Gabrielino

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The Gabrielino (gäbrēəlˈēnō) are, in many ways, one of the most interesting—yet least known—of native California peoples. At the time of Spanish contact in 1769 they occupied the "most richly endowed coastal section in southern California" (Blackburn 1962-1963:6), which is most of present-day Los Angeles and Orange counties, plus several offshore islands (San Clemente, Santa Catalina, San Nicolas). With the possible exception of the Chumash, the Gabrielino were the wealthiest, most populous, and most powerful ethnic nationality in aboriginal southern California, their influence spreading as far north as the San Joaquin valley Yokuts, as far east as the Colorado River, and south into Baja California. Unfortunately, most if not all Gabrielinos were dead long before systematic ethnographic studies were instituted; and, as a result, knowledge of them and their lifeways is meager.

Language, Territory, and Environment

Gabrielino was one of the Cupan languages in the Takic family, which is part of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock (Bright 1975).* Internal linguistic differences existed, Harrington (1962:viii) suggesting four dialects and Kroeber (1925), six. Harrington's four-part division includes: Gabrielino proper, spoken mainly in the Los Angeles basin area; Fernandeño, spoken by people north of the Los Angeles basin, mainly in the San Fernando valley region; Santa Catalina Island dialect; and San Nicolas Island dialect—although according to Bright (1975) insufficient data exist to be sure of the Cupan affiliation of the San Nicolas speech. There were probably dialectical differences also between many mainland villages, a result not only of geographical separation but also of social, cultural, and linguistic mixing with neighboring non-Gabrielino speakers.

The names Gabrielino and Fernandeño (fernänˈdā-ˌnyō) refer to the two major Spanish missions established in Gabrielino territory—San Gabriel and San Fernando. It was to these two missions that the majority of the Indians living on the coastal plains and valleys of southern California were removed.

Although the major outlines of Gabrielino territorial occupation are known, the fixing of definitive boundaries is difficult. Generally, Gabrielino territory included the watersheds of the Los Angeles, San Gabriel, and Santa Ana rivers, several smaller intermittent streams in the Santa Monica and Santa Ana mountains, all of the Los Angeles basin, the coast from Aliso Creek in the south to Topanga Creek in the north, and the islands of San Clemente, San Nicolas, and Santa Catalina (fig. 1). The area thus bounded encompassed several biotic zones (such as Coast-Marsh, Coastal Strand, Prairie, Chaparral, Oak Woodland, Pine) and, following Hudson's (1971) studies, can be divided into four macro-environmental zones (excluding the islands): Interior Mountains/Adjacent Foothills, Prairie, Exposed Coast, and Sheltered Coast. Each area is characterized by a particular floral-faunal-geographical relationship that allows delineation of subsistence-settlement patterns "according to the macro-environmental setting." The interior mountains and foothills, according to Hudson, comprise an area of numerous resources including "many small animals, deer, acorns, sage, piñon nuts, and a variety of other plants and animal foods." Settlement-pattern studies

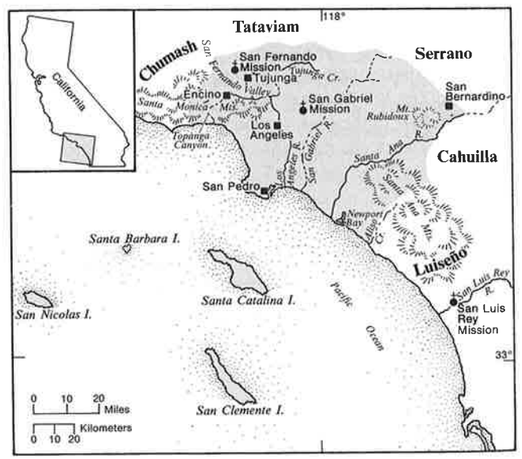


Fig. 1. Tribal territory.

(Hudson 1969) indicate the existence of both primary subsistence villages occupied continuously (perhaps by multiple clan groupings) and smaller secondary gathering camps (small family unit occupation) occupied at various times during the year, depending upon season and resource. All settlements in this zone, as well as in the other zones, were situated near water courses.

The Prairie, the area flanking the interior mountains on the north, east, and south, had as its predominant food resources acorns, sage, yucca, deer, numerous small rodents, cacti, plus a wide variety of plants, animals, and birds associated with marshes (Hudson 1971). Sites (both primary and secondary) were distributed throughout, but always near water courses or springs. The exposed coast from San Pedro south to Newport Bay was an area of concentrated secondary subsistence gathering camps with no primary subsistence villages immediately adjacent to the coast, but rather located inland. Various shellfish, some rays, sharks, and fish were the important food resources, while the offshore kelp beds (prime fishing areas for tuna and swordfish) were used year-round, especially in late summer and early fall. The sheltered coastal area stretching from San Pedro north to Topanga Canyon was characterized by primary subsistence villages located on the coast and secondary subsistence sites concentrated inland near areas of plant-food abundance (like sage stands and acorn or pine nut groves). The resources of this area were primarily marine (fish, shellfish, rays, sharks, sea mammals, and waterfowl), and "it is likely that some ecological elements of this region were also present in Area III (Exposed Coast), depending upon geographical features and weather" (Hudson 1971:56).

Climate varied according to locality, but average July temperatures along the coast ranged from approximately 68° F. to 76° F., with average January temperatures for the Gabrielino area as a whole ranging between 40° F. and 52° F. In the mountains, especially above 7,000 feet, temperatures often dipped as low as 30° F. in the winter (accompanied by snow), while summer temperatures on the prairies occasionally rose as high as 100° F.

While average annual precipitation in the twentieth century is generally less than 15 inches, as much as 40 inches is known in the higher mountains; and it is assumed that a similar pattern existed in precontact periods. The predominant climatic type is Hot Steppe, but near the coast and inland in the foothills and mountains the climatic type is warm Mediterranean. The predominant vegetation associations throughout most of the mainland area are grass and coastal sagebrush, especially in valley bottoms, and chaparral at higher elevations. Over 89 percent of Gabrielino territory was within the Sonoran life-zone, an extremely rich zone, while the balance was Forest Transition along the higher slopes and peaks of the San Gabriel and Santa Ana mountains.

