Demon: Riddle, and Demon: Fresh Water for related discussions.

DEMON: WEEPING The Chumash weeping demon is called the *Maxulaw*; it sits in trees at night and cries. The *Maxulaw* is a variant of the Mexican *La Llorna* demon which is called

"the weeping woman." *La Llorona* is said to carry the body of a dead child, and can be heard weeping in city streets at night in Mexico. Presumably, the night weeping demons are owls or nocturnal arboreal mammals.

Terms: the Chumash call the crying demon *Maxulaw* (Blackburn, December, 94; Qiliqutayiwit); *Xula'* means 'to cry much' (Samala, 451; as with an infant). It is also called the *Mamismis* (Blackburn, December, 341) with the root *Mish* which means 'to cry' (Tsmuwich, 17). Thus *Ushumish* means 'to mourn for the dead' (Tsmuwich, 36).

DEMON: WIND A number of Chumash demons are associated with wind.

See Demon: Fire for the old woman fire demon called *Asiqutc*, who represents the hot (Santa Ana) winds of summer chaparral fires. See Demon: Swallowing Monster for discussion of the *Haphap* demon, which is a demon of ocean storms.

DEMON: WRESTLING Many of the Chumash *Nunashish* demons grab humans and wrestle with them. If the demon wins these wrestling competition, the human dies. See Nunashish (the 'grabber') for related discussion. Compare Demon: Grabbing and Demon: Kidnaps People for related discussions.

Terms: the *Lewelew* may be a planet or perhaps a large southern constellation. He is a wrestling demon, who throws human victims to the ground (the lower world, and by implication dragging his victims away from the north star and down to the stars of the lower, southern, sky?). The root is probably *Elew*, meaning 'to go down', 'to descend' (Tsmuwich, 8), as in *Supilelew*, 'to throw down' (Tsmuwich, 85). *Ciqneq* threatened to turn the *Lewelew* into a crying demon, called a *Maxulaw*. This devil is also called the *Mamismis* (Qiliqutayiwit, December, 94); with the root *Mish*, meaning 'to cry' (Tsmuwich, 17). *Mis* (Samala, 222).

DEMON SLAYER The Chumash cultural hero is celebrated for slaying demons [including many demons living in the mythic, or Moloq era.]

Coyote, *Ciqneq*, *Tupnek*, and the two heroic brothers are among the most celebrated Chumash cultural heroes who killed demons. See Coyote, Ciqneq, Bloodclot Boy, and Cultural Heroes for further discussion. Also see Drowning: to Kill a Witch.

DESPAIR See West for related discussion. Compare Hope and East for opposite symbolism.

DEVIL: THE CHRISTIAN VIEWPOINT Numerous Chumash tales use the phrase "the devil" to describe demonic forces at work among humans living on the earth (the middle world).

The indiscriminate use of the singular term "devil" is a post-conquest phenomenon, through which Chumash folklorists grouped many demonic forces under the singular Euro-Christian term to appease authorities who might otherwise suppress Chumash traditional religious teachings. See Sirius for further discussion of the dominant star ("the devil") of the southern sky.

DISEASE See Demon: Disease.

DISEMBODIED SOUL See Antik.

DIVINER One who is able to foresee the future. Coyote was a great diviner; see *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson). Compare Magic: White and Wizard for positive use of prophecy.

DREAM HELPER See Guardian Spirit.

DREAMS: DEMONIC Demons can appear in nightmares.

Terms: 'Atishwich means 'to dream' (Tsmuwich, 5).

'Axs'uniwilpiyas means 'a dream' (Samala, 93; Axs'uniwilpi means 'to dream of').

Related terms: Axs'usu'inu means 'to dream truly' (Samala, 92; the root Su'inu means 'to believe').

■ When humans are awake in the early hours of the night, they fear the supernaturals active in this time. When they sleep they might also be apprehensive as they entered the realm of the supernatural which is inexplicable in comparison with consciousness of the day (*Chumash Psychology*, Anderson; glossary term *Night*).

DROWNING: TO NEUTRALIZE EVIL POWER Water neutralizes Fire in Chumash cosmology. Thus *Atishwin*, or supernatural power, can be neutralized by immersion in water. See Atishwin for related discussion.

■ One way to kill (to neutralize the fire of) a witch was to drown her, as in Ciqneq's drowning of a witch in *A Chumash Christmas*, (Anderson). See *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson) for an analysis of Chumash drowning cures (revivification of the drowned soul). Compare Cave, Demon: Slayer.

DUALISM Chumash cosmology is based on dualism.

■ The demons, characterized by chaos of the Lower World, are oppositional to the stars of the higher region of the Upper World, characterized by discipline (order). Also see Other World.

EAGLE: HEAVENLY Eagle is the unmoving ruler of the Chumash heavens (Upper World) and is the guardian of the North Star. See chapter four of *The House of Fate* (Anderson, 1997) for a related discussion.

Terms: *Slo'w* is the Chumash name for the celestial Eagle who is the ruler of all the birds. *Mahiwo* is a variant (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152).

■ *Slo'w* never moved and refused to answer questions put to him by humans. He eats the physical body of humans and thereby removes "the foulness of the world" (Blackburn, December, 103; Kitsepawit). Compare Flesh, Demon: Bird.

■ Chumash political leaders often have Eagle as a guardian spirit. Eagle brings order and group cooperation to a community, counteracting the greed of individuals. Eagle maintains balance in the Upper World (highest heavens).

EARTH: AS A PLACE OF SUFFERING See Middle World for a related discussion. Compare Demon: of the Middle World.

EAST The east is the Chumash direction associated with the rising Sun, the beginning of the day and the end of night (the Sun's emerging light diminishes the influence of the celestials such as the stars and the planets).

■ Because the east is a Chumash symbol of new opportunity, beginnings of cycles, and transition into light, it is associated with new hope in Chumash theology. *Toshololo* mountain, located near Tejon, is associated with the ritual direction east, hope, and renewal.

EGRET See Demon: Birds.

EMBODIED SOUL See Ahash.

ENEMY The Chumash considered the Nunashish (demons) to be their enemies.

Also see Anger.

Terms: '*Iccaxi*' means 'an enemy' (Tsmuwich, 9); '*Icaxin*' means 'an enemy' (Samala, 36; with the root *Axi* meaning 'to fight'). Compare *Axshik'in* which means 'to hate' (Tsmuwich, 45; 'to dislike') (*Axsik'in* in Samala, 93); compare *Ich'antik* which means 'a friend' (Tsmuwich, 9).

Related terms: *Satan* is a Christian name for their leading devil, whose name has a Hebrew root meaning to be adverse, to be the enemy.

EVIL Chumash spiritual leaders constantly warn against evil. Compare Demon, Nunashish, Free Will, Witchcraft, Earth: As A Place of Suffering.

Terms: *Xinchi*' means 'to be bad' (Tsmuwich, 40; also means 'to be ugly'). *Ackaw* means 'to do something bad' (1), and *Siy'i* means 'to make mistakes' (26; also means 'to miss the mark when shooting'. *Se* means 'not' (Tsmuwich 42); *Yi* means 'to go home' (42).

■ Kitsepawit cautioned: "Never entertain anyone with an evil mind" (Anderson, Enememe, 8).

EXCESSIVE See Imbalance.

EXCRETIONS: CONTAINING DANGEROUS POWER All of the liquids and solids separated from the body, have the potential of supernatural power: as in urine, excrement, tears, saliva, sweat, menses, etc.

Compare Magic: Black, Sun: Spit, Saliva: Dog.

■ A common theme in native American folk tales is the transformation of feces into were-animals with supernatural powers See *The Swordfish Race* (Anderson, 1997).

EXORCISM See Two Hearts for discussion.

EYES: BIG See Night Vision for discussion.

FASTING See Demon: Medicine to Counteract.

FEAR The Chumash recognize more than one kind of fear. Fear can, for example, have a physical or a psychological cause. See Demon, Ghost and Danger for related discussion.

Terms: *Taxshiq* means 'to be frightened' (Tsmuwich, 32); thus

Sutaxshiqin means 'to scare' (32). *Axsic* is a Samala variant, meaning 'to be afraid' (93; *Saxsic* means 'to scare', 'to frighten'). *Sinaxkun* meaning 'to haunt' (Tsmuwich, 26) probably has the same root as 'Aca'n in Samala which means 'to be possessed in a trance by a spirit' (32, 'to see visions').

Discussion of terms: These terms above have psychological connotations, but *It'imin*, meaning 'fear' (60) probably has a physical connotation. The suffix *-imin* may have the same root as 'A'min meaning 'physical body' (2; also means 'flesh'). *Timiwii*, meaning 'one who causes fear' (Breath, 28; Kitsepawit) may have the same root. *Tak'alimi*, meaning 'to be fearful' (32) is a related term.

