

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Society – Ohlone or Costanoan, Language – Ohlone or Costanoan [1] Language Family, Yok-Utian [2]

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): cst(north), css(south) [1]

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Silicon Valley or San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland area. 37.7833° N, 122.4167° W [11] “The designation Costanoan is from Spanish *Costaños*, “coast people.” Its awkwardness is in some measure atoned for by its consistency of usage in literature... Costanoan is in one respect felicitous: The other main divisions of the Penutian family held the great interior valley of California as their habitat, while with the exception of a small branch of the Miwok, the Costanoan tribes occupied the whole of the shore districts to which the Penutians laid claim. The San Joaquin River belonged to the Yokuts, the Sacramento to the Maidu and Wintun. At the point where these two streams debouch into San Francisco Bay Costanoan territory begins. The winding north shores of the bay were Wintun and Coast Miwok; but the entire southern border including the long arm known as San Francisco Bay proper was Costanoan to the Golden Gate. From here south their range followed the coast to beyond Monterey: to Point Sur, to be exact.

The Costanoan limits inland are not precisely known. They have sometimes been asserted, or loosely assumed to have been formed by the San Joaquin River, but it is far more probable that the boundary was constituted by the interior chain of the coast ranges, the Mount Diablo Range of the maps.

The included territory falls into two natural divisions. The northern half drains into San Francisco Bay, or by short streams into the adjacent ocean. The southern half includes the catchment area of the Pajaro River and the lower courses of the Salinas and Carmel all of which flow into Monterey Bay or the ocean just below.” [12] 462

1.4 Brief history:

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: While 16 years after contact they would still do their old burial ritual for the dead, which consisted of painting your body red or black. This changed because it is noted that 28 years after that this they had lost that part of the tradition and were now left with cutting their hair and the dead were buried with clothing and grave goods. ([5], p.685) After the conquest of the United States in what is now the San Francisco bay area or Silicon Valley there was different results for different tribes of Ohlone people as documented here “Around the area surrounding Santa Clara several *Clareño* Ohlone were fortunate to be granted land grants by the California/Mexican government. In 1845, Governor Pio Pico granted the Ulistac land grant located within present-day City of Santa Clara to Marcello and two other Mission Santa Clara Indian men named Pio and Bernardino Tamien speaking Ohlone tribal group who were located in the Stevens Creek, Saratoga Creek and Pescadero Creek watershed region to the west/southwest of Mission Santa Clara. Pio and Cristobal lineages were traced through the Mission Santa Clara Baptism records to the Tayssen Ohlone Tribal group in the upland valleys east of San Jose near the Orestimba drainage.” ([8] Missions, Lands, Rancheria)

1.6 Ecology: The California area was “an extraordinarily rich biotic habitat” which the Ohlone people “by their subsistence activities, tended to increase rather than deplete the resources upon which they depended.” [9] 9-26 “Mussels, whose shells constitute so large a proportion of the mounds of San Francisco Bay and the coast... Sea Lions were hunted... The tule raft must have been an unsatisfactory conveyance, and in most weathers a dangerous one, for reaching the surf-surrounded rocks on which the animals sun themselves. When a whale came ashore food was plentiful... Salmon begin to be numerous in the streams that enter the ocean... On the immediate coast, where acorns were few or lacking, seeds seemed to have replaced them.” [12] 467 While most of the authors focused on the coastal regions which likely had the highest populations Costanoan being a very large and diversified land region contained many different practices depending on the regions it inhabits.

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density “Perhaps an average of 1,000 heads per dialect group, or 7,000 for the stock as a whole, is not far from the mark.” [12] 464

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): They lived off of mainly acorns, nuts and seeds. These were managed in a managed way that Lowell John Bean calls quasi-agricultural practices. These were practiced by burning land to fertilize and clear it. They then would gather seeds of wild grasses and place them in burned areas to both feed themselves and attract herbivorous animals to easily kill. [4]

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: The main source of food was also their main source of protein-lipids. This was from harvesting shellfish, fish, and sea mammals from marine and freshwater habitats.[4] The most caught fish were the Sturgeon and Salmon [7]

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The tools used by the Ohlone consisted of a milkweed net for mostly fish but also the occasional bird. They would also use baskets for other sea animals. As for items more colloquially thought of as weapons there was the Bow and Arrow, which the bow could take up to 10 days to make well. To make this bow they used otter, weasel fur, and *sinyu*. The most effective bow and arrows were two pieces – one being the main shaft and the other a piece of obsidian tied to it. They would also use slingshots and spears for larger prey. ([7] Food)

