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Title

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Permalink

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Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 29(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

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Publication Date

2005-09-01

DOI

10.17953

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Quarries of Culture: An Ethnohistorical and Environmental Account of Sacred Sites and Rock Formations in Southern California's Mission Indian Country

STEVEN M. KARR

On a typically warm August morning in 2000 members of several Mission Indian bands from San Diego County's San Luis Rey River Valley gathered at the Pala Reservation to sing and pray. Typical were not, however, the circumstances under which these people met this day. The gathering was to support California State Assembly Bill 2752, proposed to give the state's Waste Management Board and its nine-member Native American Heritage Commission the authority to veto any landfill within a mile of an American Indian reservation or lands considered sacred to the American Indians.¹ The bill was supported by local San Diego and Riverside County bands, including Pala, Pauma, La Jolla, Rincon, and Pechanga, as well as other Native groups throughout California, primarily to thwart a plan to establish a thirty-year county landfill in Gregory Canyon, approximately three miles east of Interstate 15 along State Route 76 and less than a mile from the Pala Reservation. Owned by Gregory Canyon, Ltd., a consortium led by a northern California investor, the landfill is to be directly adjacent to Gregory Mountain, at whose northwestern base sits Medicine Rock, sometimes referred to by the region's Native peoples as Painted Rock or Big Rock. Also sacred to the Indians is Gregory Mountain itself, more commonly referred to by them as either Taquish Paki, meaning Taquish's mountain, or Chokla. It is believed that the mountain is home to the spirit or deity Taquish, a powerful and malevolent figure in the peoples' cosmology.

Painted Rock and Taquish Paki are well known to the Indians of this region, as are other sacred sites and culturally interpreted rock formations

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throughout Southern California's Indian Country.² They are described by Indians as ancestral markers, origin and place-name locales, areas of deity habitation, and power sources, and early ethnographers were keen to record the traditional stories and meanings related to them by their Native collaborators.³ Unlike more esoteric rock art and petroglyph locales, however, which were sometimes forgotten by the Indians themselves or purposefully concealed from the intrusions of ethnographers, curious trekkers, or vandals, rock formations were then, as now, a part of the natural landscape. Rock formations represent a particularly compelling example of cultural landscapes—creating an important link between human beings, their ancestral past, and geographic location, something Native peoples of Southern California, and elsewhere, value highly.⁴ The knowledge they may acquire about these various geological formations and monoliths reflects an active relationship between the ancestral past and the land itself.⁵ In many circumstances oral traditions hold that the earth's physical forms, in this case rocks and rock formations, have come into being through the actions of ancestors who once traveled from place to place, leaving evidence of their actions or existence in the form of topographical features.⁶ Taking this even further, the landscape, seen as a whole, is thought to have connotations of any ancestral being—as one scholar has noted: “the scents and sounds and flavors of the land today are the scents and sounds and flavors that they [ancestors] too experienced.”⁷ These formations remain significant because, like rock art, they are an essential interpretive component of Indian culture in Southern California. However, unlike rock art, whose Native interpreters are today scarce, interpreters of rock formations abound, represented by both old and young, thus maintaining a vital link to a landscape, a history, and a culture.⁸

Perhaps the earliest mention of a monolith or culturally interpreted rock formation by a European comes from a diary of the Franciscan Fray José Sánchez. A member of a group inspecting mission lands between San Diego de Alcáala and San Juan Capistrano, Fray Sánchez provided a detailed account of the party's twenty-one-day journey in the late summer and early fall of 1821. On day twenty-three of the trip, while traveling from the *asistencia* San Antonio de Pala to Temecula, the party came across such a rock:

In the afternoon we started travel toward the north and then toward the east, and soon found ourselves in a cañada which runs northward and then again eastward. In the part where it begins to descend to the other side, we discovered a stone which without doubt had served and still serves these unhappy Indians on the occasion of sin. One look sufficed, owing to its large figure and the adjoining thicket, to make it clear what it may signify. The Reverend Father Prefecto commanded Father Peyri to have it destroyed.⁹

Owing to its description and the Reverend Father Prefect's strong reaction, the stone or rock in question was likely the woman's rock or fertility rock near the Old Pala-Temecula Road, the former stagecoach road that today remains the main pass between Temecula and Pala. A large granite monolith with a



FIGURE 1. Rock formation near Mesa Grande, northeast San Diego County. Photo by Edward H. Davis, ca. 1930s. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society.