Fear of the demons made them stronger. One of Coyote's nicknames was *Nawaqmayt* which means 'something to be feared' (Blackburn, December, 170; K. Suluemeait); one root may be 'Aw which means 'a cry of fear' (Samala, 83). Compare *Xalapsayan* which means 'to shudder from fear' (Samala, 443, 'to shiver with fear').

In many of the above terms, the individual wants to run from the cause of the fear. In this sense fear is different from hate. *Axshik'in* means 'to hate' (5), with the possible connotation of being focused by hate (drawn to the hated one) as in the term *Aqshik* which means 'to tie up' (Tsmuwich, 4). Compare Night, Ghost: Illness.

■ The reincarnating soul has to master its fear of the demons (*Nunasis*) and many other obstacles before reaching the Land of the Dead. See *Chumash Cosmology* (Anderson) for related commentary.

FEMALE DEMONS See Demon: Female.

FIRE See Demon: Fire for related discussion.

FIRST PEOPLE Supernatural beings who live in mythic time prior to the existence of ordinary space/time.

■ Mundane time began after the Great Flood, when the First People transformed themselves into the animals and plants and earthly forces of the contemporary ecology.

FISH See Demons: of the Ocean.

FLESH The Middle World, the Lower World, and the Ocean are associated with the flesh, or physical body. See Demon: Fly and Carnivores for eaters of flesh. Compare Skeleton, Blood.

Terms: 'A'min means 'flesh' (Tsmuwich, 2). *Axtap* means 'to put something in the mouth' (15); among the Samala it has the connotation of eating something raw. *Axsil* means 'to bite' (Tsmuwich, 5).

FLY See Demon: Fly for discussion.

FLUTE The flute is the preeminent Chumash musical instrument, capable of white magic.

See the flute-playing Lizard in *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson) for further discussion. Also see *Tales for the Christmas Season* (Anderson 1996) for narratives about the Mohave and Chumash flute playing hero. Compare Demon: Medicine To Counteract.

■ A flute could chase away demons, and resurrect the dead (Blackburn, December, 108; Qiliqutayiwit).

FREE WILL Chumash demons (*Nunashish*) have free will, like the demons (fallen angels) of Christian mythology. But free will was not exclusively the claim of threatening supernaturals, but also was an attribute of supernaturals who helped humanity [and, presumably, of humans themselves].

Also see Danger, Amorality.

■ The planets, which moved in complex patterns against the background of the the relatively fixed stars, had the most free will of all the heavenly bodies. As such, they were both extraordinarily dangerous and free [see Greed].

■ Kitsepawit described an *Alhelekesh* as a "being that does good or evil as he wishes" (Breath, 116). Kitsepawit warned that humans can come to harm, through encounters with these supernaturals (and their free will.). But he apparently believed that humans also had free will, thus he argued that people who fell under the negative influence of an *Aleleshish* had only themselves to blame (Breath, 116). Compare Guardian Spirit for discussion of an *Alxelekesh* (supernatural with free will) who establishes a special protective relationship with a human.

GHOST One type of ghost is an air soul of a human, after it has separated from the dead body but has not yet left the earth on its journey to the Land of the Dead.

Terms: The term *Antik* is used in this text for the disembodied soul which quickly begins its journey on the path of the dead. The term *Ahash* is used for the embodied soul which remains with the physical body.

■ Normally, an air soul quickly leaves the middle earth for its journey on the Milky Way. A ghost represents those souls who through lack of religious training or foolishness cannot find the Path of the Dead. They are frustrated, agitated, and dangerous. See *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson 2020) for related discussion. Compare Skeleton for discussion of the relationship of the soul and bones.

■ Some unfortunate souls become disoriented and fail to leave on their celestial journey. These souls haunt the living, until proper rituals are conducted to help them leave the earth. See Skeleton for discussion of bone soul.

■ A ghost is sometimes seen as a beautiful sparkling ball of light ("a beautiful bright light", "a floating ball of light," December, 297; Qiliqutayiwit). It leaves a blue trail behind it (99; Qiliqutayiwit). And a ghost can also be seen as a false image of a sick, dying, or psychically disturbed person (Blackburn, December, 298; Qiliqutayiwit; an ill person may be at home in bed "and people would see you walking around someplace else").

GHOST: ILLNESS Chumash people stayed indoors after dusk, to avoid seeing the light (ghost light) of a passing ghost soul "and have one of the sparks emanating from it fall on her and make her sick" (Blackburn, December, 300; Qiliqutayiwit). Compare Ghost.

See *Tales For the Christmas Season* (Anderson, 1996) for further discussion of ghost illness.

Terms: *Sinaxkun* means 'to haunt' (Tsmuwich, 26, with the connotation of appearing in dreams). *Axik*, meaning 'to touch' (Tsmuwich, 5; also means 'to be light', 'to be stingy'), may be a root term. *Axik'* (Samala, 85, 'to touch lightly', 'to graze').

GHOST: LIGHT See Ghost and Ghost Illness for discussion.

GHOST: MEDICINE The best cure for exposure to ghosts is datura. See Datura.

GRAVITY See Nunashish (demons) as 'grabbers' ('graspers', 'downers') and Demons: of the Lower World.

GREED Kitsepawit taught that greed rules the world (December, 253). Presumably he was referring to the Middle World (life on the surface of the earth) and the Lower World (the realm below the surface of the earth).

Also see Imbalance.

Terms: *Axnacnac* means 'to be greedy' (Samala, 91 'to be gluttonous').

Related terms: *Aqniyiw* means 'to want to', 'to choose' (Samala, 65; *Yiw* means 'to seek'). *Aqniyiw* (Tsmuwich, 3; 'to want', 'to desire').

■ Greed lead to imbalance, as an individual gains too much power in relation to the social group (community). See Atishwin and Balance for discussions of power and the need to balance personal gain with the common interests of the group. When the interest of individuals overcomes the good of the community, imbalance occurs and the situation becomes demonic. See *Chumash Psychology* (Anderson, glossary term *Greed*) for related commentary.

■ Compare Eagle for the (north star) guardian spirit of political leaders who are responsible for communal well-being, counteracting individual greed.

GROWL See Demon: Voice for the growling demon.

GUARDIAN SPIRIT The Chumash believed that humans who undergo vision quests can, and should (for their own good), establish personal relationships with supernatural beings who are sympathetic to them as individuals and will protect them from harm.

Terms: Compare *Skalucks* which means "a totem animal" (Blackburn, December, 343); *Kalucks* is a variant (Samala, 170, 'totem', 'clan', 'clan symbol').

■ Like the Angels of ancient European theology, these guardian spirits can be both good or bad in influence.

■ The guardian spirits chose whether to respond to a human's prayers for protection. If they find a human supplicant worthy, they will help defeat other supernatural powers who are tormenting their supplicant. Applegate argues that the guardian spirit, which he calls the Dream Helper, can in some cases exact a high price for protection. Applegate speaks of "outrageous demands" such as the death of a person's children or some other tragic price for acquiring power (Atishwin, 70). Compare Free Will (*Alxelekesh*) and Demons (rivals of

Guardian Spirits). Such malevolent guardian spirits are rare, however, and the overwhelming preponderance of helpers are beneficial.

HAP A dangerous *nunasis* (Blackburn, December, 341). See Demon: Swallowing Monster for further discussion.

HATE See Anger for related discussion.

HAWK See Demon: Bird.

HEALTH *Slo'w* (Eagle) leads the supernaturals beneficial to the mental health of humanity, while *Snilemun* leads the supernaturals who seek to benefit human physical health.

Compare Demons for supernaturals who threaten both the psychic and physical health of humans. Also compare Chaos, Anger, Demon: Disease, Crazy.

Terms: *Ahumawish* means 'to be in good health' (Tsmuwich, 30; *Tipashumawish* means 'to be at peace', 'peaceful'. *Sumawistas* means 'health' (Samala, 346; *Sumawil* means 'to be healthy'; *Tisisumawi's* means 'to be in good health').

HEART See Soul: Body and Two Heart for discussion.

HELL See Lower World for discussion.

HERO TWINS The Chumash hero twins are *Sixusus* as Elder Brother and *Sumiwowo* as Younger Brother. *Sumiwowo* (associated with water symbols) has many similarities to *Ciqneq*, another demon slayer.

HOPE See Morning Star. Compare Despair and West for opposite symbolism.

HUNCH BACK See Old Age for a related discussion.

