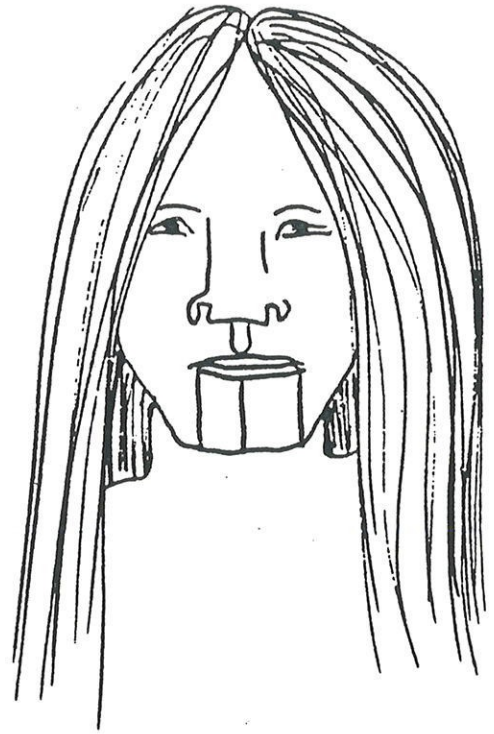


TATTOO ARTISTRY
IN
• NATIVE CALIFORNIA



1. Edward Sapir. Hupa Tattooing. 1936.
2. Wendy Rose. Aboriginal Tattooing in California. 1979.

Gift of Lee Davis, California Indian Project, Lowie Museum of Anthropology,
University of California.

On the occasion of the first Yurok chin tattooing since the 19th century,
February 9, 1990

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HUPA TATTOOING

BY EDWARD SAPIR

CHIN TATTOOING FOR WOMEN, as is well known, is characteristic of the tribes of northwestern and central California and northward into Oregon. The custom is described for the Hupa by P. E. Goddard in his *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (UC-PAAE 1:20):

All mature women have marks tattooed on their chins. These marks are vertical and vary in number and width. Sometimes curved marks are added at the corners of the mouth. Delicate marks were placed on the chins of quite young girls. These were added to in size and number later in life. The Hupa deny that they mark age or social status, declaring that they are for ornament only. The tattooing was done by pricking in soot with a sharp flint or a splinter of bone.

An equivalent statement for the Yurok is made by Kroeber in his *Handbook of the Indians of California* (BAE-B 78:77-78). Figures 45 and 46 of this work give a convenient summary of Californian skin-tattoo designing.

In the summer of 1927, in the course of linguistic and ethnological work among the Hupa, I secured from Sam Brown, a very intelligent half-blood Hupa Indian, a brief text on tattooing. It follows in as literal translation as is consonant with easy intelligibility.¹ Notes, which explain or amplify various passages, follow the text.

Long ago, when the Jumping Dance² was held at Ta'k'imildin,³ I saw it, how in the fall girls raised their little burden baskets in the morning and went off after fir pitch. They all went across the river. And then Water-flows-past-him-place,⁴ now dead, came across with them in order to interpret for them with the Yurok Indian who understood chin tattooing. Widow-he-has-been-made,⁵ he used to be called.

He said to the girls, "Now! go to get pitch!" And then when they had gone up the hill to In-the-big-flat-place,⁶ each of them carried out pitch in her burden basket to where that Yurok Indian was staying across from Ta'k'imildin on the gravel. And then he built two roofed structures circle-wise with rocks, and in them he dumped the pitch. And then he built

¹ The field work was undertaken for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, to which thanks are due for permission to use the material in this place.

² This is the fall -č'idilye', popularly known as "Jumping Dance." For an account of the ceremony see Goddard, *op. cit.*, 85-87.

³ The main village, ceremonially, of the Hupa as a whole. It belongs to the lower, or northern, geographical moiety of the Hupa. See Goddard, *op. cit.*, 12, 13, and map opposite p. 88. A plan of the village is given, *op. cit.*, 129. The name, while very likely referring to the acorn feast held here, literally means "where one prepares acorn mush"; cf. Goddard, *op. cit.*, 80.

⁴ This name, to'xode'ldin, is the name of a house in the village of Me'dildin. The owner of the house, Captain John, was named after it. The wealthy men or "chiefs" of the Hupa and Yurok were generally called after the houses they occupied rather than by their proper personal names. Cf. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 12.

⁵ The Hupa form of the name is 'isdiya'nčwin, xowilčwe'n. The "widow" refers literally to a woman and the name is equivalent to Shaved-head. This Yurok was from Johnson's (Hupa name, ni'nidahsa'andin, "where earth round-sits above, knoll-place") on the Klamath river, above the Yurok village of Requa. He was visiting among the Hupa for the dance.

⁶ Hupa xonte'lkohme', up on a bench back of Oscar Brown's place.

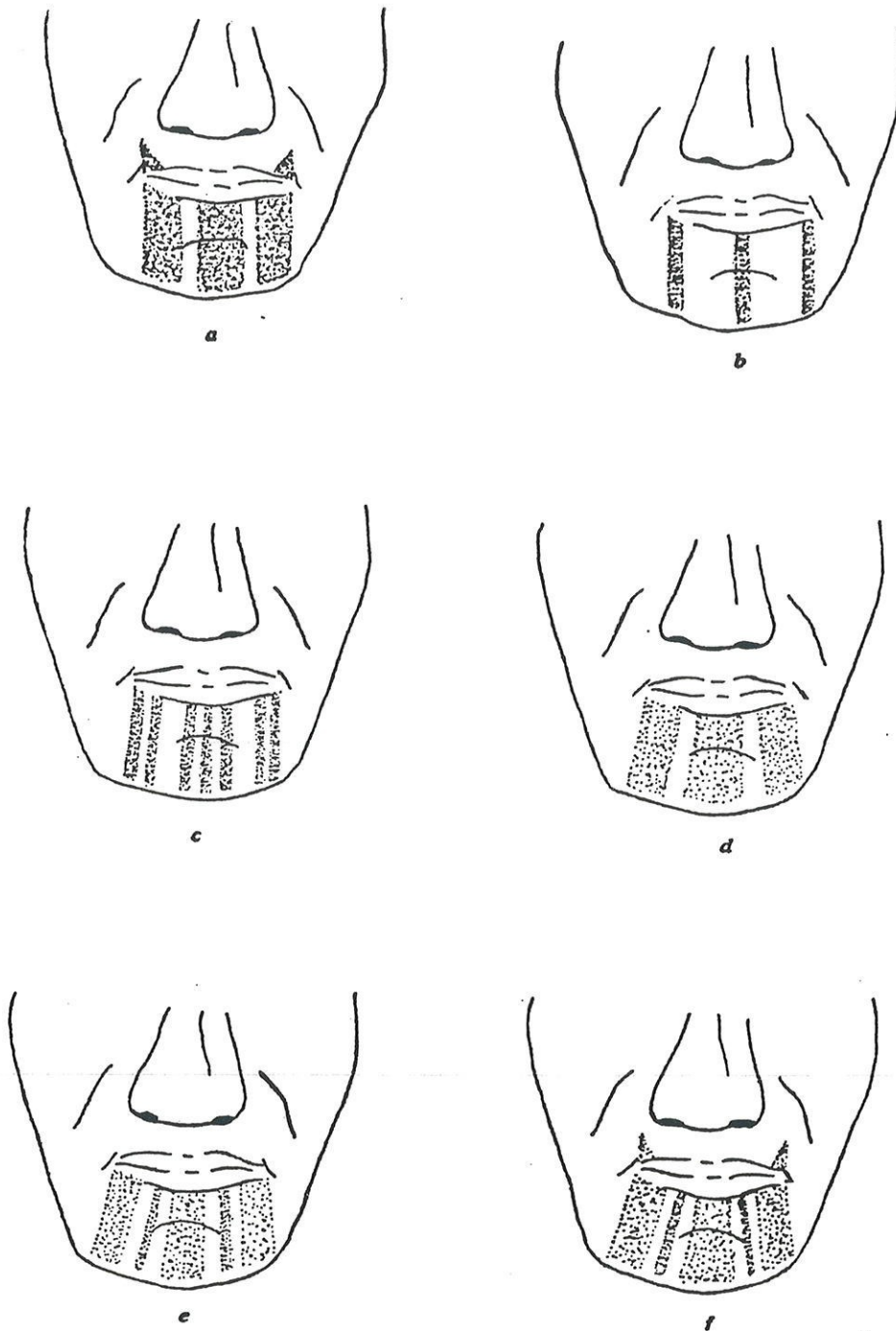


Fig. 9. Chin tattoo designs of the Hupa and neighboring tribes.
See text for interpretations of varieties a-f.

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in the rocks all around until they met on top of the structure.⁷ Then with fire he poked the pitch,⁸ did this to the pitch in both places. And then, after a while, when it burned up, after he had taken the rocks off from the fire,⁹ he scraped from them all the fine particles of black which had been thrown on by the fire.¹⁰ When he had done this to all the rocks, every one of the girls sat down.

With soot mixed with marrow¹¹ they were already marked¹² down their chins in whatever way they wanted it. And then of one of them first he tattooed the chin, with a quartz aliver¹³ he keeps cutting it, he keeps cutting at it in short dabs. With a stick he scraped off the blood. And then he keeps putting in that pitch soot. Finally, when he has tattooed the chins of one or two girls, night falls.¹⁴

And then, when he has tattooed the chins of all of them, they do not eat, anything white they do not eat—only seaweed and anything blue, such as salal berries, so that their chin tattoo marks may turn blue. But if she eats anything white, her chin cannot turn blue.

Just that much do I know of this tattooing of their chins.