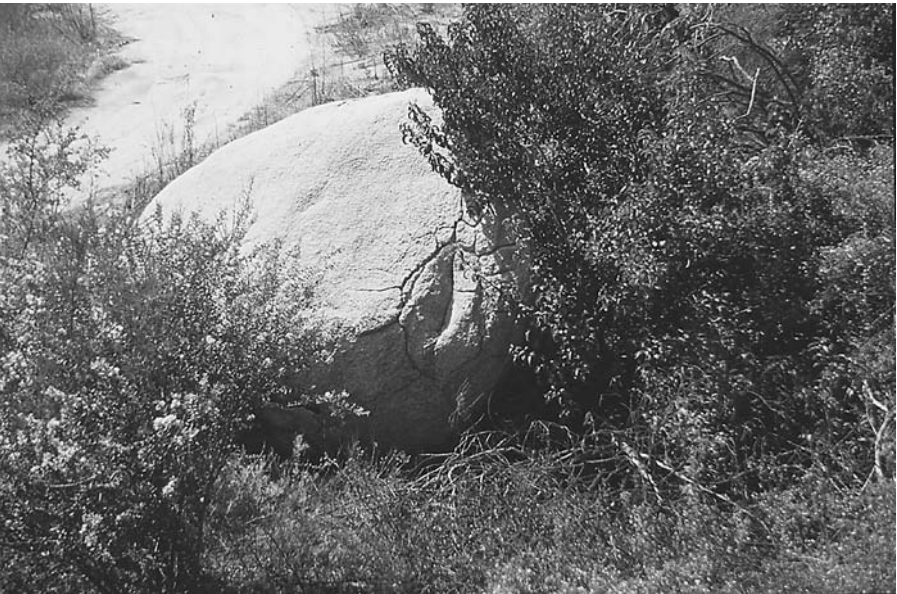


FIGURE 2. Woman's rock, southwest Riverside County. Photo by the author.

portion that is vulval in appearance, the rock has traditionally been a destination for women who either wish to become pregnant or are already with child and hope for an easy childbirth.¹⁰ Either ignorant of its meaning and purpose or, perhaps, finding little to offend his faith, Fray Peyri chose not to deface the woman's rock. Although it appears to have remained unmolested over the succeeding decades, whites still understood little of its meaning or location.

By the turn of the century, as an increasing number of professional and amateur ethnographers took to the field in hopes of salvaging what they believed were the last vestiges of America's Native cultures, California indigenous groups, including Mission Indians, received considerable attention. One early amateur researcher was Horatio N. Rust, former Mission-Tule federal Indian agent, nurseryman, and collector of Indian material culture.¹¹ Having worked among the various Mission groups from 1889 to 1893, Rust had gained more than a passing interest in their cultures and, like other nonprofessional ethnographers, frequently solicited the presumed expertise of academics in the burgeoning field of anthropology. In one circumstance Rust was apparently soliciting information regarding his own research on puberty ceremonies among culture groups of this region; in an August 1902 letter presumably in response to what were surely Rust's inquiries about fertility rocks, Alfred Kroeber, the renowned professor of anthropology at the University of California, responded: "In regards to your other matter of ceremonial stones, I am altogether ignorant. I have not seen the stones in question, nor any others like them. I have not heard of anything of that sort from Indians with whom I have worked. . . . I am therefore unable to give an authoritative opinion on the matter . . . nor on what authority such stones represented the female genitalia."¹²

Nearly four years after his correspondence with Kroeber, Rust continued to pursue other avenues of information. In a February 1906 letter responding to Rust's similar inquiries, Mesa Grande resident and Diegueño (Ipai) Indian friend, Edward H. Davis, who, although an untrained amateur, unlike Kroeber, indicated that he was familiar with the local Native cultures. In his response to Rust, Davis appeared to have some knowledge of fertility rocks, though not among the Luiseño but instead among the Diegueño and desert Cahuilla on the Santa Rosa Reservation: "I have heard that they present Indian women to a certain rock among the hills which, by its shape or configuration, has the appearance of a female's organ and they say to this rock through incantations that which is supposed to give them easy childbirth."¹³

In both instances Rust likely confused fertility rocks or "stones" with puberty stones, associated with the Luiseño and Diegueño Indian girls' puberty ceremony, about which he and ethnographers Constance Goddard DuBois, Philip Stedman Sparkman, and Kroeber's one-time student, T. T. Waterman, later wrote.¹⁴ Evidently this confusion remained among anthropologists for some time. Despite Davis's vague understanding of a woman's rock among the Santa Rosa Cahuilla, it appears he was never able to establish the actual location of one, and later publications continued to participate in the confusion by relying on Rust's earlier work.¹⁵

Women's or fertility rocks offer examples of culturally interpreted monoliths or rock formations whose meaning is still widely known among the



FIGURE 3. *Moon's Home, Pala Indian Reservation. Photo by the author.*

region's Native peoples. Other rock formations exist, however, where traditional meaning or function is less understood. Still, any existing knowledge about particular formations may be enhanced by searching the historical record of ethnographic data. Field notes or even previously published anthropological material based on the works of early ethnographers and their Indian collaborators often provide helpful insight concerning the traditional stories or ceremonial nature surrounding certain formations and monoliths. One such example is the monolith Moon's Home, located on the Pala Reservation. While little is understood regarding its traditional meaning or function, it is generally understood that the rock and its location were ceremonial in nature. It is further believed that for purposes unknown, a large spherical quartz crystal was placed in the rock's upper opening, and when struck by moonlight at a certain time, this crystal would shed a peculiar prismatic glow on the ground below. These traditional beliefs are discussed peripherally by Constance Goddard DuBois and her Indian collaborators. Mentioned in a Luiseño creation story by Salvador Cuevas of La Jolla and Lucario Cuevish of Potrero, in the early 1900s, are "sacred stones, *wiala*, [or] enormous crystals."¹⁶ In an editor's footnote to DuBois's work, Philip Stedmen Sparkman, a resident of Valley Center near the Rincon Reservation, noted that he himself had seen two of these "crystalline rock[s] in round shape ten inches or so in diameter, [and] others of clear quartz (?) crystal ten inches long."¹⁷

