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#### **Author**

Parkman, E. Breck

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# Community and Wilderness in Pomo Ideology

E. BRECK PARKMAN, California Park Service, Silverado District, 20 East Spain Street, Sonoma, CA 95476.

*The Pomo Indians of northern California perceived their villages as being separate from, but connected with, the wild places surrounding them, resulting in structurally differing interpretations for Community and Wilderness. The village and its fringe served as the focus of the woman's world, while the man's world often focused more on the wilderness. Power, an essential part of the Pomo experience, could be gained in both worlds. In the village, power was often of a communal nature, and its acquisition involved elaborate rituals enacted by numerous people. In the wilderness, however, power could be gained alone by way of supernatural experience. In order to acquire and maintain these powers, a spiritual balance was sought to connect the natural and cultural orders. This paper is a discussion of Pomoan thought and an examination of the relationship of the Pomo to Community and Wilderness.*

**P**RIOR to historic contact, the Pomo Indians of northern California (Fig. 1) contrasted Human (i.e., Culture) with Nature, Natural with Supernatural, and Community with Wilderness. This dualism influenced their ideological constructs, and provided the Pomo a unique perspective for observing the world around them. Of primary importance to this perspective was the opposition of Community and Wilderness. Indeed, this helped to establish the boundary between that which was a part of Culture, and that which was outside of it.

In essence, the Pomo landscape was comprised of communal lands, which, for the purpose of this paper, is referred to as "Community," and wild lands, which are referred to as "Wilderness." "Community" is defined as those lands immediately adjacent to a village (i.e., the village "fringe"), the village itself, and perhaps the primary roads linking different villages. Thus, Community represents those lands which were considered to be under the direct control of people and their cultural laws. On the other hand, Wilderness refers to those lands which the Pomo did not consider to be under their direct control, but rather subject to

natural and/or supernatural laws (cf. Bean 1975: 27). Of course, these wild lands were considered to be part of tribal territories, and were utilized whenever necessary (see Blackburn and Anderson 1993). However, whereas the community was the domain of humans, the wilderness was the realm of the natural and supernatural, making it a potentially frightening place from which humans derived much of their physical and spiritual sustenance.

In the Kashaya Pomo story of "The Deer and the Bear," it is said that in pre-human times, the bears and deer lived in the "wilderness" (Oswalt 1964:57). The Kashaya word for wilderness is "kulu" (Oswalt 1961:130). In other stories, it is said that the First People lived at a place known as "Forest Depths" (Oswalt 1964:75). Perhaps in these stories we have allegorical allusions to the humanizing effect of culture. Indeed, whereas the First People had lived within the depths of the wilderness, the ancestors of the culture-bearing Pomo emerged from it to form communities which, in effect, became another world (i.e., the "cultural" world).

The most important structure of the Pomo

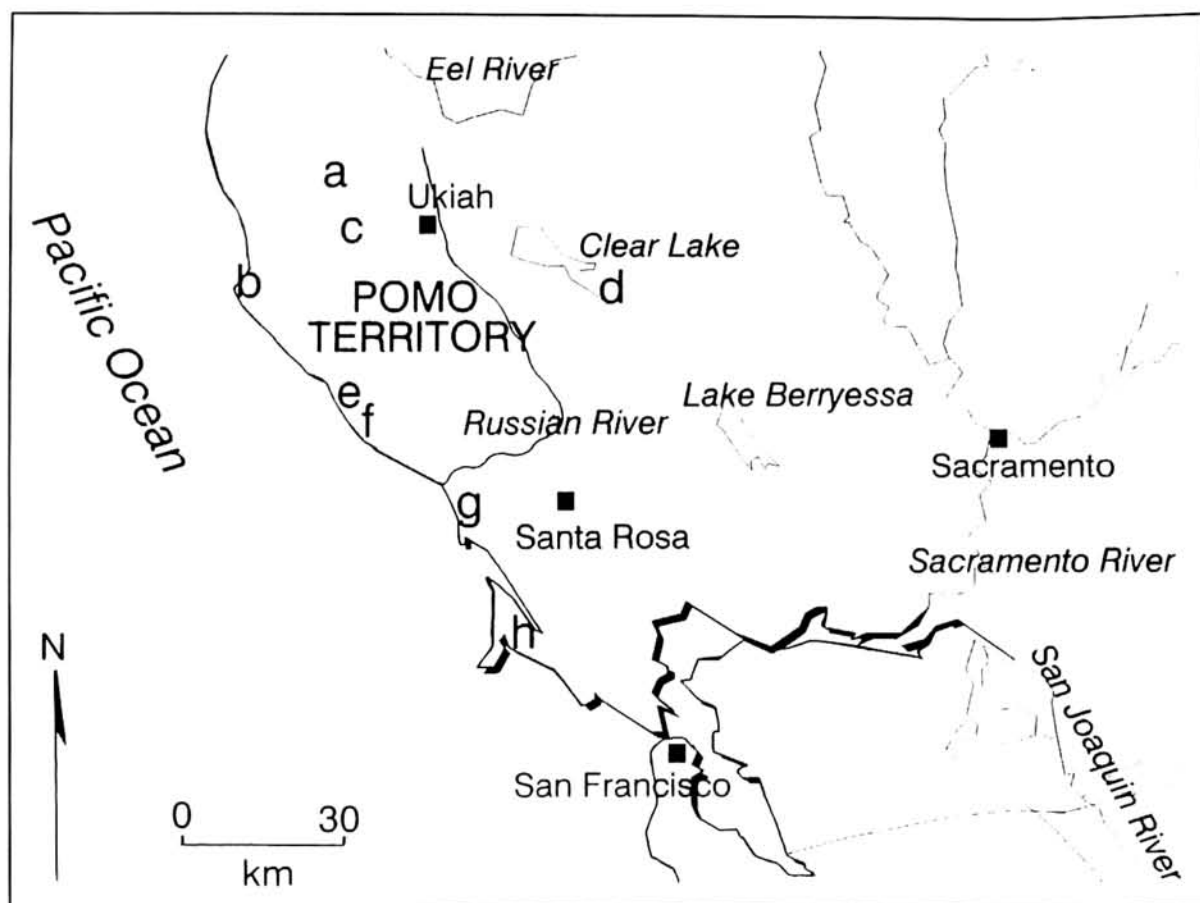


Fig. 1. Location of Pomo territory and landmarks mentioned in text: (a) Keystone; (b) Manchester-Point Arena Rancheria; (c) Feliz Creek; (d) Anderson Marsh; (e) Salt Point; (f) Fort Ross; (g) Duncans Point; (h) Kule Loklo.

community was, and continues to be, the ceremonial roundhouse, in which dances, weddings, funerals, and other important events took place (Fig. 2). In aboriginal times, the roundhouse was semi-subterranean, and capable of holding more than 100 individuals. Its architecture was steeped in a rich heritage, and symbolized a model of the world. Although it occupied the center of the village, the roundhouse was a conduit to the wilds, connecting Human and Nature. More importantly, the roundhouse served to coalesce the natural and supernatural worlds, thus assuring the Pomo a healthy and balanced life.

In spite of the connection between the roundhouse and the wilderness, the Pomo per-

ceived their villages as being separate from the wild places that surrounded them. This resulted in structurally different interpretations for the two, and divided the Pomo world into two mutually exclusive spheres, the "Inside" and the "Outside." The literal meaning for the former was "inside the house," with the word for "house" usually connoting "village" (Halpern 1953:151). Thus, the Inside was another way of saying inside the community, or of the culture. The Outside, on the other hand, generally denoted the wilderness, the wild areas to which one went to hunt and gather wild foods. There existed within Pomo ideology, then, a dualism which contrasted the concepts of Culture and Nature, Domestic and Wild, and