The islands presented a different environmental picture. On San Nicolas Island, called *ṣo·yŋa* in Gabrielino, 75 miles southwest of Los Angeles, there were virtually no land mammals and a scarcity of exploitable floral resources. However, the little (32.2 sq. mi.), semidesert, windswept island was "particularly favored by the occurrence of abundant sea mammals" in the surrounding sea (Meighan and Eberhart 1953:113), including California and Steller sea lions, harbor seals, sea otters, and northern elephant seals. Additionally, the island was rich in sea fowl, while several different species of fish abounded in the surrounding sea. But the most important meat source was shellfish (rock scallops, mussels, several kinds of limpets, sea urchins), obtainable in large amounts along the island's rocky shoreline. From the hundreds of mortars and pestles (fig. 2) found on the island it is assumed that some plant material was prepared (some parts of the island supported trees, brush, mosses, grasses), but early Spanish references indicate mortars were also used in processing dried abalone meat.

The settlement pattern on San Nicolas is remarkably consistent through time. Villages were located either on sand dunes within 200 yards of shoreline or at considerable elevation above sea level inland on the island's central plateau. The determining factors in settlement pattern were access to the beaches or sea, fresh water (limited to a few springs in the inland's northwestern corner), and elevation affording an unobstructed view. From archeological research it appears that the densest

Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 18670, 18698; bottom, 21887.

Fig. 2. Utensils for food preparation. top, Sandstone mortar and pestle collected at San Nicolas Island, diameter of mortar 23.5 cm; bottom, soapstone pot collected at Santa Barbara Island, same scale.

* Italicized Gabrielino words have been written in a phonemic alphabet by Kenneth C. Hill, on the basis of John Peabody Harrington's unpublished field notes. The consonants are: (stops and affricate) *p, t, ç, k, kʷ, ʔ;* (fricatives) *s, ṣ, x, h;* (nasals) *m, n, ŋ;* (approximants) *v, ð, r, y, w.* Stressed vowels are *i, e* [ɛ], *a, o* [ɔ], *u,* which may occur long or short; in unstressed syllables the vowels are only *i* [e], *a,* and *u* [o].

occupation of the island occurred in the few centuries preceding Spanish conquest, with a population of 600–1,200 at any one time (Meighan and Eberhart 1953).

Santa Catalina Island, called *pimu·ʔa* by the Gabrielino, is predominantly mountainous, with very limited plant resources (sparse, thin grasses, small shrubs, a few species of cacti) and few land animals (mainly deer, ground squirrels, foxes). There appears to have been limited use of migratory waterfowl, and quail, abundant today, may have also been used. However, as with San Nicolas Island, the major food resources were marine animals: fish, shellfish, and sea mammals. According to Meighan (1959:401) there was not just a "heavy dependency on sea mammals, but a specialized maritime economy which exploited dolphins and porpoises to a great extent." Permanent habitation sites were located mainly along the coast with interior sites not much more than trail-side camps occupied for very short periods. Although very little is known about the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, on the basis of archeological research at one of the coastal headland sites, Little Harbor, it has been established that the island was occupied as early as 2000 B.C. by a sizable number of people, because the Little Harbor site is areally large and the layers of cultural material are deep.

Very little information is available concerning habitation patterns on San Clemente Island, but the environmental situation is essentially identical with that of San Nicolas and Santa Catalina. As Kroeber (1925:620) noted, "the local culture on San Clemente . . . was clearly connected with that of Santa Catalina, perhaps dependent upon it; and Catalina was pure Gabrielino in speech." Therefore, cultural patterns were probably fairly similar to the mainland, or at least to those of Santa Catalina.

History

Population estimates for the Gabrielino are next to impossible to make. Possibly more than 50 or 100 mainland villages were inhabited simultaneously with an average population in each village of 50–100 at the time of contact with Europeans. Early Spanish reports indicate a range of village population between 50 and 200 people. At Tujunga in 1797 there were 90 full-time residents, Crespí (1927) counted over 200 at Yangna (*ya·ŋa*), and Forbes (1966:139) states that the village at Encino had a population of at least 60 permanent residents but over 200 people were present to greet the Spanish explorers. Later reports that give very low population figures, such as those of Hugo Reid and those from the Spanish mission baptismal records, probably reflect the results of inroads made by introduced disease prior to the actual arrival of Spaniards. Pablo Tac, a neophyte from San Luis Rey Mission, reported that the Indians in that area had suffered severe population loss from disease several years prior to Spanish entry into the area (Tac 1930).

According to the archeological record, the Gabrielino were not the first inhabitants of the Los Angeles basin but arrived around 500 B.C. (as part of what Kroeber has called the Shoshonean [Takic-speaking] wedge), slowly displacing the indigenous Hokan speakers. By A.D. 500 dialectical diversification had begun among the Gabrielino. Permanent villages were established in the fertile lowlands along rivers and streams and in sheltered areas along the coast; and population expanded with many of the larger, permanent villages having satellite communities lying at varying distances from them and connected through economic, religious, and social ties. Kroeber (1925) believed that the Gabrielino cultural pattern encountered by the Spanish in the eighteenth century had crystallized as early as A.D. 1200 and shortly before the Spanish arrived in force about 1770 the population had grown in excess of 5,000.

As early as 1542 the Gabrielino were in contact with the Spanish, for in that year Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo became the first Spaniard to set foot on Gabrielino soil. This first contact, at which the Indian women and children fled and men armed themselves with bows, was peaceful; and when the Spaniards returned in 1602, under Sebastián Vizcaíno, the Gabrielino received them with hospitality. However, it was not until 1769 that the Spaniards took steps to colonize within Gabrielino territory. Several land expeditions were dispatched to locate suitable mission sites, and by 1771 four had been built. But relations with the Indians disintegrated; their population dwindled (due to introduced diseases, dietary deficiencies, forceful reduction); and by 1900 they had ceased to exist as a culturally identifiable group (see table 1).