2.4 Food storage: They would use baskets for storing food underground. ([7] Food)

2.5 Sexual division of production: The work of Nasario Galindo had placed males as Cowboys, shepherds, tanners, shoemakers, stonemasons, carpenters, blacksmiths, teamster (wagon driver) and butchers. They would process the meat, tended the fields and irrigation ditches. Women would weave, sew, wash items, make baskets, winnow or cull wheat, grinding, sifting flour and hoeing weeds. These were observed in Mission Santa Clara. ([5] p.691-692) According to the Muwekma website, the men would hunt for deer and fish for Sturgeon and Salmon. This is while the Women would pick berries, acorns, mushrooms, and vegetables. They would also tend to the children in the village. ([7] Food)

2.6 Land tenure: The people were “sedentary-to-semi-sedentary” people [9]

2.7 Ceramics: While some believe that Costanoan had their own basketry because of the lack of evidence of unique designs attributed to the Costanoan people makes it seem as though there was either adoption of Yokut tradition in the Missions or lack of individual

variation all together. Kroeber writes “Costanoan basketry has perished. One or two older specimens that have been preserved are of little historic value, because shaped according to European idea. Other pieces, not quite so old, that are attributed to Indians at Costanoan missions, are Yokuts or Miwok in style, and were probably made by members of these stocks that had been taken to the religious establishments. A very few other specimens remain, but the ethnic provenience of even these is clouded. It is not even known whether Costanoan basketry stood in specific affinities with that of the Pomo, or showed any of the distinct traits of Yokuts work; nor in fact how far it was similar to the simpler ware of the Miwok. [12] 468 This goes in direct contradiction to what is written by members of today’s Muwekma Tribe, who on their website list basketry found and claim it as their own. They however have a larger bias to be aware of as they are a member of the group of which is trying to claim ownership of the items. [8]

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos: They wouldn’t kill wolves for religious reasons. ([7] Clothing)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? “The tule raft was the only boat known to the Costanoans; and on this they crossed San Francisco Bay, which is normally a sheet of far from calm surface and of strong currents. The balsa was propelled by double-bladed paddles, such as recur in the Santa Barbara Island region, but there in connection with well-made canoes of planks.” [12] 468

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: While I don’t have clear statistics for how many are polygynously, Gray-Kanatiiosh wrote that “Sometimes a man had more than one wife. A man’s second wife was usually his first wife’s sister. ([6], p.16)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: The family of the want to be groom would give presents to the family of the would be bride. Barbara says it like this “If a man wanted to marry a woman, his family gave gifts to the woman’s family. If her family accepted the gifts, the marriage was approved. ([6], p.16)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): There is strong exogamic practices amongst the Ohlone as seen from this quote from the Ethnohistory of Santa Clara Valley “based upon pre-contact inter-marriages, especially among elites, natives (especially women due to village exogamy and patrilocal residential patterns)” ([9] p.9-22)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) According to Kroeber the Miwok, who live just north of the Costanoan could sometimes marry his first cousin but only if it was his mother’s brother’s daughter but even amongst some other of the Miwok this was frowned upon they did however, believe that a second cousin was the ideal mate. Prior to this Kroeber points out that most American Indians find this practice “horribly repugnant”. He also states that there is no linguistic evidence for a cross cousin marriage of the 30 plus blood kindred words which leads one to believe that it wasn’t a customary practice. [12]

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

4.22 Evidence for couvades

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships? The Costanoan at their missions were said to be “dark, dirty, squalid and apathetic. An account of them said that “I have never seen one laugh. I have never seen one look one in the face”. This means that is considerably unlikely that any such joking relationships existed amongst the Costanoan.

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations “The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe.

They command obedience and respect during their lifetime. This office is hereditary, or, in default of an heir by direct descent, it goes to the closest relative.” As seen in this the major positions are directly heritable to the direct descendent of the current leader. ([9] 9-23)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? Somewhat, they would have the bride carry plants and have the groom bring meat for a feast.

[7]

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) While there is definite preference for marriage inside of one's community there is an exception for elite family women to marry out to other communities of other elite status people in other groups sometimes from incredibly long distances away. ([9] 9-23)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Yes, amongst elite status families here is a quote from the ethnohistory "Some of these aboriginal social rules and protocols probably included:

Marriage arrangements of eligible teenagers for purposes of establishing and/or strengthening inter-tribal and/or intra-tribal alliances especially between and amongst powerful elite families" [9]

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

4.18 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): The Ohlone were very sedentary at time of contact but were possibly less so before contact, as written by the authors "Through time the Ohlone tribes established sedentary villages along creeks." Hinting that the advent of quasi-agriculture was a large influence in that. ([9] 9-94)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): There is "Elite" groups of lineages and peoples as well as chiefs for each tribe of people. "The power of chiefs and the elite families that controlled chiefly positions were symbolized by the possession of treasure goods which passed down through families over considerable lengths of time. King's ethnohistory of the Matalan (the San Carlos Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal group) describes leadership and social stratification that accords with Bean's framework." ([9] 9-24)

5.4 Post marital residence:

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: After scouts looked for new areas to settle and found a good place the tribe would move in and create the huts in a circular shape. ([7] Village Life) "The aboriginal house was primarily a structure of poles covered with brush or tule matting." Some individuals recall a house of redwood planks. There existed a sweatshop but there is a lack of details regarding its construction. [12] 468

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): When people were sick they would go to a special hut for sick people.