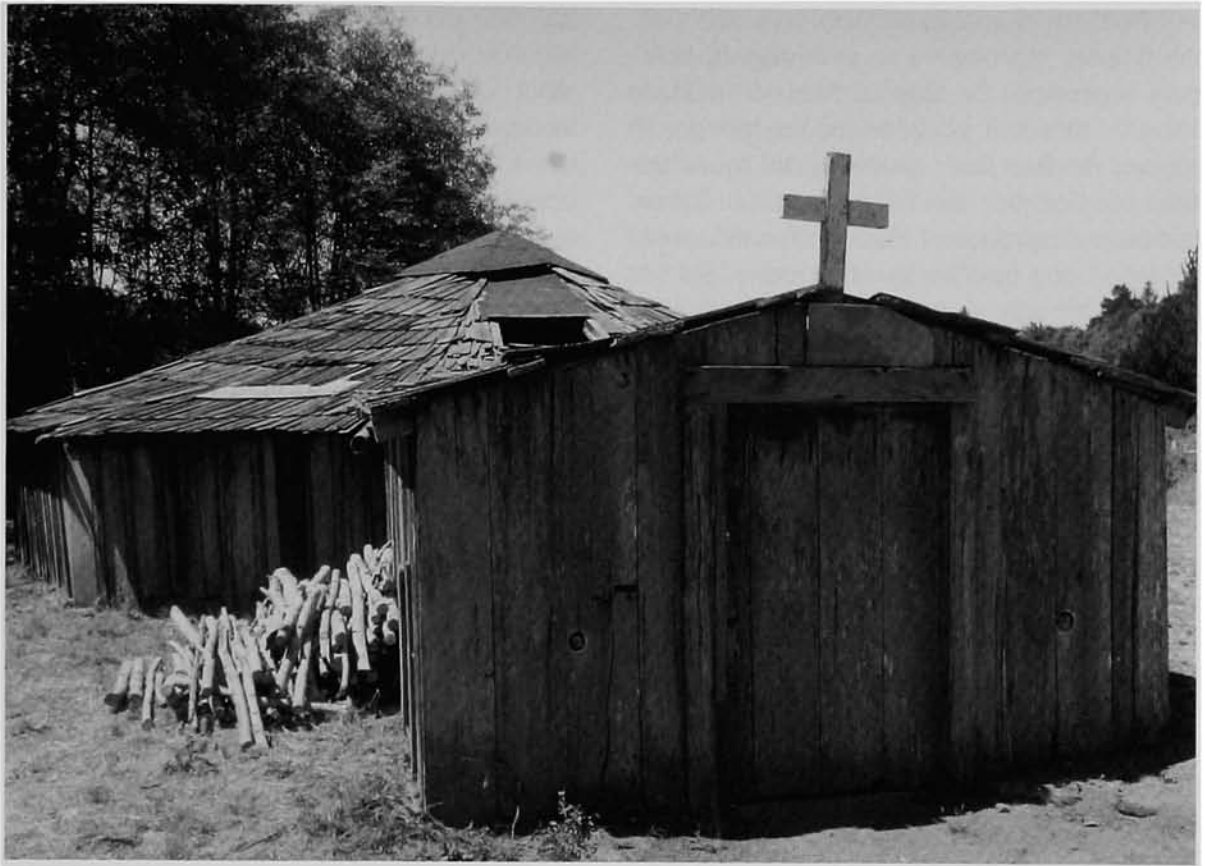


Fig. 2. The roundhouse at the Manchester-Point Arena Rancheria, built in 1906. Note the cross above the entrance, indicative of the Maru Cult (cf. Meighan and Riddell 1972:Fig. 5; Bean and Theodoratus 1978:Fig. 10). Photograph by the author, 1987.

Community and Wilderness (cf. Barrett 1933: 481; Halpern 1953:151-152).

Whereas the community and its fringe were often perceived as the women's world, the wilderness often became the world of men. Power was to be had in both worlds. In the village, power was of a communal nature, and it required elaborate rituals that combined the energies of numerous individuals to import supernatural intervention from the Outside. In the wilderness, however, personal power could be had alone, by way of supernatural experience. To acquire and maintain these powers, whether communal or personal, a balance was effected that connected the cultural and natural orders.

### PERCEIVING THE WILDERNESS

Do not misread the use of the term "wilderness" to describe a Native American landscape. The term is not used in the traditional Western fashion so in vogue a century ago. Historically, the term "wilderness" was used by American expansionists to justify the conquest of North America. For example, in an 1893 lecture, Frederick Jackson Turner presented his famous "Frontier Hypothesis," which proposed that "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development" (Turner 1963:27).

For Turner, and most Americans of his era, the frontier represented an ever-moving boundary separating the claimed lands from those "free" lands still available for the taking. Of course, the free lands were claimed by indigenous peoples, but this did not matter to Turner and other Americans of his era. Turner's use of the term "free land" to describe native land was mirrored by others who used the word "wilderness" (cf. Nash 1982). Indeed, Turner himself attributed the peculiarity of American institutions, in part, to the fact that they had been compelled to adapt to "crossing a continent" and "winning a wilderness" (Turner 1963:27). Wilderness, then, was wild land to be fought for and won, or lost, as the case may be. Indeed, American society historically contrasted "tamed" lands and civilization with wild lands and savagery (cf. Turner 1963:28).

In its Eleatic perspective of the world, Western culture has traditionally pitted Human against Nature, making familiar statements such as "*taming* the wilderness," and "making the world a *better* place." In the Western tradition, Human is at war with Nature. With the beginnings of Western science, Human decided that Nature could be taken apart and put back together again, thus ending the archaic animism and the many nature religions of the Western world (Labbé 1986:49). In the ideological system which followed, there was created a contrastive system which opposed Good with Evil, Life with Death, Light with Darkness, and thus Human with Nature. As Watts (1975:19-20) observed, this led to "an idealism to cultivate the former and to be rid of the latter."

Thus, whereas Native American populations attempted to live with the wilderness, American settlers perceived the wilderness as a land in opposition to their very purpose. And, whereas wilderness was perceived by many Americans as being free land currently unused, the typical Native American definition of wilderness was more akin to a claimed land in which humans

had little claim. Indeed, in the early Teutonic and Norse languages, from which the English word "wilderness" was developed, the root meant "will" as in self-willed or uncontrollable (Nash 1982:1). The Native American's wilderness and the American settler's wilderness were two different places. The American settlers came to the wild lands in order to change them. Turner (1963:29) wrote that "The wilderness masters the colonist," but "Little by little, he transforms the wilderness." On the other hand, the wilderness came to the native people, through their rituals, oral traditions, and beliefs. The Native American wilderness, then, was a place intimately known and managed (e.g., Blackburn and Anderson 1993), yet considered to be outside of Human and Culture (i.e., natural and self-willed). It was a place of power, and it required that humans enter it with the proper attitude. For the purpose of this discussion, the definition of wilderness is one best articulated by Snyder (1990:11):

wilderness has implied chaos, eros, the unknown, realms of taboo, the habitat of both the ecstatic and the demonic. In both senses it is a place of archetypal power, teaching, and challenge.

### THE INSIDE: COMMUNITY

As was true of most Native Californians, the primary sociopolitical unit of the Pomo was the tribelet or small nation. Kroeber (1962) identified more than 30 Pomo nations. They ranged in size from 50 to 1,500 people (McLendon and Oswalt 1978:276; Fredrickson 1984:481). Nations normally consisted of one primary village and several subsidiary villages.

Each nation was overseen by a chief or headman of varying authority. Although Gifford (1926) attributed lineages to some of the Pomo, it is more likely that ambilocal corporate residential kin groups existed (Kunkel 1974). The headman of the Pomo village was called *hoipu*, and his wife was called *mayin* (Gifford

and Kroeber 1937:219). For the Penutian groups of the San Francisco Bay area, *maien* was the name of the chief's wife (Kelly 1991: 348-350). However, in the Mission baptismal records, the nominal suffix "*maien*" (also spelled *maen*, *mayen*, *meyen*) is attached to the names of many of the females of the northern and eastern San Francisco Bay area. Based on this, Parkman (1981:19) suggested that the *maien* actually represented a female secret society that served to strengthen affinal relationships and intervillage alliances. The Pomo *mayin* suggests an association with this hypothetical secret society.

Although Pomo houses were seldom arranged in any regular order, the roundhouse and sweathouse were normally located in the center of the village (Barrett 1975:42, 45). Village land was considered communal (Loeb 1926:197), but the family house (Fig. 3) was owned by the oldest wife (Kroeber 1925:241; Loeb 1926:198). The houses were used primarily by the women and children, as men and older boys usually slept in the sweathouse (Kroeber 1925:241; Barrett 1975:44).

The Pomo village was characterized by a diametric and concentric structure. The center of the village, where religion dwelled, was home to men. The periphery, where domestic chores were undertaken, represented the women's world. As the Pomo were matrilineal and predominantly matrilocal, the opposition between the center and the periphery was also an opposition between men (owners of the ceremonial roundhouse and sweathouse) and women (owners of the encircling family houses) (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963:142-143). The relationship between the center and periphery expressed two kinds of opposition, that between male and female, and another between the sacred and profane. The central area containing the roundhouse served as a stage for ceremonial life, while the periphery was reserved for the domestic activities of the women, who were by

definition excluded from many of the mysteries of the religion.

The sweathouse was a fixture of every Pomo village (Kroeber 1925:241). It was often the scene of gambling, and appears to have served as a men's club (Loeb 1926:160). Women were normally excluded from entering the structure, although elderly women were sometimes allowed to sweat with the men for medical purposes (Loeb 1926:160).