Culture

Clothing and Adornment

The Gabrielino, described as being "a race which . . . was genetically stable, physically hardy, and attuned to the conditions of its environments" (B.E. Johnston 1962:28), were for a short period considered by the Spanish as a special race of "White Indians" because of their light skin color. Older women used liberal amounts of red ocher paint on their faces to retard the browning and wrinkling process caused by sun and wind. Younger women also used the red paint as a rouge to make themselves more attractive. Tattooing, using thorns of flint slivers as the agent and vegetable charcoal as the dye, was common practice. Before puberty, girls were tattooed on their foreheads and chins, while adult women had tattoos covering an area from their eyes down to their breasts. Men tattooed their foreheads with vertical and/or horizontal lines.

Table 1. History

1973	Some residents of San Gabriel claim Gabrielino heritage.
1925	Some remnants of Gabrielino songs and culture recorded by J.P. Harrington at Pala Indian Reservation.
1903	C. Hart Merriam, A.L. Kroeber, and others work with the few remaining Gabrielinos. A few years later J.P. Harrington begins Gabrielino research as does Constance Goddard DuBois.
1860–1900	Smallpox epidemic further reduces Gabrielino population except for isolated families and Gabrielinos living in remote areas. Gabrielino culture is now only in the minds of a few people.
1852	Hugo Reid publishes *Indians of Los Angeles County*. His wife, Victoria (d. 1868), is a Gabrielino and a prominent person in the Los Angeles area. B.D. Wilson publishes report on Indians of southern California and recommends better treatment for Indians. This report is ignored.
1840–1850	Most Indians in Los Angeles area are other Mission groups, but a few Gabrielino still in the area. Some Gabrielino language, some rituals and games, traditional crafts and economic modes still maintained, but in very attenuated forms. Gabrielino is until this period the lingua franca for Whites and Indians. Clamshell beads still used as money; baskets and steatite artifacts still being used by Europeans and Indians. Smallpox epidemics decimate all tribes in the area.
1833	Missions secularized, become refuges for aged, infirm. Most Gabrielinos are laborers for gentry class or landowners themselves (very rarely). Gabrielinos are scattered as far north as Monterey and south to below San Diego, while many are living with groups in the remote interior.
1800–1833	Missions grow, ranches expand, most Indians firmly in peasant class or fugitives. Diseases (among Indians) still killing many; armed raids conducted by Spanish against escaped neophytes and those Indians still not converted.
1800	Most Gabrielinos missionized, dead, or fled to other areas with scattered numbers in area. More non-Gabrielinos brought into Gabrielino missions (e.g., Serrano, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Ipai-Tipai).
1797	San Luis Rey active, growing, expanding.
1796	Because of poor economic conditions in missions and Spanish communities, neophytes arranged to use traditional Gabrielino subsistence methods to help feed the general populace. Gabrielinos also are major labor force in Pueblo of Los Angeles and outlying ranches and farms.
1786	Revolts in areas outside Gabrielino area. Spanish control firm only within a 20-mile radius of Los Angeles.
1785	Indian protests, revolts are frequent, culminating in a major revolt led by Toypurina, a chief's daughter. Increased segregation of Indians from *gente de razón* attempted by government. Most Gabrielinos become a peasant class working for missions or a landed gentry. Apartheidlike policy dominates Spanish-Indian relationships.
1779	Social organizations of missions crystallized as the positions of councilmen and alcaldes are established—elected by neophytes. Conflicts between military and church become acute as each vies for authority over Indian labor.
1778	Mass conversions of villages begins, as certain chiefs become converted, drawing many of their followers with them.
1771	Mission San Gabriel established, slowly integrates a few Gabrielinos into the mission. Many nonconverted Gabrielinos integrate into economic and social life of Spanish, but not religious life.
1769	Gaspar de Portolá expedition crosses Gabrielino territory and interacts with Gabrielinos. European disease probably decimating populations already. Conflicts among Gabrielino begin almost immediately. Conversions slow.
1602	Spanish explorers visit Santa Catalina.
1520	Spanish explorers visit Santa Catalina.

Men wore their hair long, parted in the middle, and either falling straight or braided in the back and doubled upward, fastening onto the head with a cane or bone pin. The women's hair was also long and free, with bangs, and frequently adorned with flower garlands. When in mourning women either singed or cut their hair as a sacrifice and as a demonstration of their feeling of loss. To keep their hair glossy and free of parasites, clay was applied to the head, left to dry, and then broken off. In those instances where baldness was a problem, various plants were reduced to charcoal, ground into paste, and rubbed into the scalp once in the morning and again in the evening for as long as necessary to restore the lost hair. Daily bathing for everyone was rigorously adhered to, and usually done before sunrise, with everyone drying out by the fire as breakfast was prepared (B.E. Johnston 1962).

Men and children usually went naked, while women wore aprons of either deerskin or the inner bark of willow or cottonwood trees. Occasionally capes of deerskin, rabbit fur, or bird skins (with feathers intact) were worn, especially in cold or wet weather. Except in areas of rough terrain when yucca fiber sandals were donned, everyone went barefooted. At night robes of deerskins or twisted strips of rabbit fur woven together with milkweed or yucca fiber were used as blankets. On the islands and along the coast, otter skins were used for the same

purposes. Ritual costumes (worn during dances by warriors, chiefs, shamans) were colorful (with plummage from different birds, fur, shells, and beads used as decoration) and elaborate and included feather headdresses, feathered capes and skirts. Uncovered skin was brightly decorated with paint.

Technology

The majority of Gabrielino material culture, although perishable and rarely lasting more than a few years, reflected an elaborately developed artisanship, with many everyday use items decorated with shell inlaid in asphaltum, rare minerals, carvings, and painting, and comparable in quality and excellence to that of their northwestern neighbors, the Chumash. Perhaps the best-known items of Gabrielino material culture are the objects made of steatite, obtained in finished or raw form by most mainland groups from the Indians of Santa Catalina Islands, where a veritable steatite industry flourished. The steatite was used in making animal carvings, pipes, "ritual" objects, ornaments, and cooking utensils (figs. 2–3). The last were considered of such value (because of their being made of steatite) that when a cooking pot broke, it was either mended with asphalt or a handle was attached to the largest piece, which was then used as a frying pan. Other food preparation items included bedrock and portable mortars, metates, mullers, mealing brushes, wooden stirrers, paddles, shell spoons, bark platters, wooden bowls (often inlaid with haliotis shell), and pottery vessels, made by coiling technique and paddle and anvil (Blackburn 1962–1963).