The most significant discussion of *wiala* (also *wiyaala*), or sacred stones, comes from John Peabody Harrington's annotated version of Father Geronimo Boscana's *Chinigchinich*.¹⁸ In it he notes that the term *wiyaala*, in addition to crystals of transparent colorless quartz, is also applied to various light-tinted crystals, particularly tourmaline, found in abundance throughout the San Luis Rey River Valley, especially near Pala and Potrero.¹⁹ According to Harrington, *wiyaala*'s primary significance, regardless of shape or mineralogical type, was ceremonial in nature; the stones were often used to propitiate the deity Chinigchinich to purify, strengthen, or heal the human body or soul.²⁰ Later research has further enhanced the assumptions of earlier studies, noting that "quartz crystals were widely associated with, and used by shamans" in the North American West, including California.²¹ Furthermore, throughout much of the American Southwest it is traditionally understood that one may derive supernatural powers from quartz. This is attributed to certain physical properties, specifically triboluminescence, an electrical quality that generates sparks or emits light when broken quartz stones are rubbed together.²²

Creation and place-name stories have traditionally played a significant role in establishing ties to particular geographic locales and in determining where certain sacred sites may be. Often rock formations and monoliths draw a clear connection between oral tradition and the cultural landscape. Ethnographers have long sought a better understanding of such formations, looking to Indian collaborators for any knowledge of their purpose or meaning. Two known monoliths are Nahachish and Exwanyawish, both located within traditional Luiseño territory. First mentioned by DuBois in her 1908 publication on the Luiseño religion, both monoliths later received attention from scholars in two articles from the 1980s.²³ Among several

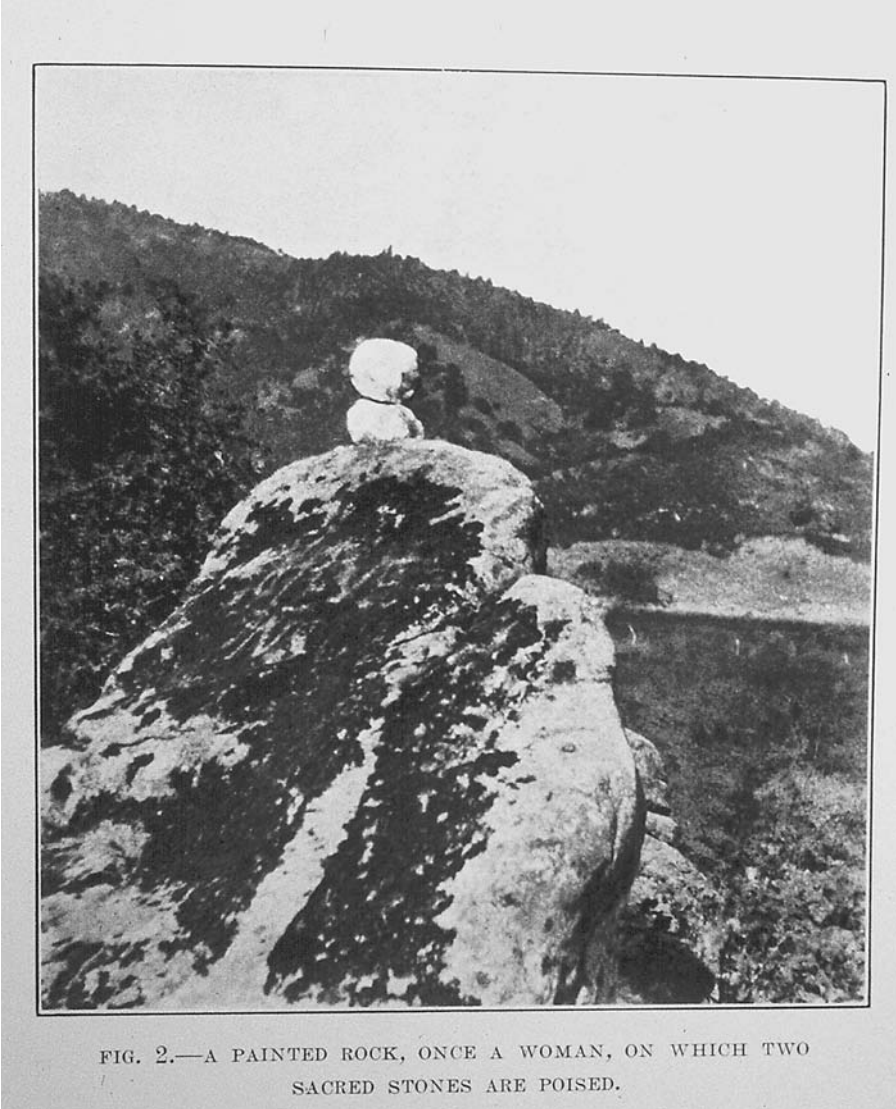


FIGURE 4. *Exwanyawish, northeast San Diego County. Photo by Constance Goddard DuBois. The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, Plate 19, Figure 2.*