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: There was unification amongst the Ohlone and the Yokut through marriage which led to a defacto clan where they shared trade and religious rituals. ([10] 108) Then there is this evidence presented by Leventhal and Field

5.12 Trade: There was a sociopolitical effect of marrying off your daughter to another tribe which created a bond between you two which in turn lead to "trade and ritual obligation" amongst those two. ([9] 9-29)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There is indication of certain individuals being of "Elite" status and while there is a report that states the counter the author of the ethnohistory believes there is as shown in this quote. "As far as these elites and the social hierarchy are concerned, many early explorers made clear

that institutions of authoritarian leadership existed among native Californians in the San Francisco Bay area. While Father Arroyo de la Cuesta erroneously wrote "they neither had nor recognized any captain or superior," (Arroyo de la Cuesta [1814] 1976:115), he nonetheless

described charismatic individuals who were instrumental in organizing both warfare and

peacemaking with neighboring groups." He then writes an example how the other account(that of Father Arroyo de la Ceusta) is contradictory with this quote directly from him "The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe.

They command obedience and respect during their lifetime. This office is hereditary, or, in default of an heir by direct descent, it goes to the closest relative. 9-24

This chief alone among the pagans could retain or desert a number of unmarried women; but if he had children by one of them, she was held in higher esteem and he lived permanently with her "([9] p.9-23)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Kroeber writes "Costanoan shamanism has passed away with scarcely a trace. We know that the doctor sang, danced, and sucked material objects out of the body of the sick, and that sometimes he was believe to exercise control of the weather and of the natural crops. His relation to his spirits, the precise manner in which disease was caused, the actions attending

his entrance into the profession, the probable belief in bear shamans, are all matters on which the evidence is lost.” [12] 472 This passage is a ongoing theme amongst the traditions of the Ohlone people because of the early time period at which the missions were established in this area thanks in large part to do with the abundant natural resources in the area.

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): The birth ritual involved them gathering around a campfire after a large feast. The new mother would then hold the baby whilst dancing. Then the people in the tribe would learn the babies name and give the baby its gift. [7] The death ritual involved another feast and remembrance of the person who died, they would then have a memorial each year for the dead person. [7] “At Mission San Jose a dance was made at the winter solstice. Whether this is to be associated with the supposed sun cult or was part of the Kuksu system, whose dances are winter rites, must be left to conjecture.” [12], 471 Another case of limited evidence and conjecture and this is the only reference I could find of a winter solstice dance.

6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation): The myths from the Muwekma are first the Story of the Black Robbed Lady which goes as follows “For hundreds of years the Ohlone met in the hills every fall. This is a time where all the ceremonies had taken place. The babies were named, marriages would be formalized, arguments were resolved, and deaths were mourned. The tribunal elders and the chief would have a meeting. There was feasting, music, laughter, and dancing. They would cover themselves with red soil as a ceremony, but when ever they did this they became sick and died. For everyone did not know what was causing these deaths. When they continued their feasting, the sky rumbled as they saw a lady dressed in black robes. She spoke very calmly to the Muwekma, she said place the arrow in the bow and shoot it directing to the sky, where it falls would be your answer. The chief obeyed the beautiful woman and shoot the arrow up to the sky. It landed in a fresh water spring. From then on the Muwekma bathed and drank from the spring and they were cured. Above is the spring found at Bernal Rancho. People came from all around to drink the water which was thought to have healing powers. Below is a bottle of the Santa Teresa Springs brand water which was bottled.” They then explain creation by this “In the beginning, there were no stars, no sun, and no moon. All was dark, and everywhere was water. A raft came floating on the water, it had two people in it, Turtle and Pehe-ipe. Then from the sky a rope of feathers came down. A person called Earth-maker came down. His face was covered and was never seen. Earth-maker sat down for a long time and said nothing. Finally Turtle asked, "Where do you come from? "Above," the Earth-maker said. "Can you make me some good dry land so that sometimes I can come up out of the water?" asked Turtle. Earth-maker answered, "I don't know. You want to have some good dry land? Well how am I going to get any earth to make it?" Turtle answered, "If you tie a rock around my left arm, I'll dive for some." Turtle dove into the water with a rope tied to his arm. He was gone for six years. When he came back up, he was covered with green slime and had some dirt under his nails. He washed the dirt and slime off, but the dirt under his nails remained. After some time, the dirt had grown into the size of the earth and the raft was underground. That is how the Earth was created.” [7] Another belief held by some other Costanoan’s follows similar concepts as the Yokuts who live north of them Kroeber explains it like this “Costanoan myths carry numerous suggestions of Yokuts cosmogony. They commence with the world covered by water, above which rises a single mountain top. In the vicinity of Monterey this is designated as Pico Blanco; farther north, Mount Diablo. The latter mountain, by the way, was so named by the Spaniards with reference to the Indian belief in its habitation by spirits, much like the Marysville Buttes of the Maidu and Doctor Rock peak of the Yurok and Tolowa.