A variety of tools was made, including saws made from deer scapulae, bone or shell needles, fishhooks and awls, scrapers, flakers (of bone or shell), wedges, hafted or unhafted flint or cane knives, and flint drills.

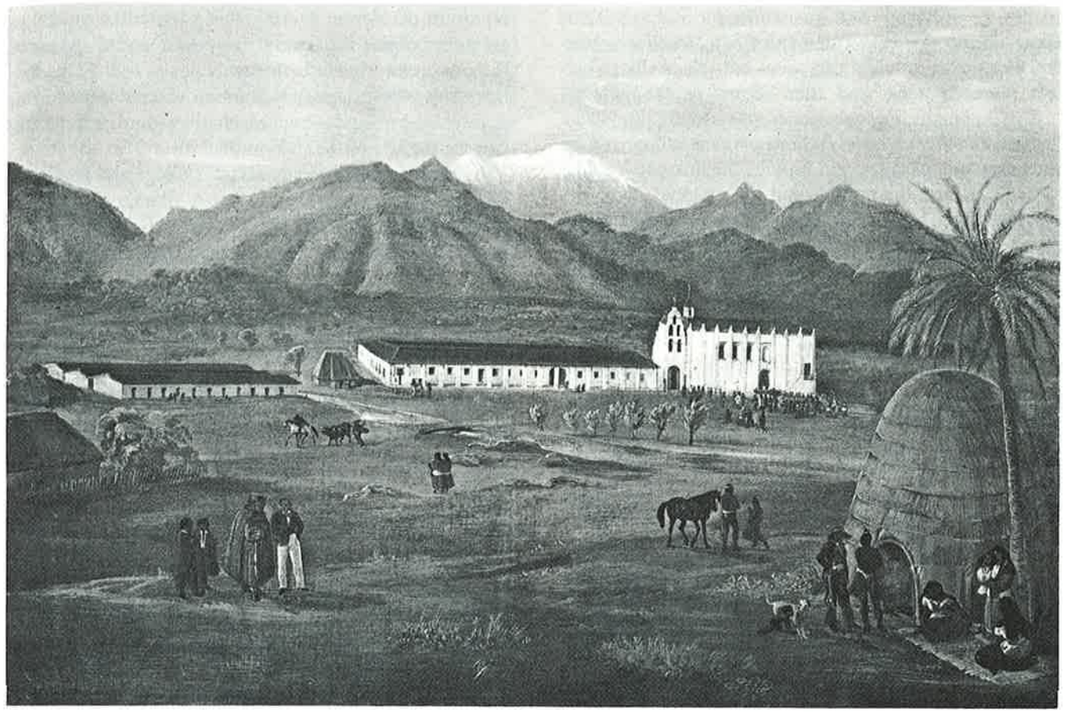
Baskets were made by the women from the stems of rushes (*Juncus* sp.), grass (*Muhlenbergia rigens*), and squawbush (*Rhus trilobata*) with a three-color patterned decoration (Harrington 1942:20–23). Coiled wares included mortar hoppers; flat baskets used as plates, trays, winnowers, shallow carrying or serving baskets; storage baskets; and small globular baskets used to keep trinkets in. Closework and openwork twining was used to make deep or globular-shaped baskets, or for baskets used in leaching, straining, or gathering. Ceremonial baskets, urn-shaped and choke-mouthed, were used for grave offerings (Merriam 1955:84; Blackburn 1962–1963).

Weapons included three forms of wooden war clubs, self- and sinew-backed bows, tipped (stone or bone) and untipped cane arrows (simple or compound), wooden sabers, throwing clubs, and slings used for hunting birds and small game (Blackburn 1962–1963).

Structures

Houses were domed, circular structures thatched with tule, fern, or carrizo (fig. 4). For groups located near the sea, the doorways opened seaward, to avoid the north wind (Harrington 1942:10). B.E. Johnston (1962) noted that the Indians' houses were, in some cases, "so spacious that each will hold fifty people." On Santa Catalina, Costansó (1911) described houses of more than 60 feet in diameter, with three or four families living in each one. Other structures commonly found in villages included sweathouses (small, semicircular, earth-covered buildings used for pleasure and as a clubhouse or meeting place for adult males), menstrual huts, and a ceremonial enclosure, the *yuva·r*. A *yuva·r* was built near the chief's house and was essentially an open-air enclosure, oval in plan, made with willows inserted wicker fashion among willow stakes, decorated with eagle and raven feathers, skins, and flowers, and containing inside the enclosure painted and decorated poles. Consecrated anew before every ceremony, these ceremonial enclosures were the centers for activities relating to the Chingichngish cult. An image representing the god Chingichngish occupied a special "sacred" area within the *yuva·r*, and on the ground near the image was a sand painting representing the cosmos, with figures of the Sun and Moon predominating. Only very old men or very powerful ones (chiefs, priest-shamans) were allowed in this inner sanctuary. Another building, similar in structure and design to the *yuva·r* but never consecrated, was sometimes built and used for instruction and practice for upcoming ceremonies (Blackburn 1962–1963; Heizer 1968).

Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 382666; bottom, 18349.
Fig. 3. Soapstone artifacts with carved grooves, possibly comals. Used to heat water in baskets, the hot stone was manipulated by a stick through the hole. top, Length 15 cm, collected at San Clemente Island; bottom, same scale, collected at Santa Barbara Island.



Santa Barbara Mission, Calif.
Fig. 4. Mission San Gabriel Arcangel with thatched Indian house in foreground. Painted by Ferdinand Deppe, 1832, after his sketch made June 1828 during a Corpus Christi procession.