topics discussed was the opportunity to identify or verify the location of late prehistoric settlement patterns based in part on ancestral markers and place-name stories when coupled with archaeological data, in addition to speculation over the exact nature or importance to the Indians' cosmogony.²⁴ The underlying meaning or function for these and other monoliths, however, remains their source of quiescent power, often brought out through the actions of human beings.²⁵ The ability to affect humans in this fashion may be attributed to the fact that these rocks are believed to have once been human themselves. Exwanyawish, as described by DuBois, illustrates the one-time, and perhaps still, animate nature of rocks throughout the landscape: "One of the most striking rocks in this locality of ancient monuments is the painted rock, *Ech-wan-y-a-wish* which was one of the Temecula people, a woman, who turned into this form. Indians suffering bodily pain rub against the rock to obtain relief."²⁶

Another of these healing or blessing stones, also said to have been a woman, is located near the hot springs at Warner's, the Cupeño people's traditional home.²⁷ DuBois makes additional references to rocks that were at one time human, one of which was reportedly baptized by a Catholic priest after the Indians informed him it had been a man.²⁸ Another painted rock near Pamo in northern Diegueño territory was called Winyamewha, where it was considered good luck by travelers to place a piece of broken brush against it.²⁹ Based on the ethnographic record provided by Indian collaborators and educators, "painted" rocks and ceremonial sites like Nahachish and Exwanyawish, as well as others, were typical throughout the region. This claim was corroborated in part by DuBois, who, in her own letter to Alfred Kroeber in 1904, made reference to this: "Mr. Edward H. Davis . . . who went with me to the painted rock I mentioned can give you a good idea of its locality together with that of several other painted rocks which he has visited on inaccessible mountain sides and other out-of-the-way places. There are many in this region."³⁰

Davis, a longtime resident of Mesa Grande, San Diego County, was a respected neighbor of many of the region's Native peoples. His amateur interest in Indian culture led to a broader understanding of their material culture, as well as their own interpretation of the landscape, much of which he photographed or sketched during his many years living in the area where Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño cultures intermingled.³¹

Similar to Nahachish and Exwanyawish is the Medicine Rock at Gregory Canyon, adjacent to Gregory Mountain, or Taquish Paki, long a ceremonial site among the area's Luiseño and Cupeño inhabitants; the area retains its sacred value among Indian peoples.³² Strangely, though, many within mainstream white society continue to believe the Indians to be disingenuous, dismissing their oral traditions and oral histories simply as myth or as outright fabrication, raising cultural concerns only when it meets their immediate interests. This was the case with the Pala Band when it announced plans to build a gaming casino on its reservation in 1999. Following accusations that the band claimed the sacred nature of the Gregory Canyon area only after conceiving plans to build a casino nearby,

Robert H. Smith, Pala Band chairman, responded in a 19 September 2000 letter to the *San Diego Union-Tribune*:

The opposition of the Pala Band of Mission Indians to the Gregory Canyon landfill has nothing to do with our planned casino. . . . [W]e were opposed for religious reasons before we even thought about building a casino. The landfill is a defilement of Gregory Canyon Mountain, which has on it Medicine Rock, both sacred sites where religious and spiritual ceremonies have been conducted since time out of mind by Luiseño Indians.³³

The following day, in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times*, Smith further railed against continued misstatements and the selective memories of those opposed to AB 2752:

The Times based its Aug. 31 editorial on a false assumption in urging a gubernatorial veto of AB 2752, enacted to give protection to the religious and spiritual value of Gregory Mountain to native people. Your editorial states, "The Palas did not raise the religious issue until late in the game." On the contrary, Pala, Pechanga, and other tribes have objected to the landfill at the base of Gregory Mountain since the late 1980s, long before either had a casino or even planned to build one. A *Times* article of Sept. 1, 1990, confirms this when it states that the San Diego "planning commission members said they were opposed to the Gregory Canyon site because it is considered sacred by the Pala Band of Mission Indians who live there." . . . Everyone involved in the fight to protect Gregory Mountain from being defiled has known from the beginning that it is a spiritual site of great importance.³⁴

Smith's assessment of circumstances concerning the landfill was correct, as his reference to the 1990 article clearly demonstrated. Of course, he was only stating what had been known among Indian communities for generations. The sacredness of Gregory Mountain and its surrounding environs was not, however, a secret held exclusively by the Indians.