IMMORAL The Chumash demons were immoral from the perspective of humans (embodied souls). Also see Imbalance.

Terms: *Xinch'i* means to be bad' (Tsmuwich, 40; also means 'to be ugly').

'*Aximik* means 'to be bad' (Samala, 88; '*Aximik*' means 'to have bad luck'; '*Aximikwas* means 'something bad', 473). The preface *Aximi* presumably is a variant of '*Aximi* which means 'to overload' (Samala, 86, 'to make a load too heavy').

Discussion of terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed *Evil* or *Immoral*.

IMMORTAL The Chumash demons, like all supernaturals, were immortal but could be the cause of death and illness for humans.

IMBALANCE The demons are associated with states of imbalance. See Luck: Bad, Immoral. Compare Balance.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary lists *Imbalance*.

Related terms: *Naxiliniwon* means 'to exceed by far' (Samala,

239). *Niwon* means 'to get rid of' (Tsmuwich, 20, 'to lose').

INSECTS: DEMONIC See Scorpion Woman, Stink Bug,
Mosquitoes: Heavenly, Demon: Fly.

INVISIBLE Demons often manifest as visible threats, but they can also be invisible such as a disease demon.

Terms: Neither the Tsmuwich nor Samala dictionary listed *Invisible*.

■ Ancient medicine, like that of Europe, lacked understanding of germ theory and therefore considered the sources of plagues and disease to be invisible demons. The effects of the disease (such as open sores) could be seen but not the demon causing them.

KIDNAPPER See Demon: Kidnap People With a Pack.

LAND OF THE DEAD This glossary does not contain many citations relating to the Land of the Dead but focuses instead on demonology. See Lower World and Soul: Bone for a discussion of the bone soul.

Terms: *Shimilaqsha* is the Chumash name for the land of the dead (Blackburn, December, 343); it literally means 'land of the dead'. *Similaqsa* (Samala, 339; root Aqsan means 'to die', 'to be dead').

■ The Chumash celestial 'land' of the dead was not a demonic place, but rather a heavenly abode where the air soul cleansed itself in preparation for reincarnation.

■ The Chumash demons threaten the fortunes of humans living on the middle earth and traveling on the Milky Way.

■ The Sand Cricket (insect) is associated with bringing death.

LEFT HAND In Chumash mythology, the left hand is unlucky. The left hand of the Path of the Dead, for example, leads to ruin instead of salvation. See Opposite for related discussion.

LEWELEW See Demon: With a Pack.

LIAR See Warlock.

LIGHT: SUPERNATURAL Souls throw off light, as can be seen by the light of the stars (celestial souls) and the sparkling balls of light which are the souls of the recently dead.

See Ghost: Illness for disease caused by the supernatural light of a ghost. See Tears: Dog for avoidance of supernatural (dangerous, frightening) sights seen by dogs. Also see Danger.

LION See Demon: Cat for discussion.

LOWER WORLD The Chumash cosmos contained a number of levels below the surface of the earth. These levels increased in density of physical body the farther that one descended downward. They were places of darkness, where the *Nunashish* burrowed away from view of humanity. See Demons: of the Lower World for an important discussion. Also see Nunashish. Compare Upper World, Middle World, and Opposite World for related materials. Compare Earth and Supernatural for other levels of the Chumash cosmos.

Terms: *Mishup* means 'the Lower World' in Chumash. The Tsmuwich dictionary translated *Mishup* as "Hell" (17; also means 'below', 'down', 'bottom', 'to go down'). Compare *Coyinashup* for the Opposite World which includes both the Upper and Lower Worlds.

LUCK: BAD The Chumash demons brought bad luck.

Terms: *Talackaw* means 'to have bad luck' (Samala, 31; *Ackaw* means 'to make a mistake'; *Ackaws* means 'to go wrong'; *Sackaw* means 'to do something stupid').

Uqmawil means 'to undergo misfortune' (Samala, 434; 'to suffer', 'to undergo adversity'). This misfortune can result from an encounter with a demon.

LUST See Greed.

MAGIC: BLACK The Chumash believed in both Black and White Magic. Black magic is associated with night, witchcraft, ill health, and misfortune. Compare Night, Witch, Magic: White.

Terms: '*Atishwicchish* means 'poison' (Tsmuwich, 5), having the implication of inappropriate use of *Atishwin* (supernatural power).

- The Horned Owl (Muhu) is associated with Black Magic.

- Ciqneq fought against "black magic" (Anderson, Chumash Christmas, 12). "Black Mystery" is a related concept (Blackburn, December, 159; Pamashkimait).

MAGIC: WHITE The Chumash believed in both white and black magic. Appropriate use of supernatural power is white magic. White magic is associated with sunlight, daytime, good health and fortune, and the North Star.

Terms: *Atishwin* means 'supernatural power' (Tsmuwich, 5 ; means 'power', also 'a charm'). *Sipis* means 'to be wise' (Samala, 340, 'to be learned'); thus the name *Sipisiwas* means 'he who knows' and was used as a title for Sky Coyote, the benefactor of the physical needs [desires] of humanity.

Discussion of terms: Blackburn translated *Sipis* as 'a diviner' (December, 343). *Saqtasumus* means 'to exorcise evil', with the probable root *Axsumu* meaning 'to suffer' (Tsmuwich, 5).

- The elderberry flute is the preeminent musical instrument, capable of white magic. Compare Wizard (for practitioner of white magic), Demon Slayer, Magic: Black.

MALAXSISINIS See Demon: Voice Threat.

MAMISMIS See Demon: Weeping.

MARS Hudson and Underhay tentatively identified the planet Mars with the Condor in Chumash mythology (Crystals, 93).

Terms: *Wit* means 'condor' in Chumash. (Tsmuwich, 39). '*Almiyi*' (Samala, 47). *Almiyi* is another name for the Condor (Hudson, Crystals, 90).

MAXULAW See Demon: Weeping.

MENSTRUAL BLOOD See Blood, Demon: Female, Moon.

Terms: '*Axu'lish* means 'blood' (6); *Axulisec* means 'to

menstruate' (Samala).

MIDDLE WORLD The Chumash cosmos contained many levels, including the surface of the earth which was considered the Middle level.

Terms: *Heisup* means 'the world' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 150); it refers to 'the surface of the earth where humans dwell', i.e. the Middle World. Compare Upper World, Lower World and Opposite World for related discussions.

■ The *Nunashish* demons (stars and planets) brought supernatural harm to the Middle World, only when they descended from the heavens onto the surface of the earth and plagued humans with ill fortune. They also plagued human souls traveling on the Milky Way (Path of the Dead). Also see Supernatural.

MISHUP See Lower World and Demons: of the Lower World.

MOMOY The Chumash name for datura. See Datura and Moon.

MONSOW See Demon: Weasel.

MOON A powerful supernatural, who provides humans with divine (supernatural) insight but does not take the side of either of the two competing teams of gods who determine the fate of humanity.

See Datura, Owl, and Blood for further discussion. The Moon is also associated with Menses of females. And see *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for further discussion of the role of the Moon in Chumash cosmology.

Terms: 'A'way means 'the moon' (Tsmuwich, 5; also means 'a month', 71). 'Awa'y (Samala, 83, 'moon', 'month').

■ Qiliqutayiwit described the moon as a "referee" between the competing celestial gods. The Moon is associated with divine insight, the ability to see in the dark, and datura. Humans who take datura during a vision quest, have dilated eyes like owls and other night vision creatures.

MORNING STAR Venus as the Morning Star is the dominant light at dawn, prior to the rising sun. It is the brightest celestial object after the Sun and Moon, and is associated with hope and good fortune.

■ The Morning Star not normally demonic in aspect, but the Evening Star [its twin, and opposite] can be considered demonic by humans who fear death. See *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson) for related commentary.

■ Among the Chumash of the Samala valley (Santa Ynez), the Morning Star was sympathetic to the physical needs of humanity, and thus allied with [but subordinate to] Coyote in the nightly celestial contest of the gods. See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the beneficial role of the Morning Star in human social and political affairs.

MOSQUITOES: HEAVENLY One of the guardians of the 'portal' located in the central sky [an entrance into the supernatural realm] were giant mosquitoes, which attacked unwelcome visitors

to the heavens and sucked their blood until they died.

Terms: *Pi' wi* means 'a mosquito' (Tsmuwich, 23); one root probably is 'U'w, meaning 'to take a bite' (53).

MOURNING FOR THE DEAD See Demon: Weeping. Also see *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson 1998) for a discussion of Chumash mourning practices and fear of the dead.

MOUNTAIN LION See Demon: Cat for discussion.