Social and Political Organization

The intricacies of Gabrielino social organization are unknown, and only a rudimentary outline of basic organizational features can be presented. It appears that a moiety system similar to that of other southern California Takic speakers existed, but it seems not to have functioned viably in controlling socioeconomic interrelationships.

Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.
Fig. 5. Village at Jurupa Rancho, base of Mt. Rubidoux, near San Bernardino inhabited by Cahuilla, Serrano, and probably some Gabrielino refugees. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, 1890.

Almost nothing is known of the nature and texture of adult life among the Gabrielino. There seem to have existed at least three hierarchically ordered social classes: an elite (having a specialized language) including chiefs and their immediate family and the very rich; a middle class, or those from fairly well-to-do and long-established lineages; and a third class comprising everyone else, with those individuals engaged in ordinary socioeconomic pursuits. Some individuals owned real estate, and property boundaries were marked by painting a copy of the owner's personalized tattoo on trees, posts, and rocks. These marks were almost equivalent to the owner's name and known not only to other Gabrielino but also in many cases to members of non-Gabrielino groups. Engelhardt's (1927a:100) comment that pictures of animals were drawn on tree trunks may refer to this boundary-marking process.

Villages (that is, tribelets) were politically autonomous, composed of nonlocalized lineages, often segmentary in

nature. Each lineage had its own leader and at various times during the year fragmented into smaller subsistence-exploitation units that went out seasonally to collect resource items and then return to the villages.

The dominant lineage's leader was usually the village "chief" (*tumia·r*) whose authority was legitimatized by the possession of the sacred bundle, the link between the sacred past and the present and the material, temporal representation of the Gabrielinos' raison d'être and the primary embodiment and focus of "power." Often several villages were allied under the leadership of a single chief. For example, at San Pedro the largest village, *ṣua·ŋa* 'place of the skies', was the political center for a cluster of other villages located nearby and its chief was the political leader for these associated villages. Succession to chiefly office was usually through the male line, a chief's eldest son assuming the office subject to community approval. If a direct line-of-descent male replacement was unavailable or unacceptable, a new chief was selected by the community elders from the same kin group as the previous chief. If there were no satisfactory male candidates, a woman, usually a sister or daughter of the previous chief, was appointed. According to Hugo Reid, regardless of who became the new chief, his or her name was changed to correspond to that of his or her village, with the addition of a special suffix (Heizer 1968).

New chiefs occasionally had more than one wife, were about 30–35 when they became chief, and often were the political heads of multiple village confederations. A chief's most important duties were to administer community solidarity and welfare and to act as the guardian of the sacred bundle. In the former sphere of action the chief arbitrated disputes, supervised tax collections ("gifts" from the people used principally for consumption by guests at ceremonies), led war parties, concluded peace treaties, and acted as the "model" Gabrielino. To help in these activities, the chief had several assistants: an announcer, treasurer, general assistant (who often delivered moral lectures to the people), and messengers (usually two, with excellent memories, especially trained and kept until they "wore out").

In addition to the chief, others who held authority positions within the community were shamans and the *ta·xkʷaʔ*. The latter was responsible for the management of the elaborate mourning ceremonies among other things and oversaw the distribution of food following communal hunts. But it was with the shamans that perhaps the greatest power existed, sometimes even greater than the chief's. For, as Reid pointed out, even chiefs had no jurisdiction over shamans because they "conversed with the Great Spirit" and could be punished only by other shamans.

Shamanism

A shaman obtained his power directly from the supernatural through dreams or visions, often caused by the ingestion of datura. During these trancelike states an animal or object with energizing power would appear to the person and henceforth be his power aid. Following this stage, the prospective shaman entered a period of apprenticeship under proved shamans and was taught various aspects of the profession.

A shaman served mainly his own village and possessed the ability to cause as well as cure illness. Curing was accomplished by various techniques (herbal therapeutics, body manipulation, bloodletting, sucking, blowing smoke, hypnosis) and a wide variety of magical, power-invested paraphernalia. The basic instrument was a board with rattlesnake rattles attached to it (Blackburn 1962–1963) worn by the shaman, plus dried animal skins, curiously shaped rocks, plant roots, sparkling stones, rare minerals, as well as surgical implements such as obsidian blades. These objects not only were considered as having power in and of themselves but also were felt to be particularly efficacious in concentrating power in a particular area.

In addition to their function as curers, shamans also served as diviners, guardians (supernatural) of the sacred bundle, locators of lost items, collectors of poisons used on hunting and war arrows, and rain makers. Most possessed second sight, several had the ability to transform themselves into bears (in order to travel rapidly) and to handle fire with impunity, and some were able to witch people living at great distances. For example, among the Fernandeño, a shaman wishing to witch or kill a person prepared a four-sided ground painting, roped it off, and then stood in the center holding 12 radiating strings, the ends of which were held by 12 assistants. When the shaman shook the strings, the ground quaked and the person he had in mind fell ill and could eventually die (Kroeber 1925:626).

However, if a shaman became too malevolent and practiced evil against his own people, other shamans convened and stripped him of his power. Women could also acquire considerable power and at least in one instance exert this power politically as in the case of Toypurina, who led a significant revolt during the eighteenth century against the Spanish at Mission San Gabriel (Temple 1958).

Life Cycle

• MARRIAGE Information about aboriginal Gabrielino marriage and residence patterns is practically nonexistent, and what data are available are sketchy and confusing. It appears that marriages were usually between individuals of nearly equal social rank, especially in the case of leading families, with the marriage partners coming from different lineages (lineage exogamy). Occasionally parents, while their children were quite young, would promise them in marriage (child betrothal), but usually "when a person wished to marry, and had selected a suitable partner, he advertised the same to all his relations, even to the *nineteenth cousin.* On a day appointed . . . they [the males] proceeded in a body to the residence of the bride," where she and all her female relations were assembled, and presented shell beads to the bride's relatives (Heizer 1968:25). A few days later the bride's female relatives visited the groom-to-be's home, presented his male relatives with food stuffs, and set the date for the wedding ceremony. On the appointed day the bride, adorned with beads, paints, feathers, and skins, was carried by her relatives to her future husband's home. Friends and neighbors accompanied the bridal party singing, dancing, and strewing the ground with gifts. Halfway to the groom's house the procession was met by his relatives who took on the role of carrying the bride the rest of the way. Upon arrival, the bride was placed beside her new husband, and baskets of seeds were liberally poured over both bride and groom to signify a rich and bountiful future life. A festive dance was held at which warriors and hunters performed in full costume; then everyone departed leaving the couple "to enjoy their 'Honey Moon' according to usage." From this date forward the wife was forbidden to visit her relatives, but they could call on her at any time (Heizer 1968:26).