The most important structure in a Pomo village was the ceremonial roundhouse, which served as the "center of village life" (Barrett 1975:45). Village ceremonies always occurred within or adjacent to the roundhouse (Barrett 1917a:401). The structure appears to have symbolized the Lower, Middle, and Upper Worlds (cf. Kroeber 1925:242; Clark and Williams 1954:102; Bean 1975:25-26). Additionally, the center pole of the roundhouse may have symbolized the Tree of Life "with roots in the underworld in a great pool where the silvery salmon play" (Clark and Williams 1954:102). In Pomo cosmology, the fish appears to have symbolized fertility and new growth (cf. Clark and Williams 1954:117).

The symbolic and structural heart of the roundhouse was its center pole (cf. Ortiz 1989: 10). This pole, like those used in several outdoor rituals, represented a connection between the earth and sky, and between the sacred and profane. Apparently, it was possible to move between the Middle and Upper Worlds by way of the pole. For example, in the *Dama* ceremony, participants crawled on the roundhouse ceiling, then descended head first by way of the center pole (Kroeber 1925:266). It was also believed that the ghosts of the dead reached their new home in the afterlife by climbing a similar pole into the sky (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:220). The center pole represented (and continues to represent) the most important aspect of the roundhouse, and was characterized by sacred qualities (cf. Jenkins and Theodoratus



Fig. 3. Reconstructed tule houses at Anderson Marsh State Historic Park. Photograph by the author, 1987.

1987:4; Margolin 1987:10; Ortiz 1989:10).

The center pole was painted from top to bottom with seven red and four white bands, which encircled the pole in spirals (Barrett 1975:49). The side posts and stringers were painted in a similar fashion, with two white and four red bands, and two white bands encircled the ceiling, perhaps defining the Inside. A dichotomy apparently existed between the colors red and white, with the former possibly indicating the earth, and the latter indicating the sky. For example, medicine bows and arrows were painted with four red bands, which were thought to represent the "four earth men at the four corners of the earth" (Wilson 1982:22). It might be conjectured that the colors red and white indicated prayer and defined sacred space, and that ritual numbers were also used to indicate prayer and space. For example, the

sacred number four appears to have been associated primarily with the color red, and was probably most often used to denote prayer. White was also associated with the number four and may represent the four cardinal directions. The number seven appears to have been associated with both prayer and space, and probably denotes the four cardinal directions as well as the concepts of above, below, and center (or the Upper, Lower, and Middle worlds). The number two, associated with the color white, may have denoted the duality of the Inside and Outside.

It was not possible to construct a new roundhouse without first placating the people in mourning that year, nor could a man in mourning assist in the construction (Kroeber 1925:242; Barrett 1975:45-46). Apparently, the construction of a roundhouse posed a threat to the village by upsetting the spirits of the recently deceased. The roundhouse may have been perceived as an extension of the wilderness; thus its construction, if done wrong, may have served to reintroduce the spirits of dead ancestors back among the living. Or, as the ghosts of the recently deceased were thought to linger about before going to the Land of the Dead (thought to be toward the south [Loeb 1926:289]), construction of the roundhouse may have been seen as a potential threat to their transition. Regardless, there was a connection between the roundhouse, the spirits of the dead, and the wilderness. Indeed, the roundhouse was perceived as a conduit to the wilderness.

The roundhouse appears to have represented the "center" or "womb" of the earth, and was iconographically female in nature. Perhaps for this reason, some of the structures contained a large number of baby cradles, each with a baby figurine made of magnesite (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:183). The figurines were made by old men, and placed in the roundhouse for "luck."

The entrance to the tunnel leading into the roundhouse faced the south, perhaps suggesting

an association with the dead (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:143; Barrett 1975:49). The tunnel was about four meters long, and its rafters were painted with red bands. One's movement through the tunnel may have symbolized birth. If that was the case, the tunnel would have constituted a symbolic birth canal, and those individuals moving through it would have entered a liminal zone, which allowed them to move from one state (outside/profane) to another (inside/sacred). The liminal nature of the tunnel probably constituted the primary reason the uninitiated were forbidden entrance to the roundhouse during many of the ceremonies.

The roundhouse represented a microcosm of the world (Nabokov 1989:5). Therefore, during ceremonies, visitors were seated according to the direction of their home villages. A space in the northern part of the roundhouse was reserved for visitors from northern villages, and similar space was reserved in the eastern and western parts of the structure for visitors from those directions (Barrett 1975:51). Apparently, no such arrangement was made for visitors from the south. Although this may have resulted from the fact that the roundhouse faced south, leaving little available space, it might also have resulted from the belief that ghosts inhabited the land to the south, and were not normally welcome inside the structure.

Although it was characterized by a male "center," the Pomo village was essentially female in nature. If the community was considered female, then it is reasonable to conclude that the wilderness was sometimes perceived to be male. However, it should be noted that a Wilderness = Male/Community = Female structural model does not hold true in all situations. Women entered into and utilized the wilderness, giving it unique female properties (e.g., the ability to nourish). The "Earth Mother," after all, was female (cf. Wilson 1982:10). However, at a very basic structural level, the Pomo perceived a femaleness in their community.

Thus, by default, they may have associated males with the wilderness.

### THE OUTSIDE: WILDERNESS

Pomo mythology attributed the origin of wild things to breaches of etiquette, the violation of taboos, or incidents of hostility (Halpern 1953:152). Their mythology also noted that the First People became wild things inside the house, after which they flew out through the smokehole, becoming geese and deer (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:204; Halpern 1953:152). Thus, the Pomo recognized an ancestral connection between Human and the animals and birds of the wild. Indeed, this ancient connection was an important aspect of Pomo hunting customs, as it helped to define their environmental ethics (cf. Heizer 1978). The Pomo enjoyed a special relationship with the plants of their environment as well (cf. Peri and Patterson 1976).

For Native Californians, the village was considered a safe place, due primarily to its control by shamans and ritual specialists who were charged with warding off malevolent power. However, if one's village offered a sense of security, the wilderness offered the potential for danger (Fig. 4).

If security, predictability, and sociability are associated with one's home base, everything beyond is associated with danger. The forest and other places not inhabited by man are unsafe because they are defined as uncontrolled - as are the other two universes. Thus, travel away from one's home base increases the chances of encountering danger. The danger of uncontrolled power is believed to increase in a series of concentric circles the farther one moves away from one's immediate social universe [Bean 1975:27].

The Pomo had reason to fear the wilds. There were real and imagined dangers lurking there. Death could come suddenly in an unexpected encounter with a bear, a bear doctor, or a band of enemy warriors (cf. Barrett 1917b;





Fig. 4. The Kashaya Pomo Wilderness (*Kulu*), Salt Point State Park. Photograph by the author, 1993.

Storer and Tevis 1955). Springs and rocks were considered especially powerful, and inhabited with spirits. A "water woman" inhabited certain springs, and could make ill those women who saw her. Other springs contained "water monsters" that could bring sickness to those who saw them. For example, *Gilak*, a supernatural dragon-like monster, inhabited numerous

springs and streams, and a woman might fall ill if she saw it while fetching water (Gifford and Block 1990:69-70). Seeing this monster was thought to be a punishment for breaking menstrual taboos. It was appeased by throwing arrowpoints into the water. *Huk*, a supernatural bird, and *Bogil*, a supernatural fawn, also lived under the water, and were thought to kill the

unwary (Wilson 1982:26). To poison someone, the Pomo threw the nail clippings or hair of a victim into a spring inhabited by a water monster that had the form of a snake (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:201).

Stories abounded of people who had been turned to stone (cf. Loeb 1926:318-319; Kennedy 1955:21; Oswalt 1964:177-183). Many of the rock people were considered dangerous. Malevolent witches and wizards also resided outside the community (cf. Wilson 1982:5). According to local belief, they occasionally captured and murdered unsuspecting travelers. There were other "Outside People" to be wary of as well. Small people (2 to 3 feet high), called *Guya*, lived in the woods and scared people, as did lightning people and no-head people (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:204). Additionally, there were little people who lived in the Skyworld and fell to earth with the thunder (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:205). The Southwestern Pomo believed in several dangerous, human-like spirits, including "*Hamoko*, a forest being who led people astray, *Chuyedac*, who punished people for breaking birth taboos, and *Kawas*, a supernatural being who had a paralyzing effect and whom the individual saw while in bed" (Kennedy 1955:26). The Northern Pomo feared a number of mountain spirits, including naked people without heads, a striped man, a headless bear, and headless ghosts (Loeb 1926:303). A special feast and dance were held in summer to appease the "Outside People" (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:184).