MUHU A great horned owl demon. Both its large size, and its 'horns' (large ears) make it an ideal symbol of a flying predator of the night! See Owl.

Terms: *Muhu* means 'great horned owl' (Tsmuwich, 18). *Muhu* (Samala, 229). Note that the onomatopoeic term *Muhu* is widespread throughout the mythology of western tribes, including many Uto-Aztecan neighbors of the Chumash.

MUNDANE SPACE/TIME When mythic time/space ended, the demons became active in the mundane time/space which replaced it.

Also see Mundane Space/Time, Sin, Suffering.

Hypothesis: The introduction of death into the physical universe triggered the appearance of the demons. See *Chumash Cosmology* (Anderson) for related commentary.

MURDER See Death.

MYTHIC SPACE/TIME As supernaturals, the demons dwell in mythic space/time, and not the ordinary space/time experienced by most humans in their daily lives.

Compare Mundane Space/Time.

- Demons can enter ordinary space/time and therefore interact with humans.

- The Guardian Spirits, who help humans, also dwell in mythic time [and can occasionally become demonic].

NIGHT The demons were associated with the night when their supernatural powers threatened humans the most.

Terms: *Ulkuw* means 'to be night' (Tsmuwich, 35; also means 'to be early in the morning'; thus *Sulkuw* means 'to be night'). *Ulkuw* has the connotation of being other worldly, as in '*Alulkuw* which means 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 49, 'to be otherworldly).

Itaxmay means 'to be amazed' (Tsmuwich, 11); *Aximay* which means 'to be black' (5) may be a related term, with the connotation of being surprised by things unseen in the dark? See Fear for terms related to anxiety of the night.

- Qiliqutayiwit explained that the demons came out only "after night falls" (Blackburn, December, 93). They ceased their demonic activity before dusk, when they entered the streams of the world to cleanse themselves and thereby made these bodies of water steam in the early morning light.

- The *Nunashish* faded away at daybreak because they were stars outshone by the rising brilliance of the Sun (compare the stars which dip below the horizon at some point in their rotations). See

Supernatural for related discussion. Compare Moon for the neutral supernatural who serves as a judge (referee) in the nightly competition (gambling) of the other gods.

NIGHT LIGHTS See Ghost and Light: Supernatural for discussion. Compare Night Vision.

NIGHT VISION The ability to see in the dark is essential to both predators and prey who move in the night. See Moon, Datura and Witch for related discussion.

■ Big eyed (dilated pupils) creatures are associated with the night, including demons, witches, and human spiritual leaders.

NIGHTMARE See Dreams: Demonic.

NORTH STAR The North Star was the home (nest) of Eagle and who was the leading deity opposed to the demons of the southern sky.

Terms: *Miwalaqsh* is a ritual name for this star, meaning 'to separate in the middle' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152). It got this astronomical name because its unmoving location defined the northern end of the north-south line of the cosmos. See Slow, Ciqneg and Tupnek for related discussions. Compare South Star (Sirius) for the dominant star of the southern area of the heavens.

■ The stars which encircle closest to the North Star are under control and are not *Nunashish* (demonic). These stars of the uppermost heaven move in perfect circles of contentment, and never touch or drop below the horizon of the earth in their nightly rotations.

■ The pole star is the most holy place in the Chumash cosmos, and serves as the 'sacred center' of the heavens (Anderson: hypothesis presented in *The Chumash House of Fate*, Anderson).

NUNASHISH The Chumash term for a demon. Also see Demon: Wrestling ('grabbing'), Cave, Danger.

Terms: *Nunashish* means 'a devil' (Tsmuwich, 20; it also means "a animal, a beast"). These demons are also called *Nunasis* by Blackburn who describes them as "a dangerous animal" (December, 341).

Discussion of terms: We do not know the etymology of *Nunashish*. One root may be *No'no* meaning 'very lot of something' (Dictionary, 69). The connotation (in this hypothetical etymology) is that the demons are crazed with an excess of supernatural power and have become dangerously out of balance (like the stars of the southern sky, and the planets).

An alternative interpretation suggests *Nu'na* as one root, meaning 'to take' (20), as in *Nuh'nan* meaning 'to take' (20). In many of the surviving Chumash folk tales, the *Nunashish* appear as 'grabbers' who seize humans and cause them harm in various ways. Perhaps *U'lish* is a second root, meaning 'to grab' (35; also means 'to take hold of', 'to capture', 'to catch'). *Ulis* is a Samala variant, meaning 'to grasp' (as in *Ulasas* meaning 'to wrestle'). An alternative root may be *Shish* which means 'a burrow' (30; also means 'a hole'). The connotation in this root might be that these demons of ill fortune seize humans and drag them down below the ground (out of the sunlight). This is the region where the star demons dwell, when their heavenly rotations take them below the earth's surface.

■ The *Nunashish* represent all the ills of mankind including disease, mental instability, accidents, witchcraft, and other forms of ill fortune. The *Nunashish* came out only at night, because they were stars (see Night for related discussion). They dwell in mythic time.

NUTU See information on L. Nutu in the List of Chumash Folklorist.

OLD AGE See Demon: Old Age.

ONE LEG See Demon: One Leg.

OPPOSITE Chumash cosmology places much importance on dualism. According to this cosmology, each manifestation of the universe has a balancing and opposite manifestation.

■ Blackburn argued, in a discussion of Chumash cosmology, that a "dynamic equilibrium of oppositions" should normally prevail in the universe (December, 72). See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson, 1997) for discussion of the dueling deities of the Chumash heavens.

■ The demonic supernaturals can be balanced by the influence of helping supernaturals who serve as guarding spirits. The goal of human morality is to balance these opposing forces, to maintain the optimum moral state in Middle World. See Guardian Spirit and Demon for related discussions. See Sun for a related discussion of sunlight, and Night for a discussion of darkness. See North Star and South Star for the rulers of the opposite areas of the heavens.

OPPOSITE WORLD See Other World and Dualism.

OTHER WORLD The Chumash called the Other World, a realm of supernaturals, by the name *Coyinashup* (Blackburn, December, 91; Qiliqutayiwit).

See Signeq for a related discussion.

Terms: *Coyinashup* refers to the Other World, a realm of the stars and other celestial lights. They dwell in mythic space/time.

■ *Coyinashup* encompasses both the Upper and Lower Worlds because most of the supernaturals (stars and other celestial lights) in the heavens rotate nightly in the sky and thus occupied both realms. Sometimes particular stars and planets could be seen in the sky, but the rotating heavens are in constant flux, so that at other times any selected celestial [except those of the highest heavens, of course] could be seen dropping below the horizon and entering the Lower World.

Chumash theologians believed that these supernaturals remained in realms of opposition to ordinary human life on the middle world (the surface of the earth), i.e. remained in *Coyinashup*. Applegate reinforces this model in his claim that supernatural power is most manifest where the "normal conditions of man" are absent (Atishwin, 14). See Lower World and Upper World for related discussions.

■ *Coyinishup* is the Chumash name for the Opposite World. Qiliqutayiwit described *C'oyinasup* as "the other world" (December, 91). But she also described it in the same passage as "the world below" and thus confused many later scholars who took this as an absolute identification. This led Blackburn (Decembers Child) and Hudson and Underhay (Crystals) to develop a flawed model of the

Chumash cosmology.

Coyinashup is the realm of the supernatural, and the Lower World is only part of its manifestation.

OVERPOWER Any supernatural can become a danger to humans if the human becomes overpowered by the contact.

Also see Poison.

Terms: The suffix *-may* has the connotation of being 'overwhelmed' (Samala, 218, 'overshadowed'). Thus *Aqiwalmay* means 'to overshadow' (Samala, 63), *Taksunimay* means 'to overpower' (Tsmuwich, 31, 'to tempt'), *Apti'may* means 'to crush' (Samala, 218).

OWL Owls were night flying predators, and thus frequently used as symbols of the night demons.

See Night, Night Vision, and Datura for related discussion.

Terms: The *Wonono*, or screech owl (Samala, 440; a pygmy owl) is a primary 'scare' demon, as anyone knows who has heard their shattering cry in the dark. *Wonono* (Tsmuwich, 53).

- The Samala *Pokoy*, or burrowing owl, may have been especially associated with demons since it lived underground. The Tsmuwich term for burrowing owl *Pewyoko* (53).

- Owl demons, like real owls, fly silently, thus striking without warning. They are associated with great night vision (since their huge eyes are like the dilated eyes of datura users). *Muhu* is "the shrewdest of all" (Blackburn, December, 194; Nutu); presumably referring to *Muhu* as the ruler of the birds of the night. They are also associated with wisdom, the direction west, and death.