Despite such parochial, if not racist, attitudes demonstrated by some whites, other non-Indians have assisted in providing a vital record of Native traditions and belief systems, including Edward H. Davis and the Bureau of American Ethnology's John Peabody Harrington. The prolific Harrington visited the San Luis Rey River Valley in 1932, collecting ethnographic information from numerous Indian collaborators. Among the many photographs he took on this field trip were two of Taquish Paki. As mentioned earlier, Taquish is a central malevolent figure in the broader cosmological outlook or worldview among the Cupeño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla, with significant corollaries among the Diegueño. Often taking the shape of a meteor, fireball, or even an anthropomorphic figure, Taquish is most active at night and early mornings and is held responsible for such extreme acts as soul stealing or for the annoying presence of tannin in acorns.³⁵ Harrington's brief handwritten



FIGURE 5. *Taquish paki*. Photo by J. P. Harrington, ca. 1930s. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

notes that accompanied the photographs specifically mentioned that on the mountain were “the two houses of *Tak-wic* [Taquish],” where the deity resided, thus identifying the sacred nature of the area.³⁶ Harrington even notes that the deity had entered the ranks of white popular culture, a racehorse at Oceanside having the name Taakwic in either the 1920s or 1930s.³⁷ Over the years, and with the help of Indian collaborators and educators, scholars have identified sacred mountains throughout Southern California’s Mission Indian Country, including Cahuilla and Diegueño lands.³⁸

Like many other ceremonial or sacred sites throughout California and beyond, Gregory Canyon is subject to the type of development regarded by both Indian and Anglo as unsuitable and dangerous, not only to the Indians’ cultural and spiritual well-being but to the physical well-being of the area’s other inhabitants as well. Environmental concerns have surrounded the landfill project since it was first proposed in the mid-1980s. Supporters of the Gregory Canyon project note that the landfill will only occupy 300 acres of the 1,770-acre site, the remaining acreage, including the Medicine Rock area, being dedicated to operations, buildings, habitat, or preserve. Still, both short- and long-term impacts on Gregory Mountain, Medicine Rock, and the surrounding landscape raise serious concerns regarding increased noise and

air pollution and traffic. Additional cultural and environmental concerns focus on the ethnobotany of the Indians and sustaining indigenous flora. A recent biological survey at the proposed site recorded nearly three hundred plant species of which approximately 75 percent were indigenous.³⁹

Most serious of all, however, may be the landfill's impact on the San Luis Rey River, which is itself a vital cultural component of the region's Native peoples.⁴⁰ Typical of many of Southern California's dry rivers, the San Luis Rey often runs seasonally aboveground during the wet winter months and recedes to an underground riparian flow the remainder of the year. Its headwaters, forming in the mountains near Lake Henshaw, take the river westward some forty miles to the ocean. Although the San Luis Rey River's waters may be unseen for much of the year, the Gregory Canyon landfill, which sits above the river, presents a likely risk for contaminated seepage to pollute the groundwater below the sandy riverbed. Local ranchers who rely heavily on this water source to irrigate agricultural projects, including the county's booming citrus and avocado orchards, fear drawing on tainted waters to irrigate their crops. Furthermore, degradation of the Pala aquifer will severely impact the availability of clean water for thousands of people living in communities downriver from the proposed site. The plan of Gregory Canyon, Ltd., to place a synthetic liner at the bottom of the landfill to prevent seepage has done little to assuage the fears of area citizens, the county farm bureau, and local Indian communities.⁴¹ Over the past decade, and more, studies have increasingly indicated that as many as half of all synthetic liners used in landfills leak, sending toxic chemicals and other hazardous waste into aquifers.⁴²

Increasingly, Native groups throughout the United States have taken state and local governments to task over the disregard or ill-treatment of sacred and culturally significant spiritual sites. Environmental concerns, once thought to be the sole avenue for halting the unrestricted development of former tribal lands, is now being paired with an equally significant means—the maintenance of sacred landscapes on the basis of religious beliefs.⁴³ Important, too, are the monies provided by Indian gaming, which, for the first time, have enabled Native peoples to fund legal battles in the courts themselves, an option once untenable for most reservations.

Although the outcome of Proposition B, placed on the San Diego County ballot for the 2004 November election, was not in their favor, future efforts by the Pala Indians and the local environmental group River Watch will surely play a significant role in determining if the landfill project is to be derailed. In the interim San Diego County officials have moved ahead with plans to finalize the project. On 8 October 2004 the director of the San Diego County Solid Waste Local Enforcement Agency approved the proposed solid waste facility permit for the Gregory Canyon landfill. Three days later the Local Enforcement Agency forwarded an amended copy of the permit to the California Integrated Waste Management Board (CIWMB) for review. CIWMB was given sixty days to review the permit, which will be considered at a noticed public hearing. In a tentative ruling issued in September 2005, however, a California Superior Court judge found significant flaws in the county's environmental impact report, specifically that the landfill would be in close proximity to cultural sites



FIGURE 6. *Taquish Paki, northeast San Diego County. Photo by the author.*

and water resources, both violations of the county's own standards.⁴⁴ Regardless of the final outcome, though, there remains little doubt that Indian land and cultural resources have always suffered at the expense of white encroachment and development. In few instances, if any, are Native peoples consulted when their homes or heritage are impacted.