*Kuksu*, as well as other supernatural beings, lived in a roundhouse at the end of the world toward the south (Barrett 1917a:423; Kroeber 1925:261). The dead were thought to go to a land to the south as well. The dead became spirits, and were potentially disruptive to humans. For example, during the Ghost Ceremony, ghost impersonators entered the roundhouse and tried to dislodge the foot drummer and pull up the center pole (Loeb 1926:339).

As the center pole symbolized the center of the world, the dead appear to have represented malevolent spirits from the Outside, intent on disrupting culture and life.

The Pomo prayed and made offerings to the spirits of the wilderness. For example, a man could only cut down a tree after paying its spirit (Loeb 1926:311). Before setting out on the hunt, a Pomo man rubbed his body with angelica and pepper tree leaves so as to ward off the spirit of the hills (Loeb 1926:171). And, when collecting angelica from Mount Konocti, the Pomo left beads and feathers as an offering to the mountain's spirit (Loeb 1926:311).

Although the Pomo perceived wild lands to be outside their direct control, they were still considered to be tribal territory. Tribal boundaries were precisely marked, and children were taught their tribal geography from an early age (cf. Powers 1877:109-110). In fact, boundary (and fishing) disputes were the second most common cause of war, after poisoning (Loeb 1926:200; McCorkle 1978:697).

### THE VILLAGE FRINGE

The village fringe, also referred to as the "hills" or the "bush," was an area that extended from several hundred meters to a kilometer or more out from the village. Within this area, there were bedrock milling stations and other specialized work areas, water sources, firewood gathering areas, and latrines. Further out, at the interface of the Fringe and the Outside, there were hunting and gathering areas. And beyond that, in the Outside, there were more expansive areas for resource procurement.

A hunter stopped about one mile from the village, and prayed for success (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:174). This may represent the distance at which the hunter thought his Community and Wilderness coalesced. There were also trailside offering places where people left beads and sticks, and prayed for good luck (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:206).

The "bush" provided the liminal setting necessary for acts of transformation. For example, the Pomo honeymoon was held there, since the first blood of intercourse was considered potentially harmful to the house (Loeb 1926:278). As a virgin, the bride may have been perceived as being "of the wild." However, sexual intercourse apparently transformed her into a woman (i.e., human) who could then safely establish her residence in the village. Similarly, the bush may have provided the setting necessary for transforming a bride or groom from a distant village to the status of community member.

The village fringe played an important role in Pomo ceremonies. These were areas to which ceremonial participants went for preparation, and to which initiates were taken for instruction. Because it was not culturally "loaded" like the village, the fringe offered the Pomo a ritually clean area in which to prepare initiates. For example, during the Ghost Ceremony, the ghost impersonators dressed in the nearby hills, and the Ash Ghost initiates were taken to the hills for instruction (Loeb 1926:346, 353). In the *Kuksu* Ceremony, male and female initiates were taken into the "bush" about 200 to 300 meters from the village for the purpose of instruction (Loeb 1926:356). When the ghost impersonators dressed in the hills, they were symbolically transformed into non-human wild things in the wilderness. And, when they disrobed in the Ghost House, they were transformed back into human beings in the cultural safety of the village. Symbolically, the fringe was an aspect of the wilderness, and thus it was a place of power.

#### RITUAL INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY AND WILDERNESS

The Pomo recognized that they had a unique and important relationship with Nature. Their lives were tied directly to the other lives of the wilds. For example, when a child's umbilical cord dropped off, it was placed in a

special basket, and tied in a tree (Kennedy 1955:20). If the tree died before the objects disintegrated, it was thought that bad luck would come to the child. Thus, the child and the tree shared a common fate.

Working together with the members of their village, the Pomo created corporate power by ritually integrating their community with the wilderness that surrounded it. Indeed, all of their important ceremonies sought to integrate Human and Nature, Natural and Supernatural, and Community and Wilderness (Fig. 5).

The shamans and priests of a community were the individuals most responsible for integrating Human and Nature. The priests were ritual specialists, and members of the secret society, responsible for enacting the yearly rituals. Shamans, on the other hand, were directly responsible for the healing arts. For some of the Pomoans (e.g., Coast Central Pomo), priesthood and shamanism were the same thing, while for others (e.g., Northern and Eastern Pomo), they were separate and distinct professions (Loeb 1926:320). The priesthood apparently evolved from earlier shamanistic beliefs (Loeb 1926:320).

Kroeber (1907:327) defined shamanism as "the supposed individual control of the supernatural through a personally acquired power of communication with the spirit world." Both men and women became shamans (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:199). Pomo shamans included sucking doctors, outfit or singing doctors, rattlesnake doctors, weather shamans, and herbalists (Loeb 1926:319-329; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:156-157, 199; Bean and Theodoratus 1978:297). Whereas outfit doctors normally inherited their positions, the sucking doctors acquired their power through visions, after fasting for several days (Loeb 1926:320; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:199). According to Bean and Vane (1978:122), a shaman's self confidence (thus power) resulted from "The



Fig. 5. Bighead dancer en route to the roundhouse, Anderson Marsh State Historic Park. Photograph by the author, 1987.

mastery of basic human fears - height, darkness, and space." Shamanism permeated Pomo society. In fact, *Kuksu* himself was considered a powerful shaman, since "His appearance at the

time of the pole ceremony was for the sake of driving away the ills of individuals and of the community in general" (Loeb 1926:329).

The *Kuksu* Ceremony was held in the

spring, the season of rebirth and new growth, and it always began with the Pole Ceremony (Loeb 1926:369-374). In this ceremony, a tree pole was taken from the wilderness and erected in the village. Later, it was rubbed with soaproot so as to make it difficult to climb. During the ceremony, men attempted to climb the pole, and as they did, the villagers threw pinole and beads at them. Children ate the pinole after it was thrown at the climbers. Afterwards, the pole was ceremonially disposed of beneath the water of a pool or marsh.

The Pomo Pole Ceremony appears to have been a spring food rite that ritually reinforced the interrelationship of Human and Nature (cf. Birbeck 1968:8). The Eastern Pomo name for this pole was *budubaxar*, meaning "acorn pole" (Loeb 1926:372). Although the Eastern Pomo denied that the pole represented an acorn pole (used to harvest acorns), it does appear to have symbolized a food tree. Furthermore, its erection in the village, and the attempts of the men (as representatives of the different families) to climb to its top, symbolized the relationship that the people had with their natural environment. The pinole and beads that were thrown at the climbers by their families were prayer offerings for success. The fact that the children collected and ate the pinole further suggests that the *Kuksu* Ceremony was a rebirth and new growth ritual that sought, in part, to ensure the health of future generations.

On the morning after the Pole Ceremony, the men of the secret society accompanied the shaman into the hills in order to capture a rattlesnake (Loeb 1926:375-376). The rattlesnake was perceived to be a messenger from the wilds, and it symbolized the fertility of the earth (Clark and Williams 1954:126). While in the hills, the men prayed to the spirit that controlled the snake. As the villagers waited in the brush house, the snake was brought to them for the Rattlesnake Ceremony. The men pretended to swallow the snake, an act that may have sym-

bolized Human absorbing or becoming Nature. The snakes were always released afterwards, since to kill a sacred snake resulted in death.

Poles were also erected as part of other rituals. For example, during the spring, the Southwestern Pomo held a death and resurrection ceremony, called the *Djok* (Loeb 1926:362-363). In this ceremony, new male chiefs were initiated. The initiates were taken into the hills for instruction after having been ritually killed and revived in the roundhouse. Thus, the initiates were killed and then revived in a liminal state that made them receptive to ritual instruction. In order to escape the cultural pollution of the village, the initiates were taken to the wilderness for training, after which they re-emerged as "new" men ready to assume their roles in society.

During the *Kuksu* Ceremony, a similar initiation was held. Four girl and four boy initiates were taken into the "bush," a short distance from the village (Loeb 1926:356-357). While there, *Kuksu* (First Man) and *Canis* (Grizzly Bear) impersonators visited the initiates. *Canis* dug a grave, after which *Kuksu* "stabbed" the initiates. *Kuksu* symbolized Human, while *Canis* symbolized Nature (the wild). That it was *Kuksu* who speared the initiates may have suggested the inevitability of human death. Regardless, the "dead" initiates were then taken to the brush house, where their mothers washed and clothed them as part of their rebirth. At this time, a fire was built in the central hearth of the dancehouse. While the initiates were being reborn, the shaman and his assistant remained in the bush, conducting a ceremony with the spears that were used to "kill" the initiates. Afterwards, they brought the spears to the dancehouse. During the instruction, *Canis* entered the dancehouse and attempted to put the fire out. Fire was a symbol of Human, as Bear (*Canis*) was a symbol of Nature (the wild). Thus, *Canis* represented an anarchy of the established order, and

was seen as a threat to Human. After their resurrection, the initiates were taken to the hills, where they remained for four days of instruction. Afterwards, they returned home, where they were washed and clothed again.