They used to say, if a girl's chin was not tattooed, "You, are you going to look like a man? Lizards run into your mouth, your chin is not tattooed. Your ears are not punched through."¹⁵

Men used to be tattooed only inside their arms, some on their chest; some used to make signs of measuring where dentalia are measured. As soon as they stop growing, they tattoo for that purpose.¹⁶

The ten chin-tattoo designs illustrated in figures 9 and 10 were drawn by Sam Brown.¹⁷ The interpretations are also his.

Figure 9a, characterized by three broad bands on the chin and two triangles at the upper corners of the mouth, is a combination of two distinctly

⁷ In other words, he built two circles of boulders and then put other rocks on top of each in ever-lessening circles until they met in the center, which stood a foot or a foot and a half from the ground. The ground within the circle of boulders was somewhat scooped out to hold the pitch. The inner faces of the rocks were to catch the soot. It is of some interest to note that the Hupa verb for "building a roofed structure," *-i-miq'* (-me'n), Mattole *-i-biq'* [-be'n] "to build a house," is also found in Navaho, *-i-bi'* "to build a (new) hogan." This verb is based on an old Athapascan noun, "roof, roofed structure," which appears dialectically as "roof" (Carrier, *ban*, Kaska [Jenness], *bə'n*) or "house" (Chasta Costa, *man*), in Hupa as a diminutive, *min'3*, "menstrual hut."

⁸ "To poke the pitch with fire" is the technical term for "to light the pitch."

⁹ Carefully, so as not to shake off the soot. He collects it for the "ink," as Sam Brown put it.

¹⁰ Hupa has a technical term for these particles, *dahc'isde'*.

¹¹ This fatty stencil soot is called *mil-xo'a'dil'e'n* in Hupa.

¹² The Hupa verb for "tattooing," *-i-tač'*, really means "to mark" and is used in this passage as well as in those referring to tattooing.

¹³ This tattooing instrument is called *cehigay*, literally "white stone." A boulder of quartz is broken up and the sharpest bit, which is quite small, is taken for the knife.

¹⁴ In other words, he cannot expect to tattoo more than two girls at most during the day, the work is so slow. Tears drop down their cheeks as he cuts. He has to wait quite often. They had to be careful with the tattoo marks. They generally kept them covered until they healed, which took about five or six days.

¹⁵ An incidental reference to another required bodily mutilation. The ears were punctured with a porcupine quill. It was pricked in lightly in the evening, and by morning it had worked its way through. The Yurok did not, it seems, perforate the ear; see Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 77.

¹⁶ For these measuring tattoo marks, see Goddard, *op. cit.*, 48, 49. "Signs of measuring where dentalia are measured" correspond to Goddard's "creases on the left hand." Sam Brown's marks "inside their arms" are doubtless also for measuring. Goddard states: "He also had a set of lines tattooed on the inside of the left forearm. These lines indicated the length of five shells of the several standards."

¹⁷ My thanks are due Mr. John Crowley, a Yale student, for redrawing the originals for reproduction.

named designs. The band design is called *nite'l-wiltač'*, "wide-marked"; the triangular one, *me'siwidlay*, "several carried up along it."

Figure 9*b*, three narrow bands, is called *'ist'ik'isi-wiltač'*, "slender-marked."

Figure 9*c*, a developed form of *b*, is called *'ist'ik'isi-k'ine'lno'*, "slender-several are stood up."

Figure 9*d* illustrates the banded design of *a*, without the triangles.

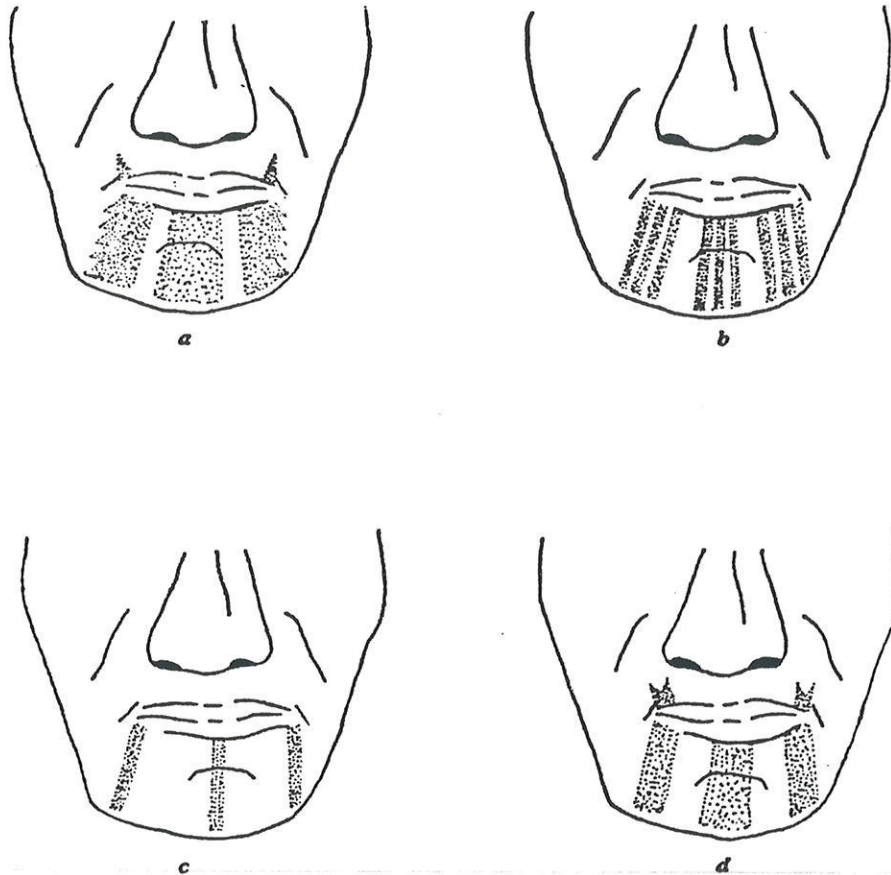


Fig. 10. Chin tattoo designs of the Hupa and neighboring tribes.
See text for interpretation of varieties a-d.

Figure 9*e* is developed from *a* by the insertion of a narrow white streak between the center band and each of the two outer ones. The design is called *nite'l-wiltač' milgai' wilčwe'n*, "wide-marked + made with white thereto."

Figure 9*f* is a combination of *e* and the triangular design in *a*. The design name of the whole is compounded of the two names, the "wide-marked" being omitted: *milgai' wilčwe'n me'siwidlay*, "made with white thereto + several carried up along it."

Figure 10*a* is developed from figure 9*a* by the addition of a row of triangular spurs to the two outer bands. Its name combines the three features: *nite'l-wiltač' me'siwidlay č'ah-č'e'η'eλ'-wilčwe'n*, "wide-marked + several carried up

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²⁹ Basket D

along it + made with 'caps' in a row coming out." This design was said to be Yurok and Wiyot, not Hupa. The element č'ah- was entirely obscure to Sam Brown. It is almost certainly the Hupa reflex of the Athapascan noun *č'a'x, "cap, headgear" (cf. Navaho č'a'h, "cap," Mattole č'ah, "hat," Ingalik c'əx, "cap of beaver fur," Kutchin c'e'h, "cap," Kaska [Jenness] c'a'h, "cap," Chipewyan c'a', "hat, cap"). The word had become obsolete in Hupa, not being applied to the woman's basket cap, but lingers on in a disguised form in a design name. Perhaps its proper meaning was originally "peaked fur cap" rather than "headgear" in general.

Figure 10*b* differs from figure 9*c* in having all three of the units of figure 9*b* triplicated instead of only the center one. This design is named ta'q'i na'ya'kida'ay, "several with three standing up straight."

Figure 10*c* is merely a slight variant of figure 9*b*.

Figure 10*d* differs from figure 9*a* in substituting forked figures for the simple triangles of the latter. The compound design name is nite'l-wiltač' hgiw me'siwidlay, "wide-marked + with forks carried up along it." This tattoo design, like figure 10*a*, was said not to be Hupa, but to belong to the Athapascan tribe of Van Duzen creek (No'ŋgahł in Hupa).

It is worth noting that all the names of tattoo designs recorded are strictly geometrical in character. This is in accordance with the general character of Northwest Californian basket design names. The Hupa basket designs described by Goddard (*op. cit.*, 44-48) are named partly geometrically ("sharp and slanting," "set on top of one another," "points sticking up," "it encircles," "they come together," "one-on-the-other its scratches"), partly after fancied resemblances which have no true symbolic significance ("rattlesnake's nose," "grizzly bear his hand," "frog his hand," "swallow's tail," "sturgeon's back," "worm goes round").¹⁸ Interestingly enough, at least one of the tattoo design names is identical with the name of a basket design. This emphasizes the purely technical, geometrical nature of design nomenclature among the Hupa. The identity in question is č'ah-č'e'ŋ'eł' (fig. 10*a*), which I have rendered "with 'caps' in a row coming out," and Goddard's tcaxtceũñeL, rendered "points sticking up." According to Goddard this design "is applied indiscriminately to series of projecting angles" (*op. cit.*, 47). Kroeber obtained the name also for an isolated triangle,¹⁹ but it is probable that the triangle was thought of, in this case, as merely abstracted out of a projecting row of triangles. Furthermore, the simple "tca" or "tcax-hultewe" (read probably č'ah and č'ah-wilčwe'n, "cap" and "cap-made, made into a cap" respectively) was obtained by Kroeber for the basketry design called "waxpoo" in Yurok and "apxankoikoi" in Karok.²⁰ In this too the projecting triangle seems to be the fundamental feature.

¹⁸ See, further, Kroeber, *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California*, UC-PAAE 2:133-139. See pp. 159-162 for pseudo-symbolism in Californian basketry design.

¹⁹ *Basket Designs*, 136.

²⁰ *Basket Designs*, 137.