In a March 2004 *Los Angeles Times* article civic leaders and legal experts pondered the implications of the proposed development of nontribal lands in Santa Barbara County by Indians and developers. Area residents feared that the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash and opportunistic partners might skirt local zoning laws established to stem unwanted development when the land is possibly placed in federal trust. Some opponents of Indian gaming worry that such proposals could simply mask plans for more tribal casinos. Others fear the environmental impact that Indian-sponsored development might have without the checks and balances created by state and local government. As one attorney familiar with the Chumash situation stated, "It's probably clear to everyone, without tribal land status this kind of project would have very little chance of being approved in a pristine area as this (Santa Ynez Valley)."⁴⁵ The director of planning and development for Santa Barbara County further worried that "[t]heir biggest issue is going to be finding sufficient water to deal with that much development."⁴⁶ However, although some are quick to point out the Indians' disregard for community concerns, others have pointed out the same seeming inequities Native peoples face in other parts of the state; as Jim Fletcher, a Bureau of Indian

Affairs superintendent, noted: "These sorts of conflicts often exist between a tribe and the surrounding county or adjacent cities. But it's a two-way street. There are occasions when projects are proposed next to reservations, and the tribes find themselves powerless to stop them."⁴⁷ Fletcher pointed to the Gregory Canyon landfill project and the Pala Indian Reservation as an appropriate example. The superintendent, however, failed to mention the far more innocuous circumstances surrounding the Chumash's planned development of "pristine" land for homes in the Santa Ynez Valley. Nowhere on the site are there white churches, and nowhere is there a proposed landfill to pollute essential water resources. When will sites sacred to Native peoples be afforded the same considerations?

Sacred sites and rock formations of Southern California represent an important element of Mission Indian culture. These locales remain a strong component of the oral traditions and histories of Native peoples throughout North America, providing a vital link between past and present. Over the past century ethnographers, along with their Indian collaborators, have helped to sustain this shared knowledge of landscape and heritage. Increasingly, though, Native peoples see these sites and ancestral markers come under assault from unchecked and often insensitive development. In hopes of preserving their histories and cultures, Indians, like many well-funded corporations, have turned to the mainstream political process, funded mainly through monies provided by tribal gaming, to achieve these ends. Additionally, it can be asked, when will others outside of Indian Country recognize Native peoples' right to work within the same system of laws laid out for all citizens?⁴⁸ This point was further emphasized by Pala chairman Robert Smith regarding his peoples' fight to preserve their history and religious heritage: "The developers ran roughshod over tribal religious values by bankrolling a local initiative campaign in 1994 to end-run the local planning and zoning process and force the placement of the waste facility in Gregory Canyon. Fortunately, the recent 'political clout of California Indian tribes' that the [*Los Angeles*] *Times* denounces has helped in getting the [state] Legislature to take a look at the proposed trashing of our religious values."⁴⁹

Land struggles such as the one at Gregory Canyon illustrate the continued divide between white society and Native values throughout California and North America. Still, not even gaming tribes, with their newfound "political clout," as mentioned by Chairman Smith, are always able to thwart unwanted development either on or near sacred land. Instead, city councils and county boards, pressured by an expanding urban population and NIMBYism, push for refuse to be sent to mostly rural and often economically depressed areas. Yet many of these areas have their own histories and places of cultural significance. Lent little credence beyond folklore, myth, and superstition, Native traditions and belief systems, still vibrant within numerous Indian communities, are invalidated by the dominant Euro-American society's own cultural standards.

In a somewhat ironic twist, one not lost on many Native Americans, despite the fact that Euro-American anthropologists and ethnohistorians from museums, universities, and even government agencies have, for the

better part of a hundred years, dedicated whole careers to documenting Indian beliefs and sacred sites, the spiritual significance of such sites is today regularly dismissed. More ironic still is the fact that nonrecognition of traditional Native beliefs may be due, in part, to their interpretation and characterization by academics themselves, as many viewed the ethnographic present they studied and collected only in the past, failing to recognize that Native cultures, like their own, are in fact fluid, not static, moving according to the contours of an individual as well as a collective human landscape.

NOTES

1. Andrew Gulliford, *Sacred Objects and Sacred Places: Preserving Tribal Traditions* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 67–97. Gulliford is careful to make the distinction that “[b]ecause most Americans have not understood the uniqueness of Indian religions, they have violated the free exercise of it. We need, instead, to understand landscapes in the context of traditional Native American religion and the powerful, enduring presence of sacred geography. . . . Although the word *sacred* may have multiple meanings, for most native people, it connotes respect, whether applied to song, dance, or landscape” (68).

2. I would like to thank Pala Mission Indian Band members Leroy H. Miranda Jr., his daughter Moila, Robert Lavato, Guy Trujillo, and Rincon Mission Indian Band member Matthew Calac, all of whom shared with me their knowledge and understanding of rock formations, ancestral markers, and sacred sites in San Diego and Riverside counties in California.

3. See, e.g., George Wharton James, “The Legend of Taquitch and Algot,” *Journal of American Folklore* 16 (1903): 153–59; Constance Goddard DuBois, *The Religion of the Luiseno Indians of Southern California*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, no. 3 (publication series cited hereafter as AAE) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908), 125–26; Philip Stedman Sparkman, *The Culture of the Luiseño Indians*, AAE, vol. 8, no. 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908), 191, 220–21; Lucile Hooper, *The Cahuilla Indians*, AAE, vol. 16, no. 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1920), 364–65; Raymond C. White, *Luiseno Social Organization*, AAE, vol. 48, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 143; Joan Oxendine, “Rock Enclosures of Southern California,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1981): 232–44 (journal cited hereafter as *CGBA*); Florence C. Shipek, “*Kuuchamaa*: The Kumeyaay Sacred Mountain,” *CGBA* 7, no. 1 (1985): 67–74; Delbert L. True and Clement W. Meighan, “*Nahachish*,” *CGBA* 9, no. 2 (1987): 188–98; Delbert L. True and Suzanne Griset, “*Exwanyawish*: A Luiseño Sacred Rock,” *CGBA* 10, no. 2 (1988): 270–75.

4. Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 126–49. In chapter 5, “Anchoring the Past in Place: Geography and History,” Nabokov discusses the connection between history and the natural landscape or, as he refers to it, the “nonbuilt environment.” See also Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925), 678. Kroeber notes that “[b]esides the migration legends embodied in the story of the origin of things, the Luiseño tell traditions that are primarily geographical.”

5. Howard Morphy, "Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past," in *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, ed. Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 184–209, esp. 196.

6. Raymond D. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Identity," in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 48–51.

7. Morphy, "Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past," 187–88.

8. See Ken Hedges, "Shamanistic Aspects of California Rock Art," in *California Indian Shamanism*, ed. Lowell J. Bean (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1992), 67–88, esp. 71. In the case of rock art in Southern California, Hedges notes that not all circumstances were strictly shaman controlled, that in some rituals even initiates could participate in shamanistic activities.

9. Diary of Fray José Sánchez, 10 September 1821–1 October 1821, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California (translated by the author).

10. Leroy Miranda Jr., conversation with the author, 2 March 1999, Pala Indian Reservation, California.

11. For a more detailed discussion of Rust see Donald Chaput, "Horatio N. Rust and the Agent as Collector Dilemma," *Southern California Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (winter 1982): 281–95; Jane Apostal, "Horatio Nelson Rust: Abolitionist, Archaeologist, Indian Agent," *California History* 68 (winter 1979–80): 305–15; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 108.

12. Horatio N. Rust Collection, RU 775, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

13. Rust Collection, RU 411, Huntington Library.

14. Horatio N. Rust, "A Puberty Ceremony of the Missions Indians," *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 1 (1906): 28–32 (images of fertility stones are provided in Rust's brief article); DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 93–96; Sparkman, *Culture of the Luiseño Indians*, 224–26; T. T. Waterman, *The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians* (Berkeley: University [of California] Press, 1910), 285–90, 345. Waterman also provides a photograph of one of these crescent-shaped ceremonial stones (345).

15. See William Duncan Strong, *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929). In his discussion of the girls' adolescent ceremony among the Luiseño, Strong refers to Rust's discussion of the same rite among the Diegueño at Mesa Grande (Rust actually spoke of Campo) and "a certain crescentic stone believed to symbolize or refer to the female genitalia. . . . Stones of this type have been found in various southern California sites" (299).

16. DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 136. In footnote 182 *wiala* is identified as "Wiyala, rock crystals" by Sparkman.

17. *Ibid.*

18. John P. Harrington, *Chinigchinich (Chi-nich-nich): A Revised and Annotated Version of Alfred Robinson's Translation of Father Geronimo Boscana's Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs, and Extravagancies of the Indians of This Mission of San Juan Capistrano Called the Acagchemem Tribe* (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1933), 133–35. Harrington's extensive footnote is in reference to the passage on page 29: "He [the Indian deity Chinigchinich] then said unto them these words: 'him who obeyeth me

not, or believe not in my teachings, I will chastise. To him I will send bears to bite, serpents to sting, misfortunes, infirmities, and death.' He taught them the laws they were to observe for the future as well as their rites and ceremonies."

19. George Rossman, professor of mineralogy, Caltech, conversation with the author, 24 August 2004.

20. Harrington, *Chinigchinich*, 134–35. Harrington provides several examples given to him by both named and unnamed Indian collaborators.

21. D. S. Whitley, R. I. Dorn, J. M. Simon, R. Rechtman, and T. K. Whitley, "Sally's Rockshelter and the Archaeology of the Vision Quest," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9 (1999): 236.

22. Chris Scarre, "A Place of Special Meaning: Interpreting Pre-Historic Monuments in the Landscape," in *Inscribed Landscapes: Marking and Making Place*, ed. Bruno David and Meredith Wilson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 164.

23. DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 159; True and Meighan, "Nahachish," 188–98; True and Griset, "Exwanyawish," 270–74.

24. True and Meighan, "Nahachish," 196; True and Griset, "Exwanyawish," 274.

25. Lowell J. Bean, "Power and Its Application in Native California," in *California Indian Shamanism*, ed. Lowell J. Bean (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1992), 21–32. Bean notes, "Power could also be tapped and acquired through many channels that brought it into the humans' sphere of activities. These included rocks (such as quartz crystals) and other unusual objects" (28). He further notes, "Power is potentially extant in all things. Power may remain quiescent and neutral, choosing its own time or place to manifest itself. Some things possess more power than others, but anything in the universe that has 'life' or demonstrates the will 'to act' possesses some amount of power. Even seemingly inanimate things may possess power. A rock that suddenly moves downhill may thereby demonstrate an ability 'to act,' and therefore reveal itself as a power source" (23). I would take this interpretation further by arguing that a rock, particularly one identified with an ancestor, possesses power as well as meaning.

26. DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 159. DuBois also refers to the "Dance of the Spirits," as described to her by one of her Luiseño collaborators: "The old man could hear the spirits talk and hear them laugh. One was *Exwanyawish*, the woman that was turned into a rock, and *Piyevla*, the man that scooped the rock with his fingers" (154).

27. Robert Lavato, conversation with the author, 2 May 2003, Warner's Hot Springs, California.

28. DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 152. Joseph J. Hill, *The History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs* (Los Angeles: Privately printed, 1927), 15 (Hill mentions the same place-name story and "baptism").

29. Edward H. Davis Papers, microfilm reel no. 1, San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, California.

30. Constance Goddard DuBois Collection, Correspondence, CU-23, Box 11, File 7, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Based on the date of the letter, four years before the publication of her study on Luiseño religion, and the area of DuBois's research, it is likely that she is referring to Exwanyawish.

31. Davis was instrumental in collecting material culture items from California's Mission Indian cultures, as well as many from the Southwest for George Gustav Heye,

founder of the Museum of the American Indian in New York City, now part of the Smithsonian.

32. Matthew Calac, interview by the author, 28 March 2000, Escondido, California. Calac, in his early eighties at the time of the interview, remembered cultural ceremonies being held at the Gregory Canyon area. Additional testimonies regarding the ceremonial nature of the Medicine Rock and Gregory Canyon are found in appendix O, section VII of the *Gregory Canyon Landfill Final Environmental Impact Report*, California, State Clearinghouse no. 1995061007, December 2002 (cited hereafter as *Gregory Canyon Landfill FEIR*).

33. Robert H. Smith, "Editorial Misstates Tribe's Opposition to Landfill," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 18 September 2000.

34. Robert H. Smith, "Block Landfill at Gregory Canyon," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 September 2000.

35. Sparkman, *Culture of the Luiseño Indians*, 220–21; DuBois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, 76n6; Waterman, *Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians*, 342–43; Hooper, *The Cahuilla Indians*, 341; Lowell John Bean, *Mukat's People: The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 163–82.

36. John P. Harrington Collection, Luiseño Photographs, JPH-CA-LU-104, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, California.

37. Harrington, *Chinigchinich*, 182.

38. See Hooper, *The Cahuilla Indians*, 364–65; Harrington, *Chinigchinich*, 180–85; Bean, *Mukat's People*, 23–35; Shipek, "Kuuchamaa," 67–74. Regarding Taquish paki, near Pala, Harrington notes in *Chinigchinich*: "Another much pointed out Taakwic Puki (*Taquish paki*) is a cavelike place and also a cliff just south of the same on the west side of Tcokla (*Chokla*) Mountain, two miles west of Pala, across the San Luis Rey River from Pala town. Taakwic was also once seen seated on the peak of Tcokla Mountain, above the cave and cliff, the peak being visible from the Pala side, his whole body in bright, clear outline, looking down toward Pala" (181n). Harrington (181) notes places called Taquish paki on the Rancho Santa Margarita, east of Mission Viejo, and an area west of Mount Woodson east of Ranch Bernardo. Shipek also mentions the sacredness of Mount Woodson in her article (69).

39. "Ethnohistory and Native American Interests," *Gregory Canyon Landfill FEIR*, 4.12-2.

40. Steven M. Karr, "Water We Believed Could Never Belong to Anyone: The San Luis Rey River and the Pala Indians of Southern California," *American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (spring 2000): 381–99.

41. *Ibid.*, 391–92.

42. D. E. Daniel and K. W. Brown, "Landfill Liners: How Well Do They Work and What Is Their Future?" in *Land Disposal of Hazardous Waste*, ed. J. R. Gronow, A. N. Schofield, and R. K. Jain (Chichester, UK: Ellis Horwood, 1988), 235–44.

43. Marc Vanderhoff, "Recreation, Spirituality Clash in Northern Nevada," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 7 April 2003; Nick Madigan, "Developer Unearths Burial Ground and Stirs Up Anger among Indians," *New York Times*, 2 June 2004; M. S. Enkoji, "War Dance Highlights Fight to Save Heritage," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 September 2004; Philip P. Arnold, "Sacred Landscapes of New York State and the Problem of Religion in America," in *Sacred Landscapes and Cultural Politics*, ed. Philip P. Arnold and Ann Grodzins Gold (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 167–86.

44. Booyeon Lee, "Landfill Proposal May Be Trashed," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 10 September 2005.
45. Julie Tamaki and Eric Bailey, "Chumash Land Plan Worries Civic Leaders," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 March 2004.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Imre Sutton, "Indian Cultural, Historical, and Sacred Resources: How Tribes, Trustees, and the Citizenry Have Invoked Conservation," in *Trusteeship in Change: Toward Tribal Autonomy in Resource Management*, ed. Richmond L. Clown and Imre Sutton (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001), 165–93.
49. Smith, "Block Landfill at Gregory Canyon," *Los Angeles Times*.