Except in the case of chiefs who practiced polygyny, a man usually took only one wife at a time. If, during the course of married life, a husband ill used his wife, she could complain to her family, who would return to the husband his family's "bridal gifts," and the woman was then free to return to her own home. If a wife was barren or unruly, her husband could send her home and his family's "gifts" would be returned. In the case of a wife's infidelity the husband could beat or kill his wife or, if possible, claim the wife of his wife's lover.

The Gabrielino traced their most important kinship ties through males (patrilineal descent) with an individual's social rank, value, and status in part dependent upon wealth possession (family and self) and heredity. Sharp distinctions were made between families in different classes both within and beyond the lineage. In the kinship terminology, what little data are available suggest a Dakota system with Iroquois cousin terminology.

• BIRTH Every time a woman gave birth both she and the child were ritually purified by sweatbathing for three consecutive days. During this period certain dietary restrictions were observed by the mother, and not until her child could run was she free to share her husband's bed (Heizer 1968).

The birth of a child to a chief was an occasion of special ritual and included dancing by old women who lauded the newborn's future renown and a ceremonial washing of the baby. Children were treated with such love, devotion, and fondness by their parents that the Spanish missionaries were astounded and commented that the children were treated like "little idols" (B.E. Johnston 1962).

• PUBERTY As a child grew she or he was expected to show deference to those older—never to pass between adults or to interrupt their conversation. When a girl reached puberty—an occasion for joy and happiness—she underwent a purification ceremony similar to that of women at childbirth. During the ceremony she was the center of dancing and singing in her honor and was formally presented to society as an eligible, marriageable woman. She was not allowed to eat meat during the ceremony; was lectured on proper female conduct (in order to insure her popularity); and was instructed to be industrious, bathe daily, be hospitable, and be without deceit at all times. During the ceremony a sand painting was made depicting certain cosmological-supernatural beings, the significance of whom was explained to the young woman so she could better understand her place, role, and function (as well as that of her society in general) in the overall scheme of creation.

It is not known with certainty if all young males underwent a puberty ceremony. Blackburn (1962–1963:34) notes that some adolescent boys were involved in a complex ceremony, one resembling the toloache cult of their neighbors. While there is little specific documentation concerning the Gabrielino cult, all indications point to Santa Catalina Island as the traditional home of the Luiseño, Cahuilla, and Cupeño toloache ceremonies (Kroeber 1925:620); and it is assumed that their toloache rituals are survivals of a much more elaborate Gabrielino ceremony.

• DEATH When an important person died a piece of flesh from his or her shoulder was eaten, the person so doing gaining some of the deceased's power while the deceased was assured of a quick passage to the heavens to become a star (B.E. Johnston 1962; Harrington 1920–1930). This was in contrast to ordinary people who, when they died, went underground and danced and feasted forever. On the mainland the corpse was wrapped in a blanket (one used by the deceased during life); relatives assembled for ritual wailing and dancing; and after three days the corpse, along with most of the deceased's personal possessions, was burned. This disposal practice was in contrast to that practiced by at least one of the island groups, those of Santa Catalina. Here the dead were buried with artifacts used during life; the recurrence of certain tools in certain assemblages may indicate that there were vocational guilds on the island. Often dogs would be buried over the body.

Those possessions of the deceased not destroyed or buried were kept for use in the annual mourning ceremony, the biggest event celebrated in the year. Held in

the fall following the acorn harvest, eight days were spent instructing the inexperienced in correct ceremonial procedure, songs, and dances (Harrington 1920–1930). The beginning of the ceremony was signaled by the construction or consecration of the *yuva·r,* the special ceremonial enclosure, followed by ceremonial feasting. Over the next seven days there was a great deal of visiting, dancing, singing, and feasting. Dancers, adorned with hawk and eagle feathers and with their faces, necks, and thorax painted, reenacted various sacred time events, their movements governed by shaman-priests, who watched from the sidelines. On the fourth day a ritualist brought forth all the children born during the year and the chief gave them names selected from their fathers' lineages. On the fifth day life-size images of the deceased were made, the men's images usually decorated with bows and arrows, the women's with baskets. Either on the evening of the fifth day or during the sixth day, an eagle-killing ceremony was held accompanied by special dances and songs.

In the predawn light of the eighth day the images were brought into the *yuva·r* , carried by the dancers while they performed, then thrown onto a fire along with personal items saved at the time of death. The annual mourning ceremony is one of the typical elements of California culture and possibly developed from the Gabrielino and spread to most, if not all, other southern California groups.

Subsistence

Men carried out most of the heavy but short-term labor; they hunted, fished, assisted in some gathering activities (fig. 6), conducted most trading ventures, and had as their central concerns the ceremonial and political well-being of their families and homes. Large land mammals were hunted with bow and arrow, while smaller game were taken with deadfalls, snares, and traps. Burrowing animals were smoked from their holes and clubbed to death, while rabbits were taken in communal hunts with nets, bow and arrows, and throwing clubs (Blackburn 1962–1963:24). For hunting sea mammals harpoons, spearthrowers, and clubs were used. Deep-sea fishing or trading expeditions between island and mainland were undertaken from boats made of wooden planks lashed and asphalted together. However, most fishing was carried out from shore or along rivers, streams, and creeks and involved the use of line and hook, nets, basketry traps, spears, bow and arrow, and vegetal poisons.