ABORIGINAL TATTOOING IN CALIFORNIA

by

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1979

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Author's Preface

There are two things I wish to make clear before going into tattooing in any detail. One is my use of the past tense. It must be emphasized that in using the past tense, I am referring only to the practice of tattooing as it was done in "aboriginal times" for whatever reasons were then applicable. I am not referring to the people themselves in the past tense. ("Mother" tattooed on a Yurok sailor's arm just doesn't count). I am not aware of any modern instance of tattooing as a native cultural trait in California; it would seem that most, if not all, tattooed individuals have long since passed on. I am well aware, however, that Native Californians are alive and well and active.

Secondly, I would like to say something about the familiar terms "aboriginal", "historic" versus "prehistoric", etc. I use these terms because they are accepted and expected in the academic world as meaning certain, precise things. I have questions regarding their use and definition that I would like to briefly discuss.

"Aboriginal" is used to refer to a more or less static state -- whatever happened in California before the coming of the whiteman. How a group reacted, changed, dealt with the invasion is referred to differently as if the whiteman were totally in charge of directing these dynamics; but these reactions and changes, like everything else in the lives of these people, were a product of their aboriginality. These responses were governed by their world-view and were carried out in their own way. When change was forced upon them, they could change in no way but their own. They never stopped being aboriginal and they will always be aboriginal; it is thus obvious that 1976 is as much "aboriginal times" as 1776.

Likewise, words like "historic" and "prehistoric" are related to before-and-after the coming of the whiteman. The whiteman seems to see himself as a crucial turning point in the history of the entire world, as much as he sees the birth of his particular incarnate deity as a turning point for his calendar -- B. C. and A. D. (could this mean, to someone else, "before Columbus" and "after Destruction"?). Many Native American groups do not view history in this way; the arrival and residence of the whiteman upon this continent is just another event that has come and will pass, and is not so important as the whiteman seems to think, in spite of the apparent permanence of his destructive acts. As for history being defined as the written word, I say that oral history is neither more nor less reliable than written history and is subject to the same distortions and problems.

The Penutian Speaking Groups

The Penutian speaking groups include the Wintun (Cottonwood Creek, Hill-Nomlaki, Trinity, McCloud, and Sacramento subgroups), the Patwin (River and Hill subgroups), the Miwok (Hookoo-e-ko/Coast, Tuolumne, Chowchilla, Yosemite, Bull Creek, Plains, and Lake subgroups), the Yokuts (Chukchansi, Chooimni, "Yo Kotch", Wukchumni, Telamni, and San Joaquin subgroups), the Maidu (Notomusee, Notokoiyo, Mountain, Foothill and Valley subgroups), the Costanoans (Northern, Southern and Kah Koon subgroups), and the Esselen, Klamath (California), and Modoc.

Tattooing among the Wintun was not extensive (Washington 1909). DuBois (1935) mentions face painting, but not tattooing. It was generally said that facial tattooing was almost lacking and that ornamentation of the breast and stomach was much more common. In the northernmost parts of the Wintun country the northwestern style of three lines or bands on the chin was practiced (Kroeber 1925). Merriam (1966 ed.) illustrates face tattooing of a person from Baird Hatchery (Fig. 1a). In addition, he saw three old women who had their chins and lower cheeks heavily tattooed. The usual design, he said, was three single or double vertical lines on the chin, an oblique line running down from each corner of the mouth across the lower part of the cheek. Two women had tattooing on the nose, and one woman on the forehead.

Tattooing was used as a status or tribal identification system; it usually consisted of three serrated lines from the lower lip to the chin for both men and women. This was especially true of the northernmost Wintun group along Cottonwood Creek. Boys and girls were tattooed near maturity "so the mark would keep its shape". Girls were tattooed between the ages of twelve and fourteen years; there was no apparent direct connection between tattooing and any puberty ceremony. This tattooing on adolescent girls was done on the chin, cheeks, and body. On grown women, there were double lines from lip to chin, and on grown men there were three double lines. The technique was to rub soot from burnt oak galls into cuts made with a flint knife; the cuts were then covered with pitch to aid in their healing. The words "dopna" and "topa" refer to the act of cutting for tattooing purposes. As status insignia, commoners were tattooed only on the chin; men of rank had a design of diamond-shapes "like a bow" on their upper torso (Fig. 1b). Cheek tattooing was also reported. The ability to give a tattoo was given in the Huta*. A person sometimes had to travel a considerable distance and pay the tattooer. Wintun people favored their own designs over those of other groups in their area: "Yuki and Wailaki have funny patterns; they just spoil their faces by making the whole face look black" (Goldschmidt 1951: Figs. 1c, 1d, 1e).

* Huta Society was an initiatory group that was part of the Kuksu Cult. Little is known of its exact function or formal organization; informants either knew little of it or were hesitant to speak of it. Goldschmidt (1951) received the following information: informant Molly Freeman said, "Huh'ti is just a sweat. It doesn't make doctors or any such thing." John Jordan of Paskenta said, "Huta was a contest to see who could stand the more heat. They dance around the fire in the sweathouse. After they have stayed in

Powers (1877) said, "Among the Normok (Nomlaki?)... [a woman who had] executed on her cheeks a couple of birds' wings, one on each cheek, done in blue, bottom-edge up, the butt of the wing at the corner of the mouth and the tip near the ear. It is quite well wrought, both in correctness of form and in delicateness of execution, not only separate feathers, but even the filaments of the vane, being finely pricked in. Occasionally there will be seen among the Coast Range tribes a woman who has a figure of a tree tattooed on the abdomen and breast, sometimes eighteen inches or more in length, but very rudely done, the branches about as large as the trunk and no attempt at representing twigs or leaves... women tattoo three narrow lines, one falling from each corner of the mouth, and one between."

The Chohelmemsel subgroup of Patwin at the northern end of Colusa County in the western foothills of the Sacramento Valley sometimes tattooed zigzag lines on the chest, in some cases a sugar pine tree ("soo moo" or "shoo moo"); the trunk of the tree lies along the median line of the body with branches outspreading. The zigzag tattooing is called "duk ko duk ko"; chin tattooing is called "wah ken". The soot, called "te che shoo dook" is made from burning pitch under a stone on which the soot is then deposited. The skin is cut until it bleeds and the soot is rubbed in (Merriam 1966).

"The chin of married women was tattooed in three or four vertical bands -- an emblem of loyalty" (Merriam 1955). I have not included this interpretation in my own categories of cultural associations, as I believe it to be more an assumption of Merriam's own cultural background rather than anything to do with native Wintun culture.

Tattooing was practiced on men and women from the Trinity and McCloud subgroups, and on women only from the Sacramento subgroup. Only the Trinity group is said to have tattooed "in aboriginal times", the others beginning only in the mid or late nineteenth century. All these three groups used three narrow vertical lines in the chin; the Trinity group also used horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth. The Trinity and McCloud groups tattooed on the arms. All three groups cut the skin with a stone knife and all but the Trinity group rubbed in charcoal; the Trinity group rubbed in soot (Voegelin 1942).

The Hill Wintun/Nomlaki tattooed vertical lines on the chins of women (Gifford and Kroeber 1937). Among the River Patwin, women tattooed on the breast only. Among the Maidu, men tattooed the breast, women the face and breast (Kroeber 1932). Both the River and Hill Patwin are recorded as having tattooed, both groups tattooing women's faces and using vertical lines on the chin (Gifford and Kroeber 1937).

there as long as they can, they run out and jump into the creek." Informants Jones and Freeman included more information in their accounts: Huta was an initiation ceremony held in the sweathouse; initiates underwent food taboos and danced to special songs that were sung in an esoteric language known only to full members. Having danced until they passed out in exhaustion, they were placed in a comfortable place where they dreamed. Those who did not dream were taught special non-shamanistic crafts, such as tattooing.

Merriam (1966) illustrates a woman from the Coast Miwok of Phelan Valley on Putah Creek (Fig. 1f). Among the Tuolumne Miwok (listed by Merriam as the "Middle Mehwah of Bald Rock Rancheria"), the women tattooed on their chins with one, two or three vertical lines, the number said not to matter. The material used for color was soot from burnt wormwood. Tattooing was also done for relief of rheumatic and other chronic pains for and by both men and women. For these medical purposes, it was done right over the painful spot (Merriam 1966). In the same report, a Chowchilla Miwok woman is illustrated showing chin tattooing (Fig. 1g).

Among the Yosemite Miwok, girls were tattooed on the chest, around the breasts, on their arms, and on their chins. This was recorded in 1910 by Merriam (1966). In the same report, Merriam says that women had straight vertical lines under the middle of the chin and two lighter ones on the right side, as well as a long zigzag line running from each side of the mouth among the Chowchilla Miwok of the Yosemite-Mariposa region.

Among the Northern Miwok, one group punctured with a bunch of pine needles, as well as obsidian flakes; the remaining northern groups used obsidian, other stone, or bone. Two northern subgroups colored with manzanita charcoal. All northern groups used vertical lines on the chin as well as horizontal and radiating lines around the cheeks and mouth. One group tattooed vertical lines on the forehead, one group tattooed women's vulvas, one group tattooed the arms and legs, and both groups tattooed the chest (Aginsky 1943).

Neither the Plains Miwok (Aginsky 1943) nor the Lake Miwok (Gifford and Kroeber 1937) are recorded as having tattooed.

Among the Chukchansi Yokuts, Merriam (1966) saw an old woman with body decoration between Fresno Flat and Coarse Gold Gulch (Fig. 2a). The simpler pattern consisted of two broad rings low down on the neck or upper breast from which broad straight lines ran down between and over the breasts. All were broad, ca. 1/2 inch in width. Another old woman at the same location had more elaborate tattooing on her thoracic area and abdomen which included numerous crossbands, rings, short vertical lines, circles, etc., but she would not allow diagrams or photos to be made. Both women had a number of vertical and oblique lines about the chin; one had marks on her arm. At Picayune, five miles down the road, an old woman had two vertical lines on her forehead over her nose, two vertical lines on the chin, and one horizontal line on each cheek passing back from the mouth (Fig. 2b). Chukchansi women tattooed the breast, abdomen, arms, and legs (Gayton 1948).