PACK CARRYING DEMONS See Demon: Kidnaps People in a Pack.

PAKA ASIL The Chumash one legged demon. Similar one-legged supernaturals are found in the folk narrative of native peoples throughout the world.

Terms: *Paka's As'il* (December, 342; a *nunasis*; means 'one-legged one') The root '*I'l*' means 'a leg' (Tsmuwich, 12).

- The Pomo cognate is the *Kama Sili Duketya* (Barrett, Pomo, 835; a sharp-heeled supernatural being, "whittled-leg widow"). See Demon: Walking With a Backpack for further discussion.

PELEPEL The Egret (heron) appears in Chumash folk lore as a supernatural bird, but probably is not a demon. Compare Demon: Birds.

PHYSICAL BODY See *Circle Within the Abyss* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of physical body in Chumash cosmology.

Terms: '*A'min*' means 'physical body'. '*A'min*' (Tsmuwich, 2, 'body', 'flesh', 'meat'). '*Ami'n*' (Samala, 50).

Ku means 'to be a person' (Tsmuwich, 14); it has the connotation of a person with a physical body, i.e. an incarnated soul. The human body is a container for the air soul and (and possibly other souls). When it is worn out it is called a *Kuhiwash*, or corpse (Tsmuwich, 14).

Hypothesis: The farther that one descends from the North Star, the more physical body that one encounters. Humans who reside on the

earth are in the Middle World, which is a place of balance between physical body and the spirit. Supernaturals of the Lower world are demonically saturated with and thereby obsessed with the needs of the physical body.

See Lower World for the levels of the cosmos with greater concentration of physical body, and see Upper World for the levels of the cosmos with lesser physical body. See Stars of the Southern Sky for a related discussion. See Old Age for a related discussion of wearing out bodies. See Soul: Bone for a discussion of the hypothetical soul which is buried back into the earth, from which our physical bodies originally gained nourishment (food).

PLAGUE See Demon: Disease.

PLANETS The planets 'wander' across the heavens and often drop below the earth's horizon. They are primarily disobedient to the rule of the North Star (Eagle) and have great influences on human life.

■ The brightest planets were the most influential, as can be seen in the Morning and Evening Stars (two aspects of Venus). See Yowoyow, Morning Star, Mars and Free Will for related discussion.

POISON Chumash witches and demons often relied on poisons to kill or cripple their rivals. Also see Overpower. Compare Health.

Terms: 'Atishwicchish means 'poison' (Tsmuwich, 5; the root is Atishwin meaning 'power' (5). See Atishwin for discussion of overwhelming power.

Aqutihey means 'to get poisoned with' (Tsmuwich, 4). It has the connotation of being out of balance, being in excess. One root is Tihey meaning 'to be excessive' (33).

■ Applegate argued that the use poisons for evil ends is not inherent to the poison's power, which is amoral. According to this 'amorality' model, evil applications by human poisoners (witches) is caused by individual personality (human free will) instead of residing in the supernatural powers which manifest poisonous properties (Atishwin, 19). See Scorpion Woman, Skunk, Spider, Rattlesnake, Ayip, Crazy and Balance for related discussions.

POSSESSION: BY DEMONS See Two-hearts.

POWER See Atishwin. Compare Overpower.

POXONO The *Poxono* demon wore women's clothing and carried a walking stick which he threw to kill from a great distance.

Terms: One root of *Poxono* is probably *Xonon*, meaning 'to steal'; with the connotation of a theft of children, i.e. he is a kidnapper. See Demon: Kidnaps with a Pack for related discussion.

■ The *Poxono* demon was a homosexual cross-dresser who caused earthquakes. K. Suluemeait explained that: "You thought it was a woman, but it's a man! It only dresses like a woman" (Blackburn, December, 222; Juan Justo).

In another tale by M.S. Qiliqutayiwit, the *Pohono* tried to get the brothers to believe it was their paternal aunt, while it attempted to seize them and throw them into its boiling basket of tar. This

demon had its back open between the shoulder-blades so that its heart was visible (Blackburn, December, 111). Perhaps this open-heart motif symbolized strong emotional behavior of this demon?.

PUS See Demon: Disease and Excretions.

QAQ See Demon: Bird and Raven.

QUQU See Demon: Disease and Excretions.

RAVEN The celestial Raven was not a demon. See *Kuta Teachings* (Anderson, 1998) for related discussion. Compare Demon: Bird.

Terms: *Qaq'* means 'raven' (Tsmuwich, 24). *Qaq'* (Samala, 285).

■ Point *Humqaq* (Conception) was the jumping off place for Chumash souls leaving the mainland seeking the portal of the setting Sun. *Humqaq* means 'the Ravens come' referring to supernatural Ravens which will give these souls supernatural sight later on their journey.

■ The celestial Raven peck out the eyes of the dead, on their journey on the Path of the Dead. They are feared by the ignorant, but the properly educated Chumash knows that they are benefactors and symbolize the replacement of [limited] earthly sight with heavenly sight.

REPTILES See Demon: Lizard & Demon: Snake.

RIGORS OF THE WORLD The demons played a role in creating the extreme hardship and difficulties in human life.

Terms: *Rigors* is not listed in either the Tsmuwich or Samala dictionary.

Related terms: *Alamsepelew* means 'difficulties' (Samala, 38; *Sepelew* means 'to get into trouble'). *Oqt'ok* means 'to be difficult' (Samala, 258; *Soqt'ok* means 'to make difficult'). *Niwi'len* means 'to do with difficulties' (Samala, 246; 'to do something against one's will').

Discussion of terms: *Rigor* means 'extreme hardship and difficulties'.

■ F. Kitsepawit used the phrase "rigors of the world" to describe what Foolish Coyote loved (Breath, Hudson, 22). This is the Coyote of the earth, championing the physical body. It is the embodied soul (as in a human) which experiences this rigor.

ROTTING Compare Sickness, Cleansers of the World, Worm: Infestation.

SAMALA The self-name of the Chumash people who lived in the upper reaches of the Santa Ynez river, northwest of Santa Barbara. They are referred to as Santa Ynez, Ynezeno, and Reservation Chumash [because the only surviving Chumash reservation is located in this valley]. Compare Tsmuwich.

SCORPION WOMAN A supernatural on the Chumash Path of the Dead, who stung the souls before they got to the land of the dead.

Terms: Hudson & Underhay identify her as *Mlahsishshinish*

(See Demon: Voice) and associate her with the constellations of Cygnus and Lyra (Crystals, 152).

SEA See Demons: of the Ocean.

SEX: DEMON See Demon: Sexual Impropriety.

SHADOW The Chumash identified a person's shadow, like many other native Americans, as a manifestation of their soul. See Opposite and Night for related discussions.

Terms: The shadow is cast by the body which blocks the warming rays of the Sun. Thus the Samala Chumash term for shadow ('Axtawayaya', 95) has the root Axt'awayan meaning 'to be very cool' (Tsmuwich, 6). Axt'ata is a related term meaning 'to be cold' (6; 'to catch a cold').

- Demons are associated with shadows and are driven out by sunlight and other light such as a torch, campfire, etc.

- A person's shadow mimics one's actions, like an imaginary puppet or dark mirror image of the physical body. The shadow shape-shifts significantly during the day. At sunrise, it is long (and presumably powerful) and cast to the west (an opposite manifestation of the rising Sun). At noon, it disappears and has no power. At sunset, it is long again (and presumably powerful) and cast to the east (again as an opposite manifestation of the Sun). Note that the shadow lies mostly on the ground which is its primary home.

SHARK See Demons: of the Ocean.

SICKNESS Compare Rotting.

Terms: Yuxpan means 'to be sick' (Tsmuwich, 43); thus Yuxpacchish meaning 'disease' and 'sickness' (43). Yuxpan (Samala, 462; Yuxpachi's means 'sickness').

SIN Demons can play a role in human sinful behavior, by causing them to make a mistake in their relations with the demigods who rule life on the surface of the earth.

Terms: Tipackaw means 'sin' (Samala, 577). The root Ackaws means 'to go wrong' (Samala, 32; Ackaw means 'a mistake', 'an error').

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

Hypothesis: In mythic space/time, the First People were without sin. The end of mythic space/time led to death being introduced into the physical cosmos and for the demons to become active in the new sphere of mundane space/time.

SIRIUS The brightest star in the southern sky. Sirius is associated with Coyote and the Nunashish demons [the majority of which are, presumably, the stars of the southern sky].

See Stars: of the Southern Sky for further discussion. Compare Abyss which predated the creation of the stars of the southern sky.

SKELETON The bones left behind after the flesh rots away from the dead body.