The Ghost Ceremony, like that of the *Kuksu*, was another spring rite (cf. Barrett 1917a:406-423; Loeb 1926:338-353; Birbeck 1968:3). All of the adult males of the village participated in this ceremony, which was held in the roundhouse. Women were excluded from the roundhouse, and remained at home, mourning the dead. The Ghost Ceremony was characterized by the return of the dead, the initiation of novices, and the use of bull-roarers (Loeb 1926:338). During the ceremony, the ghost impersonators came down from the hills, thus personifying the wilderness. The impersonators entered the roundhouse, and attempted to dislodge the foot drummer, and pull up the center pole. After the ghost impersonators had entered the roundhouse, the headman sent for the women to bring food and beads, after which they returned to their homes. The women were thus perceived as the providers of food and wealth.

The circular nature of the roundhouse may have given the Pomo a sense of safety, as it represented a womb-like model of the world. Indeed, the aspect of the circular has universal connotations of security (cf. Jung 1969a; Eliade 1991:52-54; McCoy 1991). Being within the roundhouse was to be inside one's culture, surrounded by generations of corporate knowledge and power. The all-encompassing roundhouse may have suggested a symbolic and sacred boundary denoting the separation of the Inside and Outside. Additional evidence suggesting the symbolism of the circle comes from a Pomo thanksgiving ritual. Following a good harvest, a ceremony was held in which two "attractive maidens" held a hoop, through which everyone of the community passed from north to south (Barrett 1952:58-59). Afterwards, a large ring

of dry grass was ignited, inside of which the village children played. Thus, the circle offered the Pomo a sense of security. By passing through the hoop, the people of the community seemingly reaffirmed their connection with the Inside, while igniting the ring of grass may have served to "cook" the children, thus "humanizing" them (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1964). The people's movement from north to south through the hoop probably mimicked the path of the sun during the ever-longer days of spring. Of course, it also may have indicated an association with the Land of the Dead to the south.

### MEN AND WOMEN

Early observers commented that Pomo women did most of the work (cf. Stross and Heizer 1974:8; Lutke 1989:278). However, the women were generally well off. Their society was matrilineal and predominantly matrilocal, and women were clearly valued (cf. Kroeber 1925:256). For example, a woman could become *yomta*, head of the secret society, if there was no eligible male to assume the position (Loeb 1926:365). However, whenever a sexual polarity was evident, Pomo women were usually the muted group (cf. Ardener 1975a, 1975b). For example, Pomo women were often forbidden to enter the roundhouse during ceremonies (cf. Kroeber 1925:262-263; Loeb 1926:338). Their exclusion was explained as being for their own good, a fairly universal feature of male and female relations (Ardener 1978:29).

At childbirth, the father constructed a separate childbirth hut, in which the mother spent the next four weeks (Kennedy 1955:20). Afterwards, she was "cooked" over a firepit, and then resumed her duties. During the mother's four-week seclusion, the father was precluded from hunting or fishing, although he could procure plant foods and water.

On the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, she was secluded for a period of four days, so as to protect her and those around her,

and to allow her to undergo an initiation into adulthood (Loeb 1926:271-272). During this time, the girl was confined to a separate structure which was attached to the family house. A tule bed was constructed atop a smoldering fire, and the girl was required to lay on the bed all day. By doing so, the uninitiated ("raw") girl was "cooked," thus becoming an adult (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1964:335-336). Indeed, the cooking helped delineate the natural from the cultural.

The conjunction of a member of the social group with nature must be mediatized through the intervention of cooking fire, whose normal function is to mediatize the conjunction of the raw product and the human consumer, and whose operation thus has the effect of making sure that a natural creature is at one and the same time *cooked and socialized* [Lévi-Strauss 1964:336].

The female members of a community were defined both as humans and adults by the process of cooking. That their male counterparts were not so defined perhaps suggests an affinity between females and Nature that was absent among males. Apparently, the Pomo cultural *gestalt* perceived women as having been born of Nature, and, upon their initiation into adulthood, having become a part of Culture (i.e., "Community" or "Human"). Indeed, it appears to have been an inherent responsibility of women to bridge the gap between Nature and Culture. Men, on the other hand, appear to have had no such inherent duty. Instead, their responsibility was secondary, and was derived from contact with women (wives, daughters, neighbors). In other words, the separate spheres of men and women overlapped as "Community," and it was in this shared space that men assumed "female" responsibilities. In essence, men appear to have represented the wilderness, and remained aligned with it throughout their lives. Men were born of Nature, and remained there, whereas women, like the first Humans, emerged from the wilds

(i.e., Nature) to align themselves with Culture (thus the need for their initiation into adult status).

If a special relationship did exist between Pomo women and Nature, it almost certainly involved the uniquely female characteristics of birthing and menstruation, and what Jung (1982:101-140) has defined as the "Mother Archetype." The inherent power of menstruating women was considered to be a potential danger, controlled only by the careful observance of ritual taboos (Kennedy 1955:21). In fact, the effect of a menstruating woman was stronger than even a poisoner's power (Loeb 1926:306-307). Pomoan menstrual taboos were followed by both men and women. Among other groups, women of a village have been known to experience synchronized menstrual periods (e.g., see McClintock 1971; Noble 1989:51). Certain evidence suggests that the women of Pomo villages may also have had synchronic menstrual cycles (Patterson 1992:14). If this is true, the various taboos (such as on cooking, hunting, and ceremonial participation) would have required that normal village life all but cease during the community's collective menstrual period, further indicating the "female" nature of the Pomo village, if not the "psychic relativity of space and time" (Jung 1969b:21). Although a bastion of maleness (i.e., the sweathouse and roundhouse) occurred at its very center, the village was essentially female in nature. This held true elsewhere in California, as well (e.g., see Jackson 1991:312-315).

Throughout the world, men are normally considered the generalized sex, and their identification is not bound to their sexual states to the same degree as that of women (Hastrup 1978:60). Therefore, the male perception of the female threat, or lack of it, is usually found in the specificity afforded females. Following menopause, the danger of a Pomo woman's inherent power turned benign. For example,

older women were sometimes given special status, and allowed to sweat with men (Loeb 1926:160), and they were sometimes allowed entrance into the roundhouse during the Ghost Ceremony (Kroeber 1925:263). No longer perceived to be a threat, these women were accorded a temporary status equivalent to that of initiated males.

### FEMALE PUBERTY RITES

The dualism that characterized Pomo society almost certainly affected their rituals. The Inside and Outside delineated the boundaries of Culture, and, like the borders of one's village, separated Human and Nature. Whereas Human the individual might be perceived to be part of Nature, Humankind the community was a product of Culture, which through its organization was contrasted with Nature. Therefore, a ritual conducted Inside almost certainly implied a community action of public or semi-public nature. On the other hand, a ritual conducted Outside implied an individual action of private nature. Whereas Inside ritual served to benefit the community, Outside ritual benefitted the individual.

For many of the tribes of California, the most important public ritual was the initiation of girls into adulthood. The girls' puberty rites were part of an ancient practice known throughout western North America (Driver 1941). Like many other northern California groups, the Pomo did not have a boys' puberty ceremony, but did have one for girls (Loeb 1926:270-274).

It was proposed by Brown (1963) and Kloos (1969) that elsewhere in the world, a correlation exists between girls' puberty rites and matrilineal residence, and that this association may be explained by the relative importance of women in subsistence activities. On the other hand, Driver (1969) argued that such a correlation does not exist. Working with data derived in part from the northern California ethnographic record, which is primarily patrilineal in nature,

he hypothesized that girls' puberty rites predate matrilineal residence, and that the latter was a development of female hand farming. However, in spite of Driver's argument, girls' puberty rites do appear to have been associated with the economic role of Pomoan women.

An important aspect of the girls' puberty rites was the work complex. In many tribes, young girls were required to demonstrate their willingness to work hard by a variety of undertakings. Among the Pomo, initiates were required to grind acorns in order to demonstrate their willingness to assume a new role in life (Loeb 1926:272-273; Wilson 1982:29-30). On the last day of her puberty rites, and as she emerged from her confinement, the girl was given a basket full of acorns. She had to work hard milling the acorns, working all through the daylight hours until the basket was empty. This was her debut as a "woman," and it was called the "food milling appearance." The girl's grandmother taught her a food incantation song at this time, and the girl used it throughout her life.