There was more tattooing in the north than in the southern parts of Yokuts country and more by women than men. It ran in lines, zigzags, rows of dots, etc. mostly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. There was much variety in the individual facial patterns. Chukchansi women sometimes tattooed over the breast, abdomen, arms, and

legs. The method was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or obsidian (around Coarse Gold) and to color with manzanita charcoal; they used vertical lines on the chin as well as horizontal and radiating lines across the cheeks and from the mouth. In addition, they tattooed on their arms, legs, and chest (Aginsky 1943).

The Choinimni Yokuts tattooed across the chin and body; one old woman was "all tattooed". Another old woman was seen to be tattooed all over the chest, breasts, cheeks, and chin -- this was recorded at the mouth of Mill Creek, Kings River, in 1903 by Merriam (1966).

A woman who said she was the last surviving member of the "Yokotch Tribe" from the vicinity of Savage Monument, Fresno River, had double lines from the corners of her mouth down, two vertical lines below her mouth to her chin, and three parallel zigzag lines on her wrist bound by encircling lines (Merriam 1966: Fig. 2c).

Tattooing was practiced more among the northern groups than the southern; more by women than by men. The designs were zigzags and rows of dots; they tended to be on the chin. Cuts were made with obsidian or flint into which charcoal dust was rubbed (Brusa 1975).

Personal decoration among Yokuts women was a matter of individual volition and was generally done while quite young before marriage in the hope that it would prevent wrinkling in later years (Figs. 2d, 2e, 2f, 2g, 2h, 2i, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d). Girls who were close friends got tattooed at the same time on the arms and face; a favorite facial pattern was said to be two stripes down from each corner of the nose. They were sometimes tattooed on the thighs and one old woman had stripes on her chin going onto her neck and chest, as well as wavy lines on her breast and thorax. A man in the north was said to use facial tattooing, but it was emphasized that although they knew of him, he was definitely not one of them. The tattooing was done by an old woman who marked the pattern on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick; the lines were then abraded with fine-pointed arrowheads and a paste of grease and coal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, no scarring, no welting, and the marks turned dark blue-grey in color. There were a few tattoos said to have religious significance, one of which may be aboriginal in origin and the other probably Christian-influenced (although not necessarily to the degree implied by the informant). These were seen on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men who referred to the tattooed place as "points of permeation for their supernatural powers". One of the women (of the Wukchumni subgroup) said that her tattoo represented dove's feet because she was Dove Totem. The other woman (of the Telamni subgroup) said that her tattoo was a cross because she was "catlick" (Gayton 1948: Figs. 3e, 3f, 3g).

The San Joaquin Yokuts punctured with a bunch of pine needles, making vertical lines on the chin as well as horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth; they made vertical lines on the forehead, and tattooed the arms, legs, and chest as well as womens' vulvas (Aginsky 1943).

The Notomusee Nisenan tattooed women on the body. An old woman had three lines below the mouth. Face tattooing was called "bonope"; body tattooing was called "ya'lis". This was recorded at Kadema village on the north bank of the American River, nine miles above the mouth (Merriam 1966: Fig. 4a).

The Notokoiyo division of Northern Maidu on Lake Almanor tattooed women as illustrated by Merriam (1966: Fig. 4b).

Maidu men had no universal fashion for tattooing; the commonest tattoo was a mark, a narrow stripe, upward from the root of the nose. Northern Maidu women made close cuts with obsidian splinters and rubbed in the charcoal from wild nutmeg. Toward the east and south, the method was to prick in the charcoal. Going southward, cheek decoration became lost, chin lines became fewer, and finally sporadic. Designs tended to be individual in character. In the northern valley, women had three to seven vertical lines on their chins and a diagonal line from each corner of the mouth toward the outer end of the eye. Lines and dots were occasionally tattooed on the breasts, arms, and hands of men and women. The only standardized patterns were those used on women's faces (Figs. 4c, 4d). There was said to be no ritual for girls when they were tattooed, although it probably happened around the time of puberty (Kroeber 1925).

Among the Mountain and Foothill Maidu, women were tattooed; among the Mountain subgroup, men were tattooed as well. In both groups, tattooing was recorded as being a recent development. Both groups used narrow stripes (usually three) on the chin, and the Mountain subgroup used horizontal or radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth; the Foothill group tattooed on the hand (Voegelin 1942).

Women of the Valley Maidu were tattooed with three narrow chin stripes; the cutting was done with a stone knife and plant juice was rubbed in (Voegelin 1942).

The Costanoans (also called Olhone or Ohlone) tattooed mens' and womens' faces, foreheads, and arms in the Northern and Southern groups (Harrington 1942). Kroeber (1925) said, "face tattooing is customary for women. It ran to lines or rows of dots as among all the central Californians." (Figs. 4e, 4f).

Merriam (1966) mentions black and white face painting without the use of red among the Kah Koon Costanoan subgroup (vicinity of Monterey Bay and south), but no tattooing. Apparently, if this was actually the case, the Kah Koon Costanoans were the only Costanoans that did not tattoo.

I have found only one reference to tattooing among the Esselen, and that but an indirect one. Merriam (1965) shows a photograph with the caption "Pole and brush shelter, Ennesen (Esselen) Tribe, Milpitas Valley at western base of Santa Lucia Peak, Monterey County, August 1902". Her forehead and chin are in shadow and the photograph is generally unclear, but some facial tattooing is apparent (Fig. 4g).

Tattooing in general was known by all California Klamath River groups. It was a recent practice for both men and women, and included vertical lines on the chin as well as horizontal and radiating lines around the cheeks and mouth. Tattooing was also done on the arms. The cutting was done with a stone knife and charcoal was rubbed in (Voegelin 1942).

Tule Lake Modoc men and women tattooed in general; the design included three wide stripes on the chin, vertical lines, horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth, as well as marks on the arms, hands, and legs. The cutting was done with a stone knife and charcoal was rubbed in (Voegelin 1942).

The Algonkian-Speaking Groups

The Algonkian-speaking groups in northwestern California include the Yurok and the Wiyot.

Listed by Kroeber (1925) with the Karok and Tolowa, it was said that an untattooed Yurok woman looks like a man when she grows old. Men were tattooed on the arm for measuring dentalia, but in no other place (see Fig. 5a for possible exception). Women were tattooed on the entire chin from the corners of the mouth downward, solid except for two narrow blank lines; the design was probably not symbolic. It was begun with three vertical stripes broadened until nearly solid with occasional rows of spots on the edge (Figs. 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e, 5f, 5g, 5h).

The Wiyot (called Patawat by Powers 1877), tattooed women in "three narrow blue pinnate leaves perpendicularly on the chin and also lines of small dots on the backs of their hands." Under the name Wiyot or Viard, in the same report, Powers states that women were tattooed on the chin. According to a Bear River informant, the Wiyot tattooed in three broad bands from lower lip to chin, two smaller lines upward from the corners of the lips halfway to the outer angle of the nose (Nomland 1938).

The Yukian-Speaking Groups

The Yukian-speaking groups include the Yuki (Yuki proper and Huchnom subgroup), and the Wappo.

Among the Yuki, the age at the time of tattooing is uncertain but was probably before puberty; it was continued for as long as the person wanted to continue it. Women has straight and jagged lines on their chins and cheeks; there were few or no marks on the rest of the body. The reasons given for tattooing on young women were cosmetic in nature -- primarily to hide wrinkles later on in life. Men were rarely tattooed on the face, but they often had horizontal bars on the chest, arms and around the waist. Women's tattooing was very prominent on the cheeks and less precisely dictated by fashion than in the extreme northwestern part of the state; in fact, cheek tattooing,

according to all reports, reached its climax among the Yuki and Wailaki (see Figs. 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f, 6g). In "aboriginal times", a flint needle or splinter, or a sharpened deerbone was used; in "historic times", these implements were replaced by the steel darning needle. The person's skin was scratched and an ink made of charcoal mixed with grass juice was rubbed in; then the wounds were bound in buckskin for healing. "It hurts a little," remarked one informant. The operator's identity or status, and any payment he or she might have received, is unknown. Women were considered more skillful than men, but men are reported as having done it on occasion (Foster 1944).

On the northern California coast above Fort Bragg, tattoos served the function of being tribal or village identification marks. Although there was great individual variation, there was also a common design element from village to village by which the people identified one another. The Yuki, Wailaki and Sinkyone are listed in this reference as identical in their tattooing (Kroeber 1925). Gifford, in Ms. 192, illustrates three Yuki women from Round Valley having especially elaborate, though typically Yuki, facial tattoos (see Figs. 7a, 7b, 7c).

Powers (1877) referred to Yuki women as "horribly tattooed" and said that the tattooing was done with pitch pine soot and sharp bones. The design was traced onto the skin and the soot rubbed in dry. In the same report, he described "i wa musp" (a role for men similar to berdache) where the man wears women's clothes, does women's work, and is tattooed "which no man is."

The Yuki people tattooed vertical lines on the chin, as well as horizontal lines on the cheeks and around the mouth; Yuki women tattooed vertical lines or figures on the nose, men and women both tattooed on the forehead, men tattooed on the arms or hands (this report does not state whether these men were "i wa musp" or not). Women tattooed on the leg and chest. The cutting was done with a stone knife and was considered to be a tribal mark. It was done on women while they were still quite young. Charcoal was used to produce the blue color (Essene 1942).

The Huchnom Yuki subgroup, referred to as Tatu, are illustrated by Powers (1877) without mention of their sex, although it may be assumed from the above information, that they were probably women (Figs. 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e, 8f, 8g).

The rarity of tattooing among the Wappo was emphasized, there being only four known cases. One man had lines across his face; a woman had lines on both cheeks from the corners of her mouth to her ears, three vertical lines on her chin, and a diamond-shaped mark on her calf. Another woman had one vertical stripe on her chin. Another woman had three loops on her chin. The technique for both sexes was to mix charcoal with water, rub on skin, and puncture with a bone awl (Driver 1936).