- The embodied soul may reside in the Chumash skeleton, giving it supernatural associations. Kitsepawit reminded us: "Remember that when death comes, we have to leave our bones right here in this earth"

(Blackburn, December, 225).

■ A skeletonized person can be sick (leaving a victim of disease only skin and bones), but skeletonization can also represent a holy person who deliberately fasts to the point of skeletonizing in search of visions. The Tejon religious leader named Sepakay could make a skeleton rise from a grave, by means of *Ayip* (Blackburn, December, 267; Kitsepawit). A consumptive Chumash man named 'Axiwalic' was reduced to skeletonization, but recovered through intervention of animal spirits (Blackburn, December, 234).

Note: The Chumash may have believed in a bone soul, which resides in the skeleton and thus gave it supernatural power. Belief in a bone soul generally is associated with religious taboos against disturbing graves (and thus impacts contemporary Native Californian's resistance to disturbing or moving their cemeteries). Compare *Ayip* and *Ahash*.

SLOW See *Eagle: Heavenly*.

SNAKE: DEMONS A number of supernatural beings were depicted by the Chumash as being snakes or having snake attributes.

■ Some had snakes for hair, while others such as the Daughters of the Sun and the daughters of the *Haphap* demon wore live snakes as skirts.

■ The snakes lived on the surface of the earth and also burrowed into the earth, and therefore were associated with both the Middle Earth and the Lower Worlds. The rattle snakes were the most feared because of their venom. See *Pacific Coast Mermaids* (Anderson, unpublished) for information about water snake demons. See *Demon: Snake Skirts*, *Caves*, and *Lower World* for related discussions.

■ Datura was the best cure for someone who encountered a supernatural snake, as in the Snake Woman who lived in a cave (Blackburn, December, 254, Qiliqutayiwit). Datura was also used to recover from meeting a Snake river guardian (Blackburn, December, 253, Qiliqutayiwit).

SNAKE SKIRTS See *Female: Snake Skirts*.

SORCERY See *Magic: Black*, *Magic: White*, *Diviner*.

SOUL "The Chumash, like many native Americans, believed that humans, animals, and in fact all of nature, had the potential to be imbued with an animating soul.

■ The soul was conceived by the Chumash as being a ball of light (energy)" (The Demon Deer, Anderson, glossary). Compare *Soul: Air*, *Soul: Bone*, *Soul: Hard*, and *Soul: Soft*.

SOUL: AIR See *Antik* for a discussion of the Chumash air soul. See *Ghost* for a discussion of a 'demonic' air soul, one which haunts humans. See *Supernatural* for related discussion. Compare *Soul: Soft* for related discussion.

SOUL: BONE The Chumash may have believed in a bone soul. See *Skeleton* for a related discussion.

SOUL: HARD The Chumash probably believed, like many of

their native American neighbors, that the hardening of the soul transformed a person into a witch or demon, i.e. a hard-hearted person. Compare Two Hearts and Soul: Body for related discussion.

SOUL: SOFT The Chumash probably believed, like many of their native American neighbors, that the softening of the soul was essential for living the ethical life. Compare Soul: Air, Soul: Hard and Two Hearts for related discussions.

SOUL: TAKER OF A taker of souls is an agent which ends the immortality of a soul. In normal circumstances, a demon such as a disease takes a life, but the soul survives to seek reincarnation on the Path of the Dead.

■ It is unclear if drowning was blamed for ending the immortality of a soul or if the Swordfish (rulers of the sea) were considered responsible. What is clear is that the drowned soul is cut off from any ability to be reincarnated or to become a star (saint theme). See Demons: of the Ocean for related commentary.

SOUND See Demon: Voice Threat and Thunder for discussion.

SOUTH STAR The celestial Coyote is associated with the direction south, and probably is associated astronomically with Sirius, the brightest star in the southern sky.

Terms: the South Star controls the heat of summer, and thus in bad times all the conditions of summer drought. *Molon* is the Chumash name for the south (Tsmuwich, 17; also means 'for the winds to blow from the south'); *Minawon* also means 'south' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152) and may have the same root. *Oxmolon* may have a common root; it means 'Coyote tobacco' (21); presumably a strong tobacco which makes you crazed [with possible associations with the crazed stars of the southern sky].

■ Kitsepawit taught that the south was a "chief point" in Chumash cosmology. He described it as infinite and clear, because the southern sky did not have a pole star (a limiting end point) like the veiled (less brilliant stars of the) north sky. See Coyote and Abyss for related discussions. See North Star for the opposite heavenly power which is not demonic. See Stars: of the Southern Sky for further discussion. Compare Abyss.

SPIDER See Demon: Weaving.

SPIRITUAL BODY See Antik for the air soul, and Soul. Compare Ahash for the body soul and also see Physical Body, Vision.

SPIT See Sun: Saliva, Excrement.

STAR LIGHT The Chumash, like ancient Europeans, believed that the stars were heavenly lights ('sparks') emanating from celestial souls residing in the Upper World (the heavens). See Night and Nunashish for related discussion.

Terms: *Aqiwo* means 'star' in Chumash (Kitsepawit, Crystals, 96). One root is *Iwon*, meaning 'to manifest', 'to resound', 'to shine'; as

in *Aqiwacuy* meaning 'a reflection'. Pio Xuse described the stars as "sparks of the sun" (Blackburn, December, 164).

■ Hudson and Underhay argued that "probably all" of the stars of the first and second magnitude were thought of as supernaturals (Crystals, 134). The brightest stars in the sky are Sirius, Arcturus, Vega, and Capella. The Chumash presumably considered each of them as awesomely powerful supernaturals. The Milky Way is the Chumash Path of the Dead, which is illuminated by countless human souls following the celestial road to the Land of the Dead. Compare Ghost: Illness and Stars: Southern Sky.

STARS: SHOOTING The Chumash believed that a shooting star was a 'fallen' supernatural (soul) which tragically lost its divine status in the heavens and descended back into the chaos of the Middle and Lower Worlds.

Terms: *Alakiwonoch* is the Chumash name for a shooting star (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 149). *Iwon* means 'to manifest', 'to resound' (Tsmuwich, 12); it is the root of *Aqiwo* meaning 'star' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 96; Kitsepawit)

STARS: SOUTHERN SKY The Chumash, like other Native Americans, probably believed that the stars of the southern sky, with their great distance from the North Star, were more threatening (leading awry) than the stars of the northern sky.

Compare Anger, Ghosts, Path of the Dead, Stars: Southern Sky, Sirius (the celestial Coyote).

Terms: *Minawan* is the Chumash name for the cardinal direction south (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 152). Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, rules this area of the heavens. See Flies for a discussion of possible folk lore symbolism for these stars. Compare North Star for the dominant star of the northern sky, symbolized by the Eagle. Compare Eagle: Heavenly, Sirius (Coyote).

Discussion of terms: For a European cognate see the *Pixies*, who were especially lively and eccentric spirits (stars) which led people astray. Thus *Pixilated* means 'eccentric', literally one who is led astray by pixies. Their favorite pastime was to mislead travelers and frighten young girls. Thus the term *Pixie-led* came to be associated with any state of bewilderment or confusion.

■ The rotation of these stars frequently led them below the horizon. To the human observer, they lacked the perfect circular motion of the stars of the upper heavens, and thus they were considered more independent [free will], threatening, and dangerous.

■ The southern region of the sky is associated with chaos, by the Chumash. Many of the brightest stars in the heavens (especially Sirius) are located in the south, and were associated in native American lore with agitation, anger, and danger (as opposed to the stars in the northern sky, which are generally dimmer and associated with relatively calm behavior and mental peace). See South Star for related discussion.

■ The *Nunashish* were the stars which dipped below the earth's horizon sometime in their celestial rotation. The stars of the southern sky were especially *Nunashish* because they stayed below the horizon for the longest periods of time. Thus they were highly

corrupted by physical body. See Physical Body for related discussions. Compare Abyss for the field of potentiality from which physical body emerged.

■ The southern region of the sky has no 'center' like the northern pole star; thus it is conceived of as limitless, without order, and the constant source of chaotic influence on human affairs on the earth (Middle World). The stars of the Abyss are generally 'demonic', causing strife and chaos in human affairs. But they are also the source of great power, which is available to humans who can ally themselves with them without being led astray. Chumash souls which fall into this region become disoriented, angry, and frustrated because they cannot find their way to the the Path of the Dead (see Ghosts).

SUFFERING Demons contribute to human suffering, by leading them astray.

See Sin for related commentary.

Terms: *Axsu'mu* means 'to suffer' (Tsmuwich, 5). *Axsumu'* (Samala, 92, 'to suffer'). Related terms include *Saqsu'mu* meaning 'to learn', 26).