Parkman (1992:368, 1994) hypothesized that some of California's pitted boulders were used as "work rocks," and associated them with the girls' puberty rites. Indeed, for the Pomo, the girls' food milling appearance may have required or resulted in pitted boulders. However, some of the ritual milling may have been more symbolic than real. In other words, it is conceivable that meal was not always ground by the initiates, but rather that they imitated the actions of food milling by striking a boulder with a pestle, thus producing cupule depressions on it. Symbolic milling would thus explain certain pitted boulders, including those with cupules occurring on vertical faces (Fig. 6). Of course, bedrock mortars may have been used as well.

Boulders situated in and around the village would almost certainly have been considered communal property, thus their use implies a public function. On the other hand, some of the



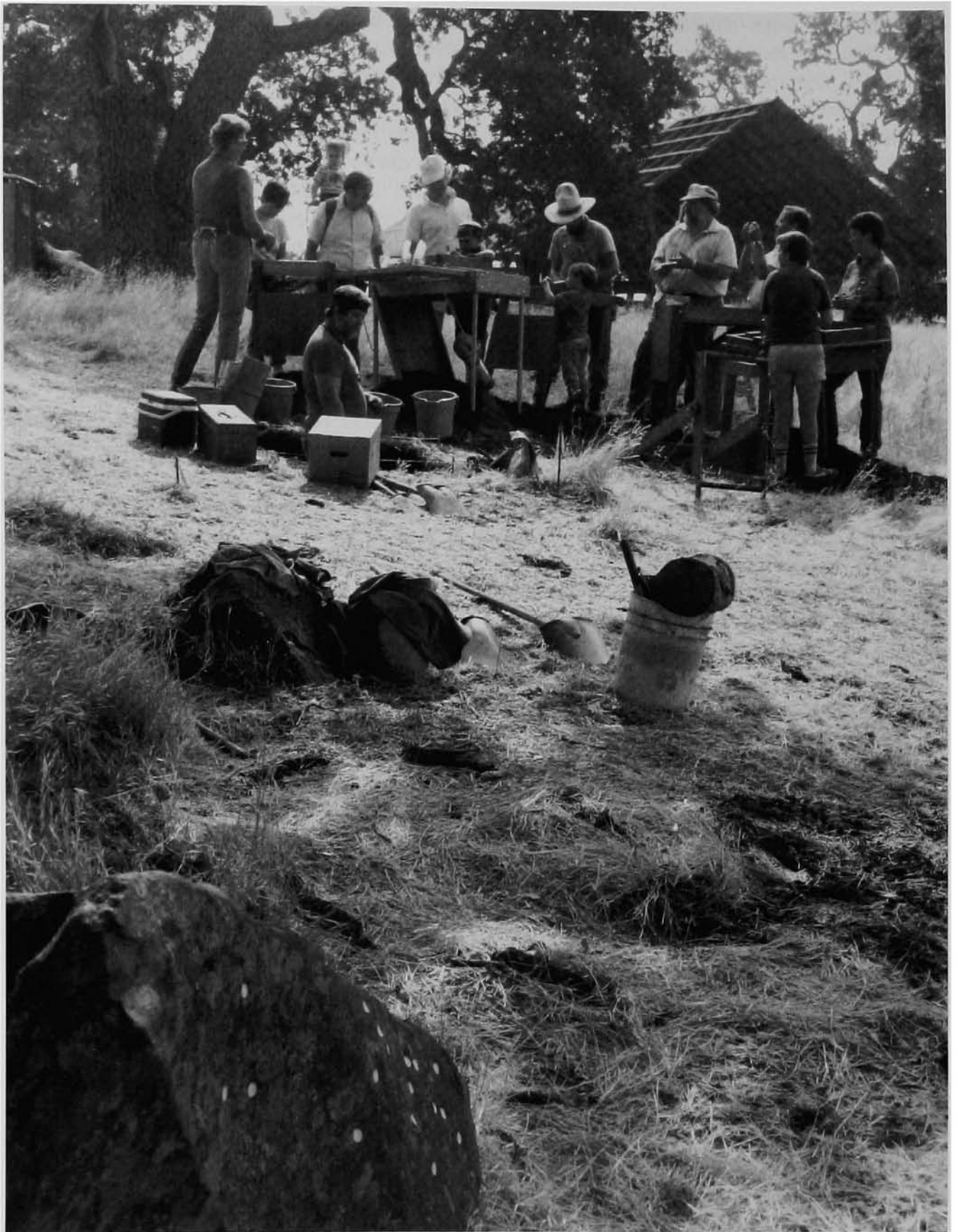


Fig. 6. Pitted boulder and the archaeological excavation of CA-LAK-589, Anderson Marsh State Historic Park. Photograph by the author, 1987.

petroglyph boulders situated in the wilds may have been considered one's personal property, known only to the user. Whereas the village represented public space, the wilderness offered space of a more private nature. Occasionally, both men and women entered the wilds in order to find the privacy necessary when seeking personal power.

Throughout western North America, the puberty rites of girls tended to be more elaborate than those of boys (Driver 1941). Among the Pomo, the girls' initiation was an important event. In fact, the girls made their debut as future marriage partners. By marrying into a prosperous family of a neighboring village, the girl secured an important trade alliance for her own family. Such intervillage alliances served to strengthen the socioeconomic affairs of Pomoan society, and enhance the position of women as cultural mediators and agents of social change (cf. Martinez 1994a, 1994b).

#### ACQUIRING POWER IN THE WILDS

Whereas corporate power was found in the community, personal power came from the wilderness. In the wilderness, power was found by deliberate searching (e.g., vision questing), or by accident, as in the chance discovery of a power object.

Power was sometimes manifested in small objects and artifacts. For example, gamblers used powerful charms, which they found in the wilds. The charms included unusual rocks, angelica from sacred mountains (such as Mount Konocti), and pieces of trees struck by lightning (Loeb 1926:216). The latter may have provided the gambler with Sacred Thunder as a helper (cf. Parkman 1993a). Gamblers also used charmstones which they found in creek beds after being washed out of graves (Wilson 1982:27). Similarly, shamans used obsidian blades which they found (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:199).

Power was also manifested in certain

aspects of the landscape, and rocks were thought to be especially powerful. For example, at Duncans Point, on the Sonoma Coast, a cave was reportedly used by Pomo bear doctors as a "roundhouse" for their gatherings (Schwaderer 1992:55). These shamans almost certainly perceived the cave to be an entrance to the supernatural world (cf. Eliade 1964:51-52; Whitley 1992:92).

The nature of the rock art found in Pomo territory implies rituals associated with the acquisition of power. The rock art sites are found in three different contexts: within the boundaries of occupation sites; within the fringe of occupation sites; and in remote and isolated locations. Pitted boulders are found in all three contexts, while other types of petroglyphs are normally isolated. Based on the duality of the Inside and the Outside, it might be inferred that the rock art found within village sites represents public sites, while that found in remote and isolated areas represent private sites (cf. Whitley 1987). Rock art found within the village fringe may represent public and/or private sites.

The vast majority of Pomo-area petroglyph sites consists primarily of pitted boulders, which are thought to represent an element of the ancestral Hokan religion (Baumhoff and Orlins 1979:199; Baumhoff 1980:181; Parkman 1992). However, the best known petroglyphs are the so-called "baby rocks" (cf. Barrett 1908:165, 1952:385-387; Curtis 1924:66; Loeb 1926:246-248; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:186). These are schistose boulders, on which are carved numerous incised lines, grooves, cupules, and, occasionally, vulvaforms (cf. Hedges 1983a). The grooves and cupules lend themselves to male and female connotations, and their arrangement often suggests a sexual symbolism indicative of the nature of power (Fig. 7). In other words, "power is created from a void in which two forces, usually male and female, come together in a cataclysmic event that forms a creative force" (Bean 1975:25).



Fig. 7. Apparent sexual symbolism at the Keystone site (CA-MEN-2200). Photograph by the author, 1987.

There are seven ethnographically documented baby rock locations in Pomo territory (Hedges 1983a:11). However, numerous undocumented, but probable, baby rocks are known to occur there (e.g., Hedges 1983b). The baby rocks were carved by individuals or couples desiring children. The consumption of the powder carved from the rock was thought to act as a fertility aid. Since the carvers believed that the spirits of future children inhabited the baby rocks (Wilson 1982:15), the purpose of the ritual may have been to allow one entrance into the rock for the purpose of negotiation.

Heizer and Clewlow (1973:29-31) put the baby rocks in their North Coast Petroglyph Style, which they dated to about 350 B.P. More recently, it was estimated (Parkman 1992:367) that the baby rocks originated sometime after 1,450 B.P., the initial date of the

Emergent Period, California's nonagricultural equivalent of the Formative (Fredrickson 1974:48).