Women were involved mainly in collecting and preparing most floral and some animal food resources and production of baskets, pots, and clothing. When old, they shared with old men the task of teaching, supervising, and caring for the young (Blackburn 1962–1963; B.E. Johnston 1962).

Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

Fig. 6. Rojerio, chorister at Mission San Fernando, gathering cactus fruit. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, July 1898.

External Relations

War

Although nineteenth-century writers often characterized the Gabrielino as timid and peaceful, the earlier chroniclers paint a different picture. A state of constant enmity existed between some coastal and prairie-mountain groups. Engelhardt (1927a:20) noted that intervillage conflicts among the Gabrielino were so frequent and of such intensity that inland Gabrielino were effectively prevented by coastal Gabrielino from reaching the sea for fishing and trading purposes. This concern with war as more than a defensive or rare occurrence is further supported by the occurrence of reed armor, war clubs, swords, and large and heavy bows used for warfare, as well as the hunting of big game. While these "wars" were not lengthy, they were deadly and often involved several villages. Those villages allied through marriage ties (and hence economic and religious bonds) usually actively supported one another in armed conflicts. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for a village planning a "war" to send ceremonial gifts to villages with whom it did not have close ties in hopes either of entering into an alliance of mutual help or at least of ensuring the villages' neutrality.

Armed conflict could arise for a number of reasons: failure of a chief to return a gift during a ceremony (that is, breaking the economic reciprocity system), abduction of women, trespassing, or sorcery (it was generally assumed that neighboring groups were using supernatural powers for harm). In the event of potential conflict, a war council was called by an official crier (smoke signals were also used to call people from distant villages) with all potentially involved villages attending, and the pros and cons of going to war discussed. A decision to go to war was not lightly made, since warfare involved not only the warriors, but also old men, women, and even children. The chief led the war party and, while on maneuvers, was followed in order by able-bodied warriors, old men, women, and then the children, the last two groups carrying the food and supplies (Heizer 1968).

Every attempt was made to surprise the enemy, descending upon his villages and killing, or occasionally capturing, as many people as possible. Bows and arrows and war clubs were the primary instruments of warfare. The clubs were of hard, heavy wood, often with bulbous heads and sharp conical projections, with a length up to three feet. During battle the women gathered up arrows shot in their direction and gave them to the men to shoot back. Wounded, if left on the battlefield, were killed by the opposition. If prisoners were taken, their fate varied: males were tortured in front of the entire village population, beheaded, and scalped, the scalps later dried, cured, and placed on display in the *yuva·r*. Women and children, if not also killed, were enslaved, their only chance of freedom being escape or recapture by their own people. Occasionally it was possible to buy back captives, but this seems to have been rare (Heizer 1968).

Feuds

More common than warfare, and involving considerably less people, were the feuds that passed from father to son, often for many generations. Hostilities were vented through ritualized "song fights," some lasting as long as eight days. Songs, obscene and insulting in nature and sung in the vilest language possible, were accompanied by stomping and trampling the ground, symbolizing the subjugation of the opponent (Heizer 1968).

Interpersonal disputes were adjudicated by the village chief. If the dispute involved members of the same village, the chief heard testimony, examined evidence, then passed a binding judgment. If the quarrel involved parties from two different villages, each party's chief conducted a separate hearing among his own people, then met with each other to pass sentence. If they were unable to issue an acceptable joint statement, a third chief was summoned to hear the two chiefs' arguments, then make a final, unappealable judgment—unappealable, that is, short of open armed conflict or sorcery (Heizer 1968).

Intermarriage

Yet by and large, interpersonal, intra- and intervillage relationships were amicable. Gabrielino villages were often located immediately adjacent to non-Gabrielino ones, and intermarriage was common. For example, at Corona, the Gabrielino village of Paxauxa lay directly across Temescal Creek from a large Luiseño village, and intermarriage between the two was common. Forbes (1966) reports that the people of the Gabrielino village of Tongva intermarried with the people of at least 13 other villages, including Yokuts, Chumash, and Serrano. This arrangement is not unusual, since the Gabrielinos were part of a widespread ritual congregation union "which existed between all Cahuilla, Serrano, Luiseño, and Gabrielino clans" (Bean 1972; Strong 1929). Since this was the case, relationships were usually friendly among members of these different groups.

Trade

Intra- and intergroup exchange was brisk and common, with people, goods, and ideas flowing in many directions and in some cases, for long distances. From the inland Serranos the coastal Gabrielinos obtained acorns, seeds, obsidian, and deerskins in exchange for shell beads, dried fish, sea otter pelts, shells, possibly salt, and steatite (obtained by coastal Gabrielinos from those living on the islands). Through middlemen located in interior southern California—such as Cahuilla, Chemehuevi, Mohave—shells from coastal sections controlled by Gabrielinos were traded as far east as central Arizona. Ruby has noted that Cibola White ware (A.D. 1000) from the Southwest has been found in Gabrielino territory, while shells and steatite have been found in Pueblo sites. It is likely that southern California and the Southwest "were engaged in a series of reciprocal exchanges, regularized by the establishment of trading partnerships . . ." (Ruby 1970:96, 266–267), perhaps as early as A.D. 600–800. Most trading was usually of the barter type, but when this was not feasible or desirable, strung olivella beads, considered legal tender throughout most of southern California, were used to transact business (Ruby 1970).

The principal trade item, both among the Gabrielino and for export to other groups, was steatite. Available in great quantities on Santa Catalina Island, steatite was traded, in rough or finished form, to many groups (Chumash, Yokuts, Ipai-Tipai, Luiseño, Serrano, and via the Chumash to the distant Tubatulabal). Most of the steatite was used to make palettes, arrow straighteners, ornaments, and carvings of animal or animallike beings. From archeological and ethnographic accounts it would appear that the Gabrielino received traders, possibly at trading centers, from other groups rather than journeying out to distant peoples (Harrington 1920–1930). In some business transactions knotted cords were used as mnemonic devices for recalling figures and quantities and intricacies of past or pending transactions.