Hypothesis: Both physical and mental suffering can lead humanity to both learning and growth.

SUN The Chumash Sun was the dominant daytime influence on the lives of humans living on the middle earth. The Sun chased away the [cold] stars when it rose in the morning, driving them [including the demonic stars] into an 'opposite' and invisible space/time called *Coyinashup*.

Terms: '*Alishaw* means 'sun' in Chumash (Tsmuwich, 1). The suffix *Ishaw* means 'hot' (Tsmuwich, 11).

Discussion of terms: The Pomo and other western tribes had similar traditions about the solar deity. The Bella Coola, for example, described the Sun as a "creature" ("a kind of monster") who took away (cleansed) the bodies of the dead; thus *Snx* means 'sun' in Bella Coola (Davis/Saunders, 303). Their Salish model is probably is a variant of the Chumash and Pomo Sun deity, who cleansed the world of dead bodies. Hudson and Underhay identify the Sun as "the supreme being" of Chumash theology (Crystals, 51). This is almost certainly an error. The supreme being in the physical universe is the North Star (Eagle). See the Flute playing Lizard named *Enememe* for the Chumash supreme creator of the whole cosmos.

■ The *Antap* Council, a political organization described by F. L. Kitsepawit, honored the importance of the Sun in sustaining life on the surface of the earth (the Middle World, the realm of the contemporary ecology) by naming its government officials the "Rays of the Sun." This suggests that these officials were more concerned with affairs of the flesh (food, housing, trade, etc) than affairs of the spirit (impacting the soul).

■ The realm of the Sun was one of heat, while the realm of the stars was one of Cold. In Chumash folk lore, the Sun was an eater of human bodies [causes the rapid decay of the body if it is left exposed to the heat of the Sun]. Many Native California myths, like those of the Chumash, describe the House of the Sun as a frightening place, filled with blood, phlegm, and decay. Relatives of the Sun are often

described exhibiting gruesome behaviors , including eating the flesh of the newly dead. But Chumash religious leaders did not consider this behavior demonic. Reduction of the physical body was a necessary process that enabled the soul [which had no physical properties] to ascend into the heavens and achieve reincarnation in the Land of the Dead. See Land of the Dead, and Sun: Daughters of for related discussion.

■ See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997; chapter 4) for a discussion of the role of the Sun in Chumash cosmology; also see *A Chumash Christmas* (Anderson 1995) for a related discussion. Compare North Star [Eagle] for a discussion of the ancient Chumash highest and most pure supernatural who dwelt high above the Sun. Compare Ciqneqs, Gilik, Seqneqs.

SUN: DAUGHTERS OF The two daughters of the Sun, who probably represented the planet Venus as the Morning and Evening Stars. See Flesh, Blood and Demon: Snake Skirt for related discussions.

■ These daughters consumed the flesh of newly dead humans with their father the Sun. They wore aprons made of live rattlesnakes (Blackburn, December, 93; Qiliqutayiwit).

SUN: SALIVA The Sun would spit on lazy people, who stayed in bed late, and cause them to become sick (Blackburn, December, 300; Qiliqutayiwit).

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS The stars [and other celestials] in the sky were supernatural beings, some of which rotated down below the horizon and thus entered the Middle World (the surface of the earth) and the Lower World.

Terms: the Chumash used the term *Alxelekesh* to refer to supernatural beings, which Kitsepawit described as beyond good and evil. Kitsepawit said they can do good or evil as they wish and warned that they can cause the ruination of a person (Breath, 115). A *lhelekesh* is a variant spelling, perhaps with the root word *Xelik* meaning 'the middle one', as one root (with the possible connotation of being in the middle between good and bad, i.e. having free will).

■ All of the supernaturals (gods, deities, angels, demons, etc) lived in *Coyinishup*, the opposite world. Some of these supernaturals were hostile to humanity, and others were friendly.

In this glossary, the supernaturals that bring disorder, disease, and warfare are called 'demons'. Hudson and Underhay argue that the majority of these hostile supernaturals, the *Nunashish* are "located" in the Lower World. But the correct interpretation is that the majority of these supernaturals [stars in the southern sky] are distinguished from the stars of the highest heavens by their characteristic of frequently 'entering' the Lower World (they drop below the horizon as they rotate in the sky).

■ See *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) for a discussion of the leading supernaturals whose nightly gambling in the sky determine the good and bad fate of humanity. Eagle and the Sun lead one team of supernatural, whose victories against other supernaturals leads to death and misery for mankind. This text

explains that Eagle and the Sun are not supernaturals of only negative impact on humanity; they also play a positive role in Chumash cosmology, as cleansers of the world and maintainers of cosmic order. Coyote and Morning Star are the champions of the supernaturals who oppose Eagle and the Sun. See Eagle, Sun, Gambling Gods, Coyote, Morning Star, Moon. Compare Demons.

SUPERNATURAL REALM This term refers to the part of the cosmos which lies both above (super) and below the surface of the earth. See Supernatural Beings for a discussion of the entities which occupied the supernatural realm.

Terms: *Coyinashup* means 'the opposite world' in Chumash. One root is *C'oyini* meaning 'the other' (Tsmuwich, 7; 'also means 'another', 'different'). Blackburn defines *C'oyinasup* as the "underworld occupied by *nunasis* (December, 341), but this is a mistaken concept. *Coyinashup* refers to the realm of the supernaturals that includes all the heavens.

■ Since the stars of the southern sky spend a large part of each year below the horizon (i.e. they could not be seen in the sky) they were considered either dwelling below the earth or on it. The *Nunashish* demons were therefore of supernatural origin, but were acting in the natural realm when they plagued humans.

SWORDFISH See Demons: of the Ocean.

STAR See Demons: Backpack for demons who capture children and boil them in tar.

TEARS: DOGS The Chumash avoided the tears of a dog, never touching them from fear of seeing "all those bad things that dogs see" (Blackburn, December, 300; Kitsepawit). Compare Demon: Weeping.

TEETH See Demon: Tooth, Carnivore, Flesh.

TEMPTATION See Demon: Luring, Greed.

THUNDER See Demon: Thunder.

TOAD The toad is associated with toadstools, rotting vegetation, and physical decay in Chumash folk lore.

Terms: *Kopkop* means 'a toad' in Tsmuwich (14).

Yuqkop, means 'to crouch like a toad' with one's knees drawn up (Samala, 461; the prefix *Yuq* refers to the lower body). thus *Yuq*, meaning 'to squat'.

TOBACCO See Demon: Medicine to Counteract.

TOTEM ANIMAL See Guardian Spirit for discussion.

TREE See Demon: Tree.

TSMALA See Samala.

TSMUWICH The self-name of the Chumash people who lived on the coast in the area of Santa Barbara.

Terms: *Tsmuwich* means 'coastal people'. Compare Samala for the

people of the nearby Santa Ynez valley.

TUPNEK A miraculously growing child (similar to Ciqneq) who is a monster slayer. Both the Tupnek and Ciqneq are probably associated with the North Star (and are positive powers, reinforcing order in the universe).

■ The Tupnek (Tupnekc) was sexually neutral, ignoring women and preferring datura and other psychedelic stimulants to affairs of the body. The Tupnekc was "very Nunasis" (Blackburn, December, 145; Nutu). He was even stronger than his grandmother Datura who was afraid of him (148). See *Tales For the Christmas Season* (Anderson, 1996) for related discussion. Compare Demon: Sexual.

TWO HEARTS The Chumash believed that a witch had two hearts.

Terms: *Saqtasumus* means 'to exorcise' (Samala, 322, 'to perform an exorcism rite', 'to cure through sorcery'). The suffix -*Sum'u* may be a related term as in *Axsu'mu* meaning 'to suffer' (Tsmuwich, 5); and *Axisu'mu* means 'to poison' (5; as in a snake bite). *Axisumu* means 'to hypnotize', 'to entrance' (Samala, 87).

■ The presence of two hearts may not be physical, but rather refer to two body (heart) souls (see Ahash) occupying the same human body, as in the Catholic concept of demonic possession. See Witch for discussion.

UPPER WORLD DEMONS See Demons: of the Upper World.

VENUS See Sun: Daughters and Demons: Water for discussion.

VISION See Datura, Moon, and Night Vision for related discussion.

VOICE See Demon: Voice.

WARLOCK The term used in Euro-Christian texts to refer to a male witch. Compare Witch, Black Magic.

Terms: *Warlock* is an old English word meaning 'a liar', and thus a person who practices black magic. Coyote is the preeminent liar (and thus Warlock) in native American tales of the western tribes. Compare Wizard for a positive term for a wise old man.