The Athabascan-Speaking Groups

The Athabascan-speaking groups of California include the Bear River, Mattole, Hupa, Tolowa, Kato, Lassik, Sinkyone, and Wailaki people.

Among the Bear River group, tattooing was done on both men and women as a tribal identification, or village, mark. Women were tattooed on their first puberty rite. Men were tattooed on the forehead and on the left wrist (these wrist-marks were called "Three Pieces" or "Money Marks"). Men were also tattooed on the shoulder in a zigzag necklace design which was considered to be ornamental. It is not stated whether or not there is a status-defining function for the men's torso tattooing as among the Nomlaki. The facial tattoos of women consisted of lines running from the outer edge of the nostril to the bottom of the chin following the lines at the corners of the mouth. From these, there were projected short half-inch horizontal lines. There were, in addition, straight lines from the center or edge of the lower lip to the bottom of the chin. None were so wide as the Wiyot designs. The technique was to burn pine pitch in the hollow of a rock, gather the soot on an inverted stone, and rub the soot into the skin where it had been pricked by a sharp flint. The operators were specialists and were, apparently, always women (Nomland 1938).

A Bear River informant said that the Mattole had three more or less broad marks on the chin like the Wiyot, with a series of dots from the corners of the mouth to the lower edge of the ears, and rows of dots on the forehead. A Mattole informant denied the forehead tattooing except for a single dot in the center as a mark that a man had committed a crime and was exiled from the main part of the village and could not take a wife. Women are reported as having "tattooed all over the face." A Sinkyone informant said that a single mark on the man's forehead identified a man as Mattole (Nomland 1933).

Under the name Mattoal, Powers (1877) reported that men tattooed distinctive marks that were round blue spots in the center of the forehead. Women tattooed all over the face. "In respect to this matter of tattooing, there is a theory entertained by some old pioneers that the reason why the women alone tattoo in all other tribes is that in case they are taken captives, their own people may be able to recognize them when there comes an opportunity of ransom. There are two facts which give some color of probability to this reasoning. One is that California Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaw. A second is that the squaws almost never attempt any ornamental tattooing but adhere closely to the plain regulation mark of the tribe" (Powers 1877). As may be obvious now, these things were not true but it is interesting that Powers relied (albeit cautiously) on information and "theories" passed around by the white settlers whose interest in the local native population was less than friendly.

Among the Hupa, tattooing was done on mature women, although girls may

have had small delicate marks added to later; informants denied age or social grading. The designs were said to be just decoration and were done on the chin. The technique was to prick in soot with a flint or bone needle. The design was vertical, varying in number and width, with occasional curved marks at the corners (Goddard 1903). Women had their chins tattooed blue-black as a mark of pure blood; mixed-blood women were not allowed to tattoo. The tattooed women's chins were usually three vertical broad bands similar to the Klamath, called "wil tach." This information was gathered at Hupa in 1898 (Merriam 1966: Figs 9a, 9b, 9c).

A photograph by Edward Curtis (taken from a 1972 reprint of his work) shows a woman with tattooing extending up onto her lower lip. The caption reads, "Principal Female Shaman of the Hupa" (Fig. 9d).

In 1927, halfblood Hupa informant, Sam Brown, said, "Long ago when the Jumping Dance (c'idilye) was held at Ta'k'imildin, I saw it, how in the fall girls raised their burden baskets in the morning and went off after fir pitch. They all went across the river. And then Water-Flows-Past-Him-Place (Txoldeldin), now dead, came across with them in order to interpret for them with the Yurok Indian who understood chin tattooing, Widow-He-Has-Been-Made (Isdiya ncwin xowil cwe n) he used to be called.

"He said to the girls, 'Now! Go get pitch!' And when they had gone up the hill to In-The-Big-Flat-Place (Xonte L Kohme), each of them carried out pitch in her burden basket to where that Yurok Indian was staying across from Tak'imildin on the gravel. And then he built two roofed structures circlewise with rocks, and in them he dumped the pitch. And then he built the rocks all around until they met on top of the structure. Then with fire he poked the pitch, did this to the pitch in both places, and then after awhile until it burned up, after he had taken the rocks off from the fire, he scraped from them all the fine particles of black which had been thrown on by the fire (dahc isde). When he had done this to all the rocks, every one of the girls sat down.

"With soot mixed with marrow (mil xo a dit e n) they were already marked (l tac), down their chins in whatever way they wanted it. And then one of them first he tattooed the chin with a quartz sliver (cehlgay, meaning "white stone") keeps he cutting it, he keeps cutting at it in short dabs. With a stick he scraped off the blood. And then he keeps putting in that pitch soot. Finally, when he has tattooed the chins of one or two girls, night falls (they did only one or two in a day and the chins were kept covered afterward so they can heal).

"And when he has tattooed the chins of all of them, they do not eat anything white, only seaweed and anything blue such as salal berries, so that their chin tattoo marks may turn blue. But if she eats anything white, her chin cannot turn blue. Just that much do I know of this tattooing of their chins.

"They used to say if a girl's chin was not tattooed, 'You are going to look like a man? Lizards run into your mouth, your chin is not tattooed, your ears are not punched through!'

"Men used to be tattooed only inside their arms, some on the chest; some used to make signs of measuring where dentalia are measured. As soon as they stop growing, they make tattoo for that purpose."

The chin designs illustrated were drawn and interpreted in this report by the abovementioned halfblood Hupa man, Sam Brown (Figs. 10a, 10b, 10c, 10d, 10e, 10f, 10g, 10h, 10i, 10j). Figure 10d is characterized by three broad bands on the chin and two triangles at the upper corners of the mouth; it is a combination of two distinctly named designs. The band design is called "nite l wiltac" meaning "Wide Marked"; the triangular one "me siwadlay" meaning "several are carried up along it." Figure 10b, three narrow bands, is called "ist ik isi wiltac" meaning "Slender Marked." Figure 10c is developed from 10b and is called "ist ik isi k ine lno" meaning "Slender several are stood up." Figure 10c illustrates the banded design of 10a without the triangles. Figure 10e is developed from 10a by the insertion of a narrow white streak between the center band and each of the two outer ones. The design is called "nite l wiltac milgae wilewe n" meaning "Wide marked and made with white thereto." Figure 10d is a combination of 10e and the triangular design in 10a. The design name of the whole is compounded of the two names, the "wide marked" being omitted: "milgai wilwe n me siwadlay" meaning "made with white thereto and several carried up along it." Figure 10g is developed from 10a by the addition of a row of triangular spurs to the outer bands. Its name combines the three features: "nite l wiltac me siwadlay c ah c en el eilwe n" meaning "wide marked and several carried up along it and made with caps in a row coming out." This design was said to be Yurok or Wiyot in origin. The element "c'ah" was entirely obscure to Sam Brown. It is almost certain the Hupa reflex of the Athabascan noun *c'a'x meaning "cap" or "head gear." (cf. Navaho, Mattole, Ingalik, Chipewyan, Kutchin, Kaska). The word had become obsolete in Hupa, not being applied to the woman's basket-cap, but lingers on in a disguised form in a design name. Perhaps its proper meaning was originally "peaked fur cap" rather than "head gear" in general. Figure 10h differs from 10c in having all three of the units of 10b triplicated instead of only the center one. This design is named "taqi na ya kida ay" meaning "several with three standing up straight." Figure 10i is merely a slight variation of 10b. Figure 10j differs from 10c in substituting forked figures for the simple triangles of the latter. The compound design name is "nite l wiltac ligiw me siwadlay" meaning "wide marked and with forks carried up along it." This tattoo design, like 10g, was said to be non-Hupa in origin, in this case having been developed from the Athabascan tribe living on Van Duzen Creek (No'ngahl in Hupa).

It is worth noting that all the names of tattoo designs are recorded strictly geometrical in nature. This is in accordance with the general character of northwestern California basket design names. The Hupa basket designs are named partly geometrically, partly after fancied resemblances which have no true symbolic significance. At least one of the tattoo design names is identical with the name of a basket design (c ah c enel) (Fig. 10g: Sapir and Brown 1936).

Among the Tolowa, dots are tattooed across the shoulders of young children

"to pull them up." Pre-pubescent girls are tattooed on their chins with three side lines, although this is apparently not connected with a puberty ceremony. Men are tattooed on the arm for measuring dentalia (Drucker 1937).

Included by Kroeber (1925) with the Yurok and the Karok, it was said that an untattooed Tolowa woman looks like a man when she grows old. Therefore, all adult women were to be tattooed. Men were tattooed on the arms to measure dentalia. The women's chins were not done with symbolic designs; they were tattooed in their entirety from the corners of the mouth downward, solid except for two narrow blank lines. The design was begun with three vertical stripes which were broadened until nearly solid, occasionally with rows of spots along the edge.

The Yurok, Karok and Tolowa were "nearly identical in their tattooing" (Powers 1877).

Among the Kato, women had vertical lines on the chin as well as horizontal and radiating lines from the mouth and on the cheeks; men tattooed a line on their foreheads, while both men and women tattooed on the arms, hands, and legs. The instrument used was a bone awl and the marks were considered to be tribal identification marks. Girls tattooed at the end of their first menses. The coloring used was from charcoal and appeared blue after the tattooing was finished (Essene 1942).

A Bear River informant said that the Lassik had a bridle pattern on the side of the face above the outer angle of the lips to the upper front of the ears; two parallel lines, one inch apart, were crosshatched with narrower lines to form a diamond pattern. According to the Bear River informant, there was no chin tattooing. The ethnographer indicated doubt by placing a question mark after the name Lassik (Nomland 1938).