Perhaps the most important "item" originating in the Gabrielino territory that found its way to non-Gabrielino groups and significantly influenced them was the set of

associated religious beliefs and rituals called the Chingichngish cult (see "Cults and their Transformations," this vol.).

Religion

Less is known concerning the Gabrielino religious system and beliefs than those of their neighbors. Several different creation stories exist. One relates to the god Qua-o-ar—compare the Luiseño-Juaneño *kʷáʔuwar,* one of their names for Chingichngish (Harrington 1933b:139, phonemicized). He created the world out of chaos, fixing it upon the shoulders of seven giants created for this purpose (Heizer 1968:19). Following this, Qua-o-ar created animals and then humans from earth, and then ascended to the afterworld. B.E. Johnston (1962:41) recorded a different creation story whose prime characters were Heaven and Earth. The two were respectively brother and sister who, through six different creations, made all of the world; then Earth gave birth to Wiyot (*wuyo·t*), "an animate being, but different from the rational kind, and irrational" (B.E. Johnston 1962:41). Wiyot ruled the people for a long time but eventually was killed by his sons because of his cruelty. Following his death, the people met to discuss what things in the world could be used as food. As they enumerated the wild food "a new leader appeared to them, at first seeming like a phantom or an evanescent vision . . . announced himself as a greater chief [than Wiyot]. . . . He called himself Chungichnish [Chingichngish†] and gave a great speech in which he set the future course of tribal law and religion. [He] delegated powers and responsibilities to certain persons [shaman-priests]. . . . The god also created out of mud . . . a new race" of people and instructed them in new life-ways. Following this, Chingichgnish began to dance and slowly ascended into heaven (B.E. Johnston 1962:42-44).

By the time the Spanish arrived in Gabrielino territory the belief in Chingichngish had apparently spread to neighboring non-Gabrielino groups (Luiseño, Ipai-Tipai, Cupeño, Juaneño), becoming intimately involved with the toloache cult. The belief in Chingichngish had become highly formalized and ritualized involving the erection of "temples" (sacred enclosures where elaborately decorated poles and banners were erected and an image of Chingichngish was placed) into which only old men possessing great "power" could enter, lengthy and elaborate ceremonies, and offerings of food and goods not only to Chingichngish but also to Sun and Moon (B.E. Johnston 1962).

The exact nature of Sun and Moon are not known, but they have enjoyed almost as much attention and devotion as Chingichngish. Whenever sand paintings ("maps" of the Gabrielino cosmology) were made, representations of Sun and Moon figured predominantly in them (Harrington 1920-1930). In addition to these cosmological beings, the Gabrielino also recognized the sacred beings characterized as Crow, Raven, Owl, and Eagle. The Eagle emerges as a central figure in the remote past, a great and wise chief who, when dying, told the people he would become an eagle whose feathers were to be used in all rituals (Harrington 1920-1930; Kroeber 1925).

Little else is known about Gabrielino mythology. In the few stories, often of fragmentary nature or imbued with non-Gabrielino (European) elements that survive, predominant themes include revenge, transformations to escape bad events, severe punishments for selfishness or disrespect, and "deliberate or artistic incoherence, both as regards personages and plot" (Kroeber 1925:625).

Prime life values included respect for age, maleness, and above all, secrecy: "Whenever they tell the truth they think some slight damage may result to them or they might loose something good. They conceal it [truth] every way. In this matter, they have no other motive than their own convenience" (Engelhardt 1927a:104).

The four cardinal directions (North, East, South, West) were named, while the year was divided into two parts (according to the solstices) with 10 moons. Several stars were named (usually animal names), the Pleiades were considered to be sacred time maidens, rainbows conferred good luck while ball lightning conferred bad luck, whirlwinds were evil spirits, and springs and lakes the dwelling places of potentially malevolent spirits (B.E. Johnston 1962; Heizer 1968).

Synonymy

The Gabrielino of the Los Angeles area called themselves *kumi·vit* (cf. *kumi·* 'east') and were so referred to by the Fernandeños, who were known to the Gabrielino as *paṣe·kʷarum* (cf. *paṣe·kŋa* 'San Fernando').

The Spanish group name Gabrielino first appears, spelled Gabrileños, in a report by Loew (1876) and has been intermittently applied to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Los Angeles area since that time. Another spelling is Gabrieleño (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:480). Other names, for which Hodge gives some early attestations, are Kij (B.E. Johnston 1962); Kizh (Heizer 1968); Tobikhars (B.E. Johnston 1962); and *tumámqamalum,* a Luiseño word related to *tumá·mik* 'north' (though 'northerners' in general is *tumámkawčum*) (William Bright, personal communication 1974; Kroeber in Hodge).

Sources

The major published sources on Gabrielino are B.E. Johnston (1962), the published forms of the Hugo Reid letters that contain valuable footnotes (Heizer 1968; W.J. Hoffman 1885), Engelhardt (1908-1915, 1927, 1927a), Harrington's culture element distribution list (1942) and work on Chingichngish (1933b), Kroeber (1925), and Blackburn (1962-1963). Various articles in *Masterkey* and the UCLA Archaeological Survey Reports should be consulted.

The principal archival collections containing ethnographic, linguistic, and historical data are at the University of California, Berkeley (A.L. Kroeber Papers, C.H. Merriam Collection); Huntington Library, San Marino, California (H.N. Rust Collection); Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History (especially the Thomas W. Temple Collection); the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (J.P. Harrington Collection contains the largest amount of ethnographic and linguistic data on the Gabrielino); and the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles (especially Bernice E. Johnston Collection). Artifacts are described in detail by Blackburn (1962-1963) and are housed at various institutions throughout the United States—Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History; Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, California; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; San Diego Museum of Man, California; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; and Smithsonian Institution. In Europe there are artifacts in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Photographs of Gabrielino peoples are rare and most are in local or private collections. The Southwest Museum and the C. Hart Merriam Collection have a few photographs of Gabrielinos taken around 1900 plus a few sketches from the late Mexican period.

† Chingichngish and Chungichnish are spellings of the Luiseño name *čiŋičeŋiš* (dialect variant *čaŋićeŋiš*); no corresponding Gabrielino name has been recorded.