In addition to the pitted boulders and baby rocks, the area also includes Pecked Curvilinear Nucleated (PCN) Style petroglyphs (Miller 1977; Parkman 1993b). These petroglyphs generally occur on soft stone boulders, and are thought to date as early as 8,000 to 5,000 B.P. (Parkman 1993b:359). PCN-style petroglyphs appear to predate pitted boulders in the North Coast Ranges, and they may represent the rock art of the Proto-Yukians, who are thought to have occupied the area prior to the arrival of the Pomo (Parkman 1993b:359).

Finally, Pomo territory includes a number of sites at which are found curvilinear and rectilinear petroglyphs (cf. Gary and McLear-Gary 1988a). Perhaps the most spectacular of these occurrences is the Keystone site (CA-MEN-2200) (Gary and McLear-Gary 1988b). The Keystone boulder has over 700 cupules, 1,000 incised lines, several concentric circles, curvilinear meanders, grids, and a variety of other elements carved on it.

Some of the Keystone elements, including the concentric circles, curvilinear meanders, and grids, are reminiscent of basic "phosphene" or "entoptic" ("behind the eye") patterns (Whitley n.d.:11; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988). Phosphenes consist of geometric images associated with the early stages of hallucinations, as well as images resulting from migraines, fatigue, and sensory deprivation (Oster 1970). As examples of phosphene-like forms, the geometric elements at Keystone may represent the entoptic phenomena of the altered state of consciousness (ASC) or trance state (cf. Hedges 1982, 1992:Fig. 5; Whitley 1994:Fig. 8.1). The neuropsychological model developed by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988) identified seven recurring visual forms (the geometric patterns comprising the entoptic phenomena) that are experienced cross-culturally during

ASCs, a set of principles of perception by which they are seen, and the stages through which the visual hallucination proceeds. This model offers an opportunity to better understand the cognitive realm of Pomo society through rock art studies.

Phosphene-like elements occur at other Pomoan rock art sites as well. For example, the Feliz Creek site (CA-MEN-793) is especially characterized by petroglyph elements suggestive of entoptic phenomena (Fig. 8). It appears likely that the Feliz Creek boulder was a place that shamans visited in order to access the supernatural world. It is conceivable, too, that the boulder was perceived as being an entrance to this other world (cf. Gayton 1948:113; Eliade 1964:51-52; Whitley 1992:92), and that the petroglyphs either marked the entrance (i.e., the concentric circle motif may have represented a tunnel or vortex through which the shaman entered the rock), or recorded the entoptic hallucinations of ASCs experienced there.

As examples of elemental forms (and incidental petroglyphs), cupules and grooves also suggest an association with rituals focusing on the ASC (cf. Meldrum 1992; Steinbring 1992a). Parkman (1993a) hypothesized that some pitted boulders were utilized as stone drums by individuals desiring to enter the trance state. Attainment of the ASC may have resulted from the rhythm, sound repetition, repetitive muscle use, and sheer exhaustion brought on by repeatedly pounding the boulder with a hammer or pestle. A close relationship between shamanism and drums is known to have existed elsewhere in the world (cf. Eliade 1964:168-176). In California, rain-makers may have used stone drums to carry them to the supernatural world, so as to communicate with Sacred Thunder (Parkman 1993a). Many of the pitted boulders located in the wilds are suitable for shamanistic explanations, given their phenomenal attributes, such as prominence and sound (cf. Steinbring 1992b:102-103).

One petroglyph element in particular, the quartered circle (also known as a "circle with cross") (Fig. 9a) may represent a symbol for the Pomoan duality of the Inside and the Outside (L. Jordan, personal communication 1994). It is quite possible that in some contexts this design depicts the Pomo cosmos, complete with the four cardinal directions, a separation of the Natural and Supernatural Worlds (or the Upper and Lower Worlds), and the Center (or the Middle World) (cf. Steward 1929:57). It is a symbol that may have been created by shamans, or other ritual specialists, and it may represent a human effort at resolving an imbalance in the worldly order. As part of the baby rock ritual, a version of the quartered circle (Fig. 9b) was painted on the chest of a woman desiring children, thus further indicating the circle's role in resolving imbalances (Loeb 1926:247).

Pomo shamans entered the trance state in order to acquire and/or maintain power. They do not appear to have used *datura*, or other hallucinogens (at least in ethnographic times), but rather made use of fasting and sensory deprivation in order to achieve an ASC. Although some shamans inherited their power, it was also derived from the spirits (Kroeber 1925:258; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:198-199). While treating a patient, the shaman bathed in a lake in the morning and evening in order to increase his power (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:198). Going into the water may have symbolized the ASC, since the action was indicative of the liminal state. Additionally, some shamans fasted and drank no water for four nights while treating patients (Kroeber 1925:258). It might be inferred from this sensory deprivation that the shaman desired an ASC so as to visit the supernatural world. Shamans associated with the more modern Maru Cult entered the trance state when curing, so that the spirit could advise them where the patient's illness was located (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:199).










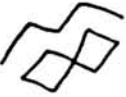




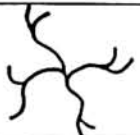
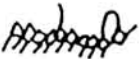





Entoptic Form	Replication	Fragmentation	Integration	Juxtaposition
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

Fig. 8. Entoptic phenomena at the Feliz Creek site (CA-MEN-793), illustrating the principles of perception, and a neuropsychological model (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988) in reference to geometric motifs, showing two of its components: the seven recurring entoptic forms (left column), and four of the seven principles by which the entoptics are perceived in an ASC. Not included are the principles of duplication, rotation, and superposition, which occur at other Pomo-area sites. Motifs are depicted in various scales (after Gary and McLear-Gary 1988a:Figs. 5-6; Whitley 1994:Fig. 8.1).

An apparent reference to shamanic flight is found in the Pomo story of creation. It is said that the First People, who were originally human, became wild things inside the house, after which they flew out through the smokehole (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:204; Halpern 1953:152). Their flight through the smokehole is seemingly a shamanic flight, marked by the passage from Inside to Outside, and thus from the natural to the supernatural world. In

another story, a woman, who had run out of water, turned into a hawk and flew away (Oswalt 1964:185). This story appears to utilize the woman's deprivation of water (and perhaps death from thirst), and her subsequent transformation (from human to hawk) as a metaphor for entering the ASC (cf. Whitley 1994:82).

An individual intent on seeking a personal power had to go outside the village to find it. Whereas corporate power was born of commun-

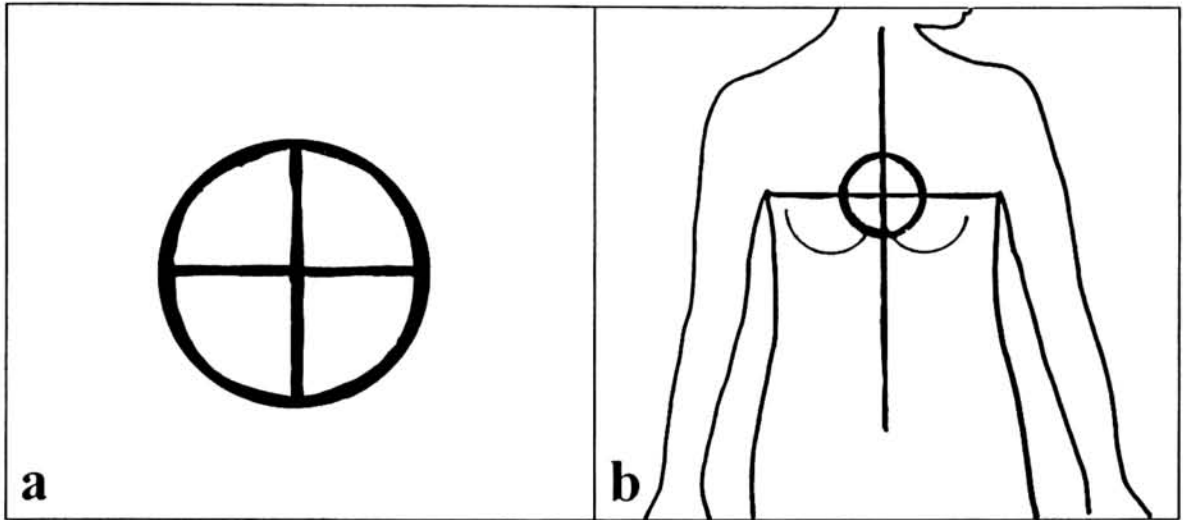


Fig. 9. (a) quartered-circle petroglyph at Feliz Creek (CA-MEN-793) (after Gary and McLear-Gary 1988a:Fig. 6); (b) chest painting produced by women visiting a baby rock, as described by Loeb (1926:247).

ity, personal power was born of the wilds, and could only be encountered there. To find personal power, one sought to neutralize the effects of corporate power by leaving the confines of the village. This allowed the seeker to affect the proper attitude, and become one with the wilds. It also allowed the seeker to escape the scrutiny, confusion, and interference of village life.