Lassik women tattooed vertical lines on the chin, as well as horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth. Lassik men tattooed the arm and/or hand, and women, in addition to their faces, also tattooed the chest. The instrument used was a stone knife. The marks were considered to be tribal identification marks. Girls were tattooed at the end of their first menses. The coloring used was from charcoal for a blue color, from soaproot shoots for a green color (Essene 1942).

Sinkyone women were fully tattooed after their first puberty ceremony "to ensure good luck and long life." It was done by a specialist, usually an old woman. On boys, tattooing was done on the face -- one man had a special design of zigzag necklace patterns from shoulder to shoulder, although there was no mention of a special status as with Nomlaki men. One woman was also found to have this same design and expressed shame on being seen with it, although she denied that it had any meaning. Both sexes were tattooed with a broad line (ca. one inch) between the eyebrows, another on the chin. One woman had a line from the corners of her mouth to the middle of her cheeks, one to three straight lines on the chin, one straight line down the cheekbone to the corners

of the mouth and below. The technique was to collect soot, cool it, and then a male or female specialist pricked the skin with a sharpened deerbone, rubbed in the soot "to make pretty, healthy, lucky, long-lived." Women sometimes tattooed their legs "in the spirit of bravado" or in competition. There were any design with individual preference the only criterion as well as artistic ability, and they had no special significance (Nomland 1935: Figs. 11a, 11b).

Wailaki women were tattooed one or two years before puberty with a possible association with the Kuksu Cult. The Wailaki are described thusly by Powers (1877): "...competitive people: Hupa in speech, Wintun in name, and almost Yuki in tattooing" (Fig. 11c).

The Hokan-Speaking Groups

The Hokan-speaking groups include the Chumash (Inezeño, Barbareño, and Ventureño subgroups), the Washo, the Karok, the Yana (Northern and Central), the Salinan (Salinan proper, Antoniano and Migueleno subgroups), the Shastans, the Atsugewi, the Achomawi, the Pomo.

Among the Chumash, tattooing was done on men and women as far as is known. This seems to be the case for the Inezeño, Barbareño and Ventureño groups. Specifically, forehead tattooing is known for one group of Ventureño, and likewise on the thighs for that same group (Harrington 1942).

Lowie (1939) refers to the Washo people painting their faces, but says nothing about tattooing. However, listed as Washoo, it was recorded by Merriam (1966) that both sexes tattooed their chins, women more so than men. Men had three vertical stripes on the chin. Women tattooed the chin, cheeks, and nose. Three vertical straight lines were marked on the chin, three lengthwise on the nose, and Y-shaped marks on the middle of each cheek. Some people omitted the nose lines (Figs. 11d, 11e, 11f).

Among the Karok, women were tattooed on the chin with three broad vertical bands similar to the Shasta (Fig. 11g). The practice was called "oo soo kin hit." Some men had crossbars tattooed on their arms to indicate their wealth in "rash pook" (dentalia), each bar representing not only a string but also its exact length. At Orleans Bar, Merriam saw an old man with a number of crossbars on his lower and upper left arm. Arm tattooing was called "trah ahch thoo kin hit." In olden times, some men had a small cross tattooed on the cheek (Merriam 1966).

The Karok are included by Kroeber (1925) as identical with the Yurok and the Tolowa in their tattooing.

Tattooing is recorded as an "occasional practice" among the Yana. One man was seen with a circle with radiating lines on his right arm. Some information is given

on painting, but little on tattooing (Sapir and Spier 1943). Tattooing was done on Yana women's chins among the Northern and Central subgroups (Gifford and Klimek 1936).

Among the Salinan, body and face paint was used on frequent occasions and neighboring groups such as the Yokuts and the Costanoans tattooed their women; however, the Salinans denied it altogether (Mason 1912). "Face and body tattooing among the Salinans is unknown" (Brusa 1975). A vague isolated report of general tattooing among the Salinan men and women in the Antoniano and Migueleno subgroups is contained in Harrington's culture element distribution of 1942.

All adult women among the Shasta were tattooed on the chin at puberty; they were around ten years old at the time and the operator was an aged woman specialist. She used a sharp obsidian flake. Untattooed women were ridiculed and called such names as "Leatherface" (Holt 1946). Shastan women tattooed large black patches on their chins and cheeks (Kroeber 1932).

Tattooing among the Shasta at a girl's puberty ceremony occurred just before adolescence; if the girl dreamed just after being tattooed, this was thought to foretell her life. "Shasta tattooing is identical with that down the Klamath." The operator was an old woman who was paid. The entire chin was tattooed with a flake of obsidian with which parallel cuts were scratched onto the chin at one time. This was repeated as often as necessary (Kroeber 1925).

In 1919, Bogus Tom and his wife at Deer Creek, on the south side of the Klamath Canyon, were informants for Merriam. The wife's chin was tattooed in 1/2 inch wide broad vertical stripes -- one median, two lateral. All three curved in over the underlip and the outer pair was so broad that they extended beyond the plane of the corners of her mouth; up over the mouth at the sides were vertical projections ca. 1/2 inch breadth. She was also painted with a red circle on each cheek, so as to be noticed by the gods during times of crisis. The tattooing method was to make fine cuts with the sharp edge of an arrowhead or flint blade. The act of cutting is called "mah si." The substance used for the blue-black color is made from the fire of grass and pine pitch over which a stone is placed; soot deposited under the stone is scraped off and rubbed into the marks. The marks are called "keptik." There is an illustration of a woman's body tattoo from Merriam (1966: Fig. 11h).

According to the Konomihu subgroup, "Coyote said that women must not look like men and must therefore paint (tattoo) their chins." Tattoos were made by pricking the skin with flint and rubbing in sweat-house soot mixed with bear-grease (Merriam 1966). The Eastern Shasta tattooed on women only, and the Western Shasta tattooed both men and women. This included three wide stripes on the chin, vertical lines on the chin, and tattooing on the arms for the western group. The cutting in both groups was done with a stone knife and the eastern group rubbed in charcoal while the western group rubbed in soot (Voegelin 1942).

The Atsugewi called tattooing "mice hi" and it was done during childhood. Women had three or more vertical lines down their chins; some informants denied tattooing for men, others said men tattooed simple designs on their faces. Women may also have had lines going back from the corners of their eyes. Some had crosses and circles on their forearms. The technique was to rub charcoal on the area to be tattooed, then to puncture with a bone needle or porcupine quill (Garth 1953).

Another report on the Atsugewi states that tattooing was slight; women had three lines under their mouths and sometimes added a few lines on their cheeks in Yuki/Wailaki style (Kroeber 1925). Tattooing was done on both men and women, using vertical lines on the chin as well as on the arms and legs, with horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth. The cutting was done with a stone knife and charcoal was rubbed in (Voegelin 1942).

Among the Achomawi tattooing was slight. Women had three lines under the mouth and sometimes on the cheeks, like the Atsugewi. They are, in fact, recorded as being generally identical to the Atsugewi (Kroeber 1925: Figs. 12a, 12b, 12c, 12d). Tattooing was done on men and women using vertical lines on the chin, as well as horizontal and radiating lines around the cheeks and mouth, vertical lines on the forehead, and tattooing on the arms and chest. The cutting was done with a stone knife and charcoal was rubbed in. Only the western group tattooed the forehead, only the eastern group tattooed the legs, and, in addition, the eastern group used a porcupine quill sometimes instead of a stone knife (Voegelin 1942).

There is a great deal of information available about the various Pomo groups; for the purposes of this paper I will use the breakdown found in Brown, Anderson and Elsasser (1969). It is: Northwest = Metumwah; Southwest = Kashia; Southern = Mahkahmochummi; Southeast = Hramfo; Eastern = Tahbahtah; Northeast = Shokoah; and Central = Bo'yah, Yokiah.

Purdy (ca. 1900) illustrates a Pomo woman "dressed for dance." Her face is either tattooed or painted or both. Being an old photograph and less than perfectly clear, it is difficult to tell painting from tattooing (Fig. 13a).

Among the Kashia Pomo, women tattooed on the chin and men on the breast. It was not mandatory nor was there a special time to do it (Gifford 1967).

Among the Boyah/Yokiah Pomo, as recorded at Point Arena, men were tattooed across the chest on one or both sides, and women on the chin (Fig. 13b). There were one to three vertical stripes, oblique lines from the corners of the mouth. Tattooing was called "ah che." The informant said that women began tattooing their daughters' faces to make them repugnant to the whitemen; it was not done in "aboriginal times" (Fig. 13c; Merriam 1966). The Boyah/Yokiah Pomo tattooed women with three straight lines on their chins, one descending out diagonally from each angle of the mouth; there were none on the body or the arms. The marks were called "oo e che." The

material used was the juice from green oak galls which were put into scarified lines for color; poison oak was then rubbed in to cause welts that would make the marks more visible (Merriam 1965, 1966).

Among the Mahkahmochummi Pomo of Cloverdale Valley, tattooing was called "cho te." Men formerly tattooed their bodies across the chest and on their arms, and women had one to several vertical lines on their chins, one or two extending outward from the corners of their mouths. The material used for this was burnt pitch or resin (called "kow'he" from pine or fir trees.) It was pricked into the skin with a fine needle of bone called "tseh tsa ma" made from the foreleg of a squirrel (Merriam 1966).

Among the Tahbahtah Pomo of Anderson Valley, the only reference was an illustration of a woman as reported by Merriam around the turn of the century (1966: Fig. 13d).

Merriam recorded, around the turn of the century, the tattooing on the face of the daughter of Chief Sebastian of the Katchewechummi Pomo of Sebastopol (1966: Fig. 13e). Among the Shokoah Pomo of Hopland, Mendocino County, women had three straight lines on the chin with one vertical line in the middle, and one on each side of the mouth sloping outward and downward. "Did not tattoo before the Dream Doctors came sixty years ago (making it ca. 1840's). The Big Head Dance came at the same time." The material used was green oak gall juice mixed with the sap of poison oak and rubbed in to make the scratches sore (Merriam 1966).