WATER See Demon: of Water (Fresh) and Demon: Water (Salt)

WEASEL See Demon: Weasel.

WEAVING See Demon: Weaving.

WEB See Demon: With a Web.

WEeping See Demon: Weeping and Tears: Dog for discussion.

WERE ANIMALS An English term for half-men and half-animal creatures.

Terms: *Were* is an old English term meaning 'man' (Germanic root *Wer* means 'a man' (Clairborne, 265; the Roman root is *Vir*, as in *Virile* and *Virtue*, which have connotation of male virility). *Alqapacun* means 'to turn into an animal' (Samala, 48; the root '*Alqap* means 'an

animal').

■ Were humans, both in Europe and North America, metamorphosed magically into animals such as wolves, bears, etc. Many (probably all) of the Chumash demons had the ability to metamorphose into other forms, including humans.

Coyote turned himself, in one folk tale, into a human rider of a horse (Blackburn, December, 294: *Qiliqutayiwit*). In another tale a big black dog was "speaking like a man" (Blackburn, December, 296; *Qiliqutayiwit*).

■ *Datura* was the best medicine for those recovering from encounters with were animals. Note that at the end of Mythic time, many of the First People (the *Molmoloq'iku*) turned into animals, and many Chumash folk tales feature such transformations. But they were not were animals; they became the animals living in the contemporary middle world. [the mundane ecology of the contemporary earth].

WEST The west is the Chumash direction associated with the setting Sun, the end of the day and the beginning of night (increase of darkness, thus the influence of the celestials).

■ Because it is a Chumash symbol of closure, endings of cycles, and transition into darkness the west (and related sacred sites such as *Wasna* and Point Conception) are associated with death and rebirth in Chumash theology. Compare Shadow for related discussion.

WIND See Demon: Wind.

WITCH The Chumash feared witches, who were allied to disease carrying demons and used poisons to kill.

Terms: *Sutsutisipictas* means 'witchcraft' (Samala, 351), perhaps having the connotation of possessing highest knowledge. One root is *Sipis* meaning 'to practice sorcery' (351). But note that this term also means 'to be wise', 'to be learned' (Samala, 340, 'to be wise'). See Bewitch for related terms.

■ Like many of the European Christians who invaded California, the Chumash believed in witchcraft (which often occurred within one's own family, or among neighbors). Witches can be allied to disease causing demons.

■ The Chumash cultural hero often confronts a "witch" who was killing the people (as in *A Chumash Christmas*, Anderson, 1995). Some witches are blind, [i.e. their vision is directed to the supernatural world] as in *Qiliqutayiwit's* grabbing witch (Blackburn, December, 107). See Two Hearts and Demon: Grabbing for related discussions. Compare Warlock (male witch).

WIZARD A positive English pre-Christian term, referring to a wise male elder.

Terms: *Wizard* means 'a wise old man'. One root is *Wis*, meaning wise in middle English.

■ Many Chumash wizards were diviners (see Diviner). Compare to Warlock for an evil old man, who is a liar. Compare Magic: White and Witch (for evil old woman).

■ L.Y. Nutu described Coyote as a wizard (Blackburn, December, 195) presumably referring to his positive powers.

WOMAN See Demon: Female.

WRESTLING See Demon: Wrestling.

XOLXOL A bird demon who cleansed the world of filth by drinking the blood and eating the dead bodies of animals.

Terms: *Wit* is the Chumash name for the condor (Tsmuwich, 39) *Huyawit* means 'condor' (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 151); or perhaps is a condor place-name?

'*Almiyi* is another name for the condor (Hudson/Underhay, Crystals, 150).

Discussion of terms: *Xolxol* may have the same root as *Axulish* which means 'blood' in Chumash (Tsmuwich, 6). *Xulxul* meaning 'to be heavy' (41) may be a related term, with the connotation that blood is heavy compared to water and thus has the significant property of clotting (i.e. changing state from liquid to solid).

■ The *Xolxol* is probably a condor. Blackburn identified him as a demon (December, 344; "a *nunasis*"). Note that Hudson/Underhay agreed that the *Xolxol* is "identified with" the condor (Crystals, 151). See Cleansers of the World and Blood for further discussion.

■ Hudson and Underhay tentatively identified *Xolxol* with the planet Mars (Crystals, 151) which travels rapidly through the night sky. Qiliqutayiwit also identifies the *Xolxol* as a great traveler, who is covered with feathers (Blackburn, December, 94). The Chumash Condor Dance celebrates the condor's role in maintaining ecological balance.

YOWOYOW A Chumash demon, who appears in a number of Chumash folk tales.

Terms: The Chumash used the term *Yowoyow* for people who were trouble makers, flaunting law and order (Kitsepawit, Breath, 115). *Woyoch* may be one root, meaning 'to be crooked' (Tsmuwich, 39; also means 'to be windy'); as in *Woyin* meaning 'to twist' (39; *Woyon* means to braid'). *Wo'yin* (Samala, 441). *Xo'y* (Tsmuwich, 41, 'a fishnet') may be a related term.

■ Perhaps the *Yowowoy* were the planets, which were classified by ancient astronomers as the wandering stars because they [apparently] moved independently of the 'fixed' stars

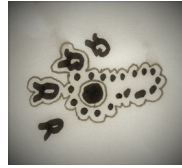
■ Tumalatset described the *Yowoyow* as a big devil who kidnapped people and cooked them in a basket of boiling tar (Blackburn, December, 257).

■ K. Suluemeait described a grandson of grandmother *Momoy* (*Datura*) as a *Yowoyow* (Blackburn, December, 134). This grandson consumed an awesome amounts of psychotropics, and overcame demons in his many heroic adventures.

Disclaimer

This glossary represents the views of the author and does not necessarily represent the views of contemporary Chumash Indians, either as individuals or collectively. The study of Chumash culture is a complex subject, and the reader will benefit from examining many different views. Books with information on Chumash religion can be found in local museums, libraries, colleges, and general bookstores. And the internet is a growing source of useful information.

Other Books by the author:



A Circle Within the Abyss Theology of the Chumash Indians of southern California, native American religion, cosmology, metaphysics, 38 pages, third edition, 1996.

Enememe's Friends A very complex folk tale by F.L. Kitsepawit, includes cosmology, reincarnation, racing ethics, symbolism of the poppy flower, fourth edition, 1997, \$4.25.

Kuta Teachings Reincarnation theology of the Chumash Indians, death and rebirth, recapitulation, ascent into the heavens, 56 pages, 1999, \$6.80.

The Swordfish Race, Coyote defeats the Swordfish, the rulers of the sea, eating contest, resurrection, drowning shamanism, Chumash, Pomo, Haida, 1997

The Fox Jumps Chumash summer solstice tales from California; resurrection and summer solstice symbolism, 40 pages, 1994.

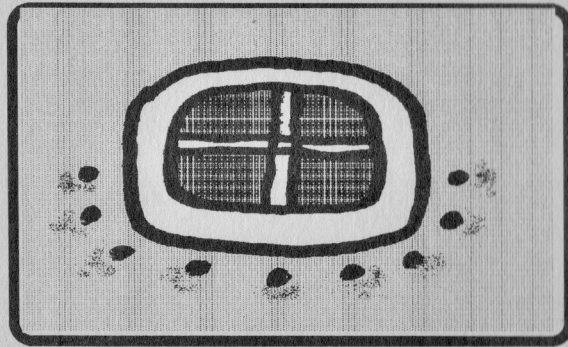
Chumash Astrology: Prophecies From the Chumash Ancient California astrology as told by F. Kitsepawit, 44 pages, 1997, \$6.60.

The Chumash House of Fate The gambling gods of ancient California, gambling, cosmic dualism, the celestial Abyss, ritual directions, the hand game, fate and free will, 44 pages, 1997.

A Chumash Christmas A wondrous child is born on Christmas day, reincarnation, winter solstice, overcoming demons, cultural hero tale, 40 pages, 1995.

Tales For the Christmas Season The dying winter sun as depicted in Hoka mythology of California, features Chumash and Mohave folk tales, 40 pages, 1996.

Chumash Autumn Equinox Equinox ceremonialism, when the day and night are equal, 64 pages, 2002.



***Demons and Ghosts
In Ancient California***

The Chumash, like other peoples of southern California, developed special prayers, psalms, and tales for the fall (Halloween) season, thousands of years before the appearance of the first Europeans.

·Y·Y·Y·

They honored the fall as a special storytelling period, with morality tales featuring monsters, Trickster coyote, and Black Magic .

AmDes Publishing

The back cover of the 1998 first edition of this text which was known by the original title *When Demons Rule California*.