On this lonely spot are the coyote, the eagle, and the humming bird, the eagle being chief of the three; or, according to other accounts, the coyote stands alone until he is joined by the eagle, who arises from a feather floating on the water like the Yuki Creator. After the ocean recedes the land is explored and human beings made by the coyote at the direction of the eagle. The coyote in particular marries the first woman. He and the humming bird come into conflict, but his smaller antagonist eludes and surpasses the coyote.” ([12] 472) While Kroeber doesn’t mention the former of the examples I gave if forced to guess why there is different creation stories amongst the Ohlone (who granted, are a very large and diversified group) may be because of geography. The former (Muwekma) lived near the coast which carries a different habitat and therefore species than its more inland group mates. The latter (while not given what subset of Ohlone it is) probably lived in the eastern reaches of the Ohlone land with more mountains and more coyotes leading to adoption or retention of Yokut mythology.

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The people for death ceremonies would even after 16 years of the existence of a mission would paint their bodies red or black. ([5] 685)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Both men and women would have tattoos on their arms, faces, and foreheads.

7.2 Piercings: It was commonplace for bone piercings in the ears or in the nose. [7]

7.3 Haircut:

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Jewelry was commonly worn amongst the people and in grave goods. [7]

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Men would go naked if weather permitted and women in similar circumstances would wear two short skirts, one behind and one in front. These were made of either deerskin, tule or bark fiber. Women also customarily had face tattoos. Men also had a custom to coat themselves in mud thickly until the sun would shine. [12] 467

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: In the 1870s there was the start of a revival of the few left over traditions that were known about still.

“The Alisal Rancheria was unquestionably one of the most prominent and important communities of Ohlone Indians from the 1860s onward into the early twentieth century, and constituted the first known post-American conquest Indian revitalization center within the Bay Area. The people of Alisal and surrounding rancherias revived many dance ceremonies during the early 1870s, which strongly implies that other traditional arts and kinds of cultural knowledge, about ceremonial regalia, songs, sacred language, and crafts also experienced a resurgence. But more than revival took place at Alisal and the other rancherias. 9-43

The available evidence depicts a constant ebb and flow of people, of surviving Indians from all over the Bay Area (including Clareño Ohlones from the Mission Santa Clara area) and central California moving into and out of Alisal, Niles, San Lorenzo and Livermore rancherias (Gifford 1926, 1927; Gayton 1936; Kelly 1978; Harrington 1921-1934). Thus, many surviving fragments of knowledge and ritual were brought together in this one place, from the many Ohlone peoples, each with their own varying customs and ways of thinking, as well as from the intermarried and neighboring Miwoks, Yokuts, and other more distant tribal peoples brought under the sphere of influence of the missions. Inevitably, a blending of older forms took place, a fusion of traditions and religious beliefs that together generated a new cultural vitality”

The revitalization effort led to new traditions that countered the Hispanic/American presence at this time “During the 1870s, a religious messianic-oriented revitalization movement referred to as “the

Ghost Dance” spread throughout central California. This first Ghost Dance originated in Nevada beginning around 1869, involved a Paiute prophet named Wodziwob who taught that by dancing certain dream inspired dances, Indian people could end the domination of their land and destruction of their lives by the whites, and usher in a new golden age for all Indian peoples” ([9] p.9-42, 9-43)

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

1. <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/cst>
2. http://archive.ethnologue.com/15/show_family.asp?subid=92483
3. The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area
4. <http://sites.google.com/site/geographylectureslides/BackFromExtinction.doc>
5. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/483300.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>
6. The Ohlone - Barbara A. Gray-Kanatiiosh
7. <http://www.lospaseos.mhu.k12.ca.us/5thweb/coyote2006/muwekma.htm>
8. <http://www.muwekma.org/home.html>
9. http://www.muwekma.org/images/Ethnohistory_Section_from_Muwekma_Ohlone_Burial_Site_CA-SCL-894_San_Jose_Chapter_9_April_15_2014.pdf
10. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/wicazo_sa_review/v018/18.2field02.pdf
11. Google.com
12. Handbook of the Indians of California – Alfred Louis Kroeber