Among the Hramfo Pomo in the Clear Lake area, black color for tattooing (called "kau baht") was made from the charcoal of soft wood, usually poison oak, and was rubbed into the scratches "to make them sore." The marks were called "us soon" (Merriam 1966).

Among the Kastel Pomo "they tattooed the nose and face very much in the fashion of that people and the Yuki. Mr. Burleigh related to me a curious instance which he once saw among them of tattooing by a 'brave', which is exceedingly rare. An old warrior whom he once found on a battlefield was (at South Fork) tattooed all over his breast and arms and on the underside of one arm was a very correct and well executed picture of a sea otter with its bushy tail. Women of this and other tribes of the Coast Range frequently tattoo a rude representation of a tree or other object nearly covering the whole abdomen and breast " (Powers 1877). Commenting on this, Heizer says (1975), "California Indian tattooing is usually confined to the face, especially the chin area. Tattoos such as described by Burleigh to Powers was definitely not Californian. In Spanish times some Nootka and Konaig were brought to California, baptized, and became residents of the missions. These northerners made liberal use of tattooing elaborate crest designs on the body, and if the Burleigh report is true, the fallen warrior may have been such a former mission neophyte who, after secularization, went to live with the Pomo or, he could have been a person formerly attached to the Russian Colony at Ross, situated in the territory of the Southwest Pomo who after 1841, when the Russians

abandoned California, took up residence with the Pomo."

Powers (1877) illustrates a Poam Pomo person without giving the person's sex or exact location; I have found no other references to a "Poam" group (Fig. 13f).

Among the Metumwah Pomo, tattoo marks are called "buh she." Men and women tattooed across the breast, women on the face. There was a narrow bar running horizontally across the face between the upper lip and nose, in addition to which were three lines on the chin; a broad vertical line with narrow sloping lines on each side was there also. The material used was burnt soaproot (called "ahm mah sit"). A woman's facial pattern is illustrated by Merriam (1966: Fig. 13g).

Of the Pomo in general, all women and some men were tattooed (called "aci" by the central groups, "maci" by the northern groups). It was said that among the northern Pomo, all the people of the same village followed a certain pattern in tattooing, but among the central and eastern Pomo everyone followed his or her own creative bent. Women did the tattooing, usually a member of the family who was clever in the art so that the marks would not swell. The patient had to refrain from hot foods (cf. Hupa food directives following tattooing) for four days following the operation so that the markings might be permanent. The tattooing was applied in the space of a single day. A sharp deerbone was used for pricking the skin. The pigment consisted of soot and the juice from the wild violet mashed up together and worked around in a large mussel shell with a little water until a thick purple paste was formed. "Men might be tattooed at any age." The markings were applied to their bodies and arms. Young girls were tattooed on their arms and legs, and on their faces later when they were grown up. Both men and women sometimes tattooed themselves when past middle age. This was done to cure rheumatism and was always applied to the knees (Loeb 1926).

The northern group (Kalekau Pomo) used vertical lines on the chins of women, as well as horizontal and radiating lines on women's cheeks and around their mouths; tattooing was done on the hand and arm as well. A bone awl was used. The tattoos were considered to be tribal identification marks. Women tattooed while still young. The coloring came from charcoal and appeared blue when done (Essene 1942). Other northern groups (Kabedile, Bulldam-Williets, Walker Valley, Potter Valley, and Kalekau) were all recorded as having tattooed. They all tattooed the face, especially the women, and all but the Potter Valley group tattooed the faces of men as well. All groups used vertical lines on the chin. The pigments were made of red mineral (ochre) and charcoal. The central Pomo (Point Arena, Yokiah, Shanel-Hopland) tattooed both men and women on the face; all three groups used vertical lines on women's chins. The Yokiah group used ochre mineral pigment and the Yokiah and Shanel-Hopland groups both used charcoal paint (Gifford and Kroeber 1937). The Southwest Pomo (Meteni-Fort Ross) tattooed on the face, especially of women; the chin tattoo consisted of vertical lines (Gifford and Kroeber 1937).

The Eastern Pomo (Habenapo-Big Valley and Shigom-Lucerne) are recorded

only as having tattooed with little specific information except for the Habenapo group. The Habenapo group used face tattoos for both women and men; the designs were generally vertical lines on the chin. They both used red mineral and charcoal pigment (Gifford and Kroeber 1937). The Southeastern Pomo (Koi-Lower Lake and Elem-Sulphur Bank) tattooed a great deal. The Koi group tattooed women's faces with vertical lines on the chin and used red mineral pigment; the Elem group tattooed women's faces nearly solid on the chin as well as with vertical lines. There may have been a belief in this area that the soul of an untattooed person will not go to "heaven." The Elem group used charcoal pigment (Gifford and Kroeber 1937). The Northeastern Pomo (Salt Pomo from Stoneyford) tattooed, but there are no specifics given (Gifford and Kroeber 1937).

Barrett (1952) uses a number of references regarding Pomo tattooing. He tells us that Pomo tattooing was done sparingly, and little if at all among men. Women were tattooed more frequently, using only a few lines, usually on the face. Almost all women had a little tattooing. One Northern Pomo informant described in much detail the method of preparing the pigment (ha'ske). Poison oak wood was burned into charcoal (mitu'yu masi'k) and, when cold, was ground into a fine powder. Fresh wormwood leaves (ka'mpulu in the north; xo'msut in the southeast) were chewed and the liquid used as a flux. The charcoal powder mixed with this was the pigment. The informant stated that no other flux would do, nor was another flux ever attempted. The informant said that the design was pricked into the skin with a bone awl and the above concoction rubbed into the design. After a few days, when the skin had healed, there was the blue color of the tattoo. The term "usu'n" was used by the Southeastern Pomo to mean both tattooing and painting.

Among the references cited by Barrett in the above report was a 1932 report by Loeb that the Southeastern Pomo did not tattoo at all.

The Shoshonean-Speaking Groups

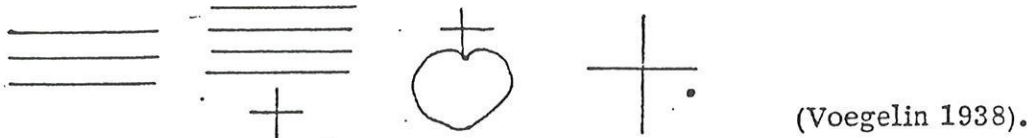
The Shoshonean-speaking in California include the Gabrielino, the Panamint Shoshoni, the Tübatulabal, the Owens Valley Paiute, the Luiseño, the Juaneño, the Cahuilla (Mountain, Pass and Desert), the Cupeño, the Serrano, the Chemehuevi, and the Western Mono.

Among the Gabrielino, tattooing was known generally for men and women of both the Gabrielino proper and Fernandeno subgroups, although the Gabrielino proper tattooed the forehead in addition to whatever other tattooing was done (Harrington 1942).

Although there is no mention as to whether or not men and women were both involved, the Panamint Shoshoni tattooed three black lines onto the chin, according to a report from the vicinity of Keeler in 1902 (Merriam 1966: Fig. 14a).

Only women were tattooed among the Tübatulabal and never children because

of the pain involved. It was done by an old woman but she did not have to be related to the subject. The reasons given for tattooing were cosmetic and it was done between the mouth and the chin (Figs. 14b, 14c), on the backs of the hands, and on the surface of the forearms. The technique was to draw the design onto the skin (tu'l) from "any wood charcoal." It was then pricked into the skin with spines from Tetradymia spinosa (pokpo ginist). At first the marks were black, then they turned blue. The marks on the inner surface of the forearm were ca 1 1/2 inch long, thusly:



The Owens Valley Paiutes did not tattoo; however, many of their face-painting designs resemble closely the tattoo marks of neighboring people. The Paiutes of Walker River and Yerington (Nevada) tattooed, but not in Owens Valley (Steward 1933: Figs. 14d, 14e, 14f).

For Luiseno girls and boys, there was a specific tattooing ceremony around the time of puberty. The subject laid down and persons who had fasted tattooed them to the accompaniment of special songs. Women were tattooed on the chin, men "tattooed less." The memory of tattooing ceremonies was vague and fading at the time of the ethnography (ca. 1929). Bands were sometimes tattooed on the wrists and a curved band or line with lines extending downward from them was tattooed on the breast (Strong 1929).

The Luiseno technique involved the use of black nightshade juice. This was, according to this report, the only instance from California of the use of something other than charcoal or soot as tattooing pigment. Further study was to reveal that this was one of the several groups not using charcoal or soot (see appendices). Girls received their puberty tattooing "sometime in the period of their observances" (Kroeber 1925: Fig. 14g).

Tattooing was part of the Juaneño girls' ceremony for puberty; shortly before puberty a girl was tattooed from eyes or mouth down to breast and on the arms, the method being to rub agave charcoal into bleeding punctures made with cactus spines (Kroeber 1925).

Among the Cahuilla, tattooing was applied with the second menses, although according to some informants, it may have been done earlier in the girl's life. It was, in any case, directly associated with the girls' puberty and was done on the chin (Strong 1929).

Cupeño tattooing is considered by general agreement to have been equivalent to the Cahuilla (Strong 1929).

Strong (1929) makes a number of references to Serrano face painting, but not to tattooing. The face painting, he said, was related to girls puberty rites. However, Johnston (1965) reported that tattooing was applied extensively to the upper portions of their bodies, and Harrington (1942) reports that tattooing was general for men and women at least among the Kitanemuk subgroup. According to Merriam (1966), both the Serrano and the Tongva painted their faces with red and white earth pigments, and the Serrano "tattooed their faces some, but the Cahuilla did this much more."

Among the Colorado River Chemehuevi, both men and women tattooed their forehead and women tattooed vertical lines on the chin (Miller and Miller 1967).