While the girls' puberty rites were a community ritual of a public nature, wilderness rituals suggest a more personal affair. The ethnographic baby rocks, which appear to have been generally isolated from village sites, indicate a private ritual in which only an individual (usually a woman) or a couple participated (cf. Barrett 1908:164-165, 1952:385-387; Loeb 1926:246-248; Wilson 1982:15). Unlike the girls' puberty rites, in which the entire community benefitted, the ritual conducted at the baby rocks benefitted the individual, and thus necessitated privacy. Privacy allowed the individual to experience the Outside, and to draw power from it.

The wilderness was full of power capable of affecting human fertility. As noted earlier, the

spirits of future children dwelled in the baby rocks, and were born to parents who followed the proper ritual (Wilson 1982:15). Certain springs, trees, gopher mounds, rocks, mud, and snakes could also cause pregnancy (Loeb 1926:248). In addition, a female effigy made of clay, and called "Earth Woman," was given to sterile women to enable conception (Wilson 1982:10). Apparently, some of the powers affecting fertility resided beneath the surface of the earth.

Loeb (1926:247) noted that childless women fasted for four days before visiting the baby rock alone. This resulted in sensory deprivation, and suggests that women may have sought an ASC at the petroglyph boulder.

It is proposed herein that rock art in or near the village was used to maintain the socioeconomic balance between families and villages via the initiation, and consequently the marriage, of young women. This balance existed within culture, and was thus an aspect of the Inside. Village rock art, then, was public, and it was used for the good of the community. On the other hand, rock art in the wilderness served to maintain the balance between Human (the Inside) and Nature (the Outside). This balance

existed beyond culture, and was an aspect of the Outside. Wilderness rock art was private, and it was used primarily for the good of the individual.

### TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

A number of hypotheses are inherent in the preceding discussion. Overall, they fall into categories concerning settlement patterns, male and female relationships, and power acquisition. Some of the hypotheses lend themselves more easily to testing by way of archaeological inquiry than do others.

The most central of the hypotheses concerns Pomoan settlement patterns, especially the spatial arrangement and interrelationship of Community, Fringe, and Wilderness activity areas. Evidence detailing this cognitive tripartite division of the Pomo world has been presented, and is viewed as ethnographically documented fact. Archaeological inquiry, especially that which is focused on the delineation of the economic and religious uses of the fringe, may provide additional support for this view. This hypothesis, however, examines the manner in which this spatial division affected, and was affected by, the Pomo *gestalt*. The hypothesis may be stated as follows:

The cognitive landscape of Pomoan world view imposed on the geographic landscape is a spatial division reflective of the dualism inherent in the Pomo *gestalt*. Thus, the opposition of Culture and Nature resulted in a geographic division of the Pomo world into Community and Wilderness, and a liminal zone (Fringe) that mediated between the two.

However, at present, a suitable archaeological test for the above hypothesis has not been identified. After all, we are dealing here with what is essentially a cognitive structure. Therefore, a more appropriate test will involve a thorough analysis of the Pomo ethnographic record, especially its linguistic aspect.

Other important hypotheses concern the division of the Pomoan community into separate

spheres of male and female activity. Using a structural model (à la Lévi-Strauss) of male-female opposition, it is proposed that the Pomo village was perceived as having a central male sphere (i.e., the roundhouse and sweathouse) surrounded by a much larger female sphere (i.e., the family houses). Additionally, it is proposed that the Pomo roundhouse served as a conduit to the wilderness, and that this structure, although controlled by males, was iconographically female in nature. Scientific inquiry focused on the identification of gender in the archaeological record may facilitate the testing of these related hypotheses.

Finally, it is proposed that rock art was produced as part of Pomo rituals associated with the acquisition of power. Additionally, village rock art, given its public setting, involved corporate power which was acquired primarily for the good of the community. On the other hand, wilderness rock art, given its private setting, suggests private rituals focused on the acquisition of personal power. Whereas the acquisition of corporate power normally demanded an outward demonstration of collective (community) faith, the acquisition of personal power demanded a more introspective faith revolving around an individual's vision quest or shamanistic journey to the supernatural world. To support this proposal, it is suggested that many of the Pomo rock art motifs are, in fact, representations of the entoptic phenomena experienced by shamans during ASCs. Furthermore, it is proposed that the rock art sites were perceived as actual entrances to the supernatural world.

Unlike some of the other hypotheses, the proposals concerning rock art and power acquisition are capable of being archaeologically tested. For one thing, Pomo rock art has been well documented. At present, there are more than 200 sites known. Just as important, there is a number of accounts of rock art in the ethnographic record for the Pomo. Addition-

ally, the neuropsychological model developed in South Africa by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988), and championed in California by Whitley (n.d., 1992, 1994), offers a methodological tool for testing the posited relationship between shamanism and rock art. Other tests might be made of site distributions (especially in terms of village versus wilderness settings), and the archaeological nature of associated cultural deposits. However, whereas site distribution data are available, few Pomoan rock art sites have been subjected to rigorous archaeological investigation.

### CONCLUSIONS

The Pomo world was one of balance. The duality of life was recognized, and a balance was struck between the Inside and the Outside. A form of communal or corporate power dwelled within the village, and it was expressed in countless generations of traditional wisdom and belief. This power was of a human nature, and was an integral part of culture. Indeed, one's culture gave rise to a community's power, whether in times of its triumph or despair. Public rituals, held within the village, called on the community's power for group benefit.

Real power, however, resided in the wilds, and was abundant there. It was manifested in the rocks, springs, animals, and trees. Power was sought by the individual, and it sometimes came to those who did not seek it. It was both benevolent and malevolent, for power brought with it a dangerous responsibility. Indeed, an individual in possession of power had to maintain it (cf. Bean 1975:28).

An individual intent on seeking a personal power had to leave the village to find it. Whereas corporate power was born of community, personal power was born of the wilds, and could only be encountered there. To find personal power, one sought to neutralize the effects of corporate power by leaving the confines of the village. This allowed the seeker to

affect the proper attitude, and become one with the wilds. It also allowed the seeker to escape the scrutiny, confusion, and interference of village life.

For the Pomo, there appear to have been separate spheres of life for men and women, with the two spheres overlapping as Community (Fig. 10). The village was probably perceived as the women's world, as much of their day-to-day activities were conducted there. A fundamental dichotomy may have existed between the "home" and the "outside world," perhaps playing an important role in the orientation of women's activities. Although the village took on a female nature, the sweathouse served as a bastion of maleness. Indeed, the structure may have been perceived as an extension of the wilderness, as was the roundhouse during its ceremonial use. The wilderness, on the other hand, was probably perceived as the world of men. Men hunted, fished, and traveled throughout the wild lands, and many of their stories focused on their experiences there. However, men may have attributed to women a metaphysical wilderness, which Ardener (1975a, 1975b) termed "the wild." Such a wild zone would have been outside the circle of the dominant (male) structure, and thus not accessible to or structured by language (Showalter 1985:262; see also Le Guin 1989:162-163).

The Pomoan world was characterized by a diametric and concentric dualism which consisted of a male roundhouse and sweathouse surrounded by a female village, which was itself surrounded by a male wilderness (cf. Bean 1975:27). Of course, the male and female spheres were separated by conceptual boundaries more than physical borders, and the same may have been true for Community and Wilderness. However, the separation and opposition of Male and Female, and Community and Wilderness, was sufficient to guarantee the Pomo a balanced environment, which helped facilitate the world's constant renewal.



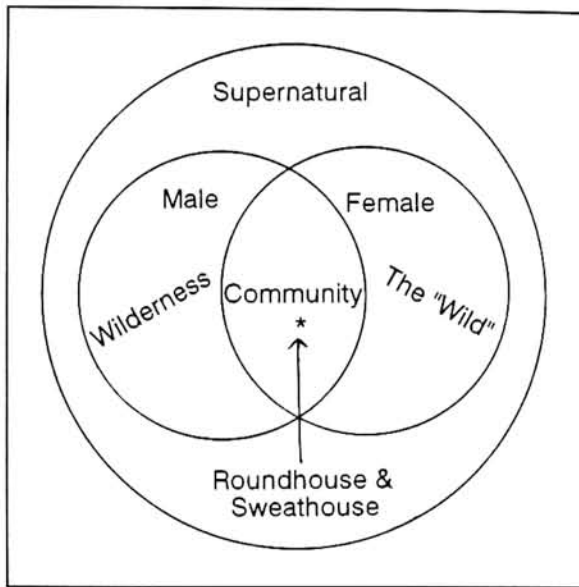


Fig. 10. Pomo world view.

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