Gayton (1948) describes Mono tattooing as identical to Yokuts. According to Aginsky (1943), the Goshawu and Northfork Mono both tattooed, puncturing with a bunch of pine needles. They made vertical lines on the chin, horizontal and radiating lines on the cheeks and around the mouth, vertical lines on the forehead, and marks on the arms, legs, and chest. The Mono style included marks on the upper cheeks (Kroeber 1925) and Western Mono men sometimes tattooed marks of religious significance on the arms, representing points of permeation for supernatural powers. This is specifically reported for the Michahaj and Waksachi subgroups (cf. Yokuts women's arm tattooing) (Gayton 1948).

The Yuman-Speaking Groups

The Yuman-speaking groups in California include the Mohave, the Diegueno, the Kamia, and the Yuma.

The Mohave tattooed irregularly, although there is reported to have been a saying that an untattooed person goes into a rat's hole at death instead of whatever is normally expected. Men and women commonly marked lines or rows of dots down the chin, adding an occasional circle, stripe, or a few spots on the forehead. Men tended to be more sparsely ornamented than women (Figs. 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d). Women sometimes drew lines across the cheeks or on their forearms (Figs. 15e, 15f, 15g, 15h, 15i, 16a, 16b, 16c, 16d, 16e). There was an absence of any standardized style and face painting was much more noticeable and prevalent, being used as a cosmetic without which one did not feel "dressed" in public. The painting style was compared, in this reference, to that of the Seri in northwestern Mexico (Kroeber 1925: Fig. 16f).

Among the Diegueno and the Kamia, tattooing was done on adolescent girls after dancing with four female relatives (called "awukwi tc" or "mouth tattoo"); the relatives were usually the girl's mother, the mother's sister, and two daughters of the latter (first cousins). The marks tended to be symbolic, involved with female puberty, and a song was sung by the operator thusly:

"sa nyikaxma' (quail)
sowa re sowa re wi (striped, speckled)

sa nyikaxma' (quail)
 putco le putco le wi (dove)
 nyixwa toyowi (blood exuding)"

The tattooing technique consisted of marking lines on the skin with charcoal, then puncturing with seven or eight prickly pear spines (ox'pa), squeezing the wounds dry of blood, and rubbing the ground charcoal in made from willow (iyau), mesquite (a'nal), cottonwood (axa), or chamissa bush (ipti). The marks healed in about four days (Figs. 16g, 16h, 16i). (Spier 1923).

Among the Yuma, tattooing was done in or around the time of a girl's puberty, but not necessarily coincident with it. There was no ceremony of tattooing after the initial puberty rites. It was usually done by the time a girl was sixteen years of age and was done by a female relative. The girl's chin was tattooed, occasionally the forehead, with one or two horizontal bars, rows of dots, or representations of bars just above the nose bridge. This sometimes was done on men who had no chin tattoos. One or two vertical lines were drawn from each corner of the mouth between which vertical rows of dots were made; there were four or five rows of 3-4 in a row usually, but the precise number was said not to matter. Pricking and scratching with cactus thorns and the rubbing in of mesquite charcoal was the method used (Forde 1931).

Summary

Even where many instances of tattooing are reported, there are scant data on the reasons for having done it and its importance to the group. It has been noted that there was a frequent reluctance to discuss it on the part of the Indian people (the extreme northwestern and southwestern parts of the state excepted). Ethnographers were put off by a variety of methods including a flat refusal to talk, the invention of apparently fictitious stories for the ethnographer's benefit, contradiction between informants of the same group, and the claim that there is no meaning when there obviously is meaning for the person involved. For example, Pomo informants said that women began tattooing their daughters' faces to "make them repugnant to the whiteman." This poses a number of problems all of which lead to the suggestion that the informant was not telling the whole truth. For one thing, other informants equated the tattooing trait with the Big-head Dancers after the whitemen had arrived but not because of his arrival; also the tattooing methods and design elements too closely resembled those of the surrounding groups from which the trait had apparently diffused with the cult. Another example, this time illustrating contradiction between informants, includes the many statements made by a single Bear River person regarding the tattooing of nearby groups whose statements were denied by members of those groups who, in turn, were contradicted by members of a third local group. One case in point is the controversy over the single tattoo mark on the forehead of some Mattole men. The Bear River informant said that there was a great deal of tattooing on the foreheads of Mattole people in general; a Mattole person said that a single spot on a man's forehead indicated that he had committed a crime and semi-exiled from the group. Finally, a Sinkyone informant said

that all Mattole men had this mark and that, further, the Sinkyone recognized a man as Mattole by it.

Lastly, an example of the claim that there is no meaning to the trait where it is apparent that meaning is present, includes the Sinkyone woman who at once claimed her torso-tattoo had no meaning yet two points contradict her: one is that the only other similar tattoos in her group were on men, and secondly she expressed a degree of shame on having had others notice the marks on her. Many things could be inferred, none of which can be proven -- perhaps the tattooing was punitive, perhaps she utilized a male role (although there was no mention of mens' clothing or her having done mens' work), perhaps she was a shaman and her medicine would be harmed or made angry if the tattoos were exposed, perhaps she felt it was simply indecent to show it, etc. etc. All we will ever know is that there was more to it than met the eye.

As for finding out on whom tattooing was done, it was found that the vast majority of California groups tattooed both men and women, although not necessarily with the same designs, on the same parts of the body, or for the same reasons. Men and women both tattooed from the northeast among the California Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Wintun, and Yana down through the California Great Basin among the Washo and Mono, westward from there through the Kato, Sinkyone, Mattole, Yuki, Pomo, Wappo, Costanoan, Yokuts, Chumash, Gabrieliño, Luiseño, and east of there to the Mohave and the Chemehuevi. Thus a continuous chain is formed of the trait for both men and women throughout most of California (not counting tattoos for medical reasons or for measuring). Those few instances where only women were tattooed included widely scattered areas such as the Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Bear River, Wailaki, Patwin, Maidu, Miwok, Tübatulabal, Juaneño, Cahuilla, and the southernmost groups: Diegueño, Kamia and Yuma. The only instance reported of pre-pubescent children being tattooed was among the Tolowa, the reason being that "it would help them grow up." Thus it is evident that the only consistent pattern of strictly female tattooing is in the Sacramento Valley and foothills immediately east, the extreme northwest, and the extreme south and southwest.

In general, the techniques, implements and materials used for the practice coincided simply with the available materials in a particular region. These things seemed to be determined ecologically rather than culturally. For example, stones (obsidian, flint, and quartz -- this last for the Hupa) were used throughout the north. The southern limit for stone-users was with the Yokuts. Several groups used both stone and bone, including the Achomawi, Atsugewi, Yuki, Miwok, and Yokuts. Few used only bone, those being the Sinkyone, Pomo, Kato, and Wappo. Only the Pomo seem to have used a specialized tool: the foreleg of a squirrel. Thus, stone and bone tended to be used by the same groups, frequently together. In addition, porcupine quills were used by some northeastern groups, especially the Achomawi and Atsugewi.

In the east-central area, including the northern and central Sierras, a bunch of pine needles held tightly together were used for puncturing the skin and in the entire

arid region south of the Tehachapis, a cactus thorn was used. It is apparent that what was used was simply what was handy.

A variety of materials were used throughout California for producing the color in a tattoo. Plant soot and charcoal were used throughout northern and central California with emphasis on soot in the northwest (except the Miwoks to the southeast who also used soot) and emphasis on charcoal in all areas, especially the northeast including the Maidu; charcoal was used also in the south and south-central areas. Plant juice, unburnt, was used primarily along the Mendocino coast * among the Lassik and Pomo (the Pomo also used poison oak sap to increase the intensity of the welts). The Miwok and Karok also used plant juice. A mixture of coal and grease was used by the Yokuts in some areas and red mineral pigment (ochre) was used exclusively by the Pomo.

As for design elements, in the extreme northwest there was a heavy emphasis on wide vertical bands on the chin, although there were also occurrences of this style among the Yokuts, Tübatulabal, Diegueño, and Mohave. Narrow vertical bands on the chin were virtually universal throughout California except in the extreme northwest. Oblique lines on the chin occurred throughout the eastern areas for the entire length of non-desert California. This occurred also in the north but not the northwest; the trait extended down through the Mendocino coast to the Pomo. The only central or southerly group to use it, besides the Mohaves, were the Yokuts.

Dots, spots and circles occurred in the Mendocino coastal area and south of the Tehachapis in the east. Zigzag lines occurred in the northern and central areas (except the extreme northwest), but not in the south (except, again, for the Mohaves). Many primarily northern elements seem to have occurred among the Mohaves when they did not occur elsewhere in southern California. Horizontal and radiating lines around the mouth and cheeks are among them; also, figures and marks on the cheeks occurred throughout California except in the extreme northwest. The nose was tattooed in the northeast and along the Mendocino coast but there is no record of it elsewhere. The forehead was tattooed in the southeast, central, and northern coast (just north of the San Francisco Bay Area).

Body tattooing patterns are somewhat more clearcut: torso tattooing occurred in almost every place in California except the eastern fringes of the desert; it did occur in the south-central and southwestern desert among the Luiseño and the Cahuilla. There is a gap in the northern desert areas, across the Tehachapis and the trait picks up again with the Yokuts and goes straight up in a northeasterly direction through the eastern Miwok groups, Maidu, Patwin, Wappo, and north along the coast, skipping the groups

* References to the "Mendocino coast" should be taken to mean the coast near Mendocino and north to the general area of the Yurok and Wiyot. Perhaps the term is a misnomer since Mendocino County only goes up a short distance, but I think of the whole area as "Mendocino" which seems to be as good a term as any.

between Bear River and Tolowa, then popping up among the Tolowa, then popping up among the Tolowa. There is a possible link between the two groups in north-central California through the Wintun and the Shasta.

Hands and arms were tattooed throughout the state except on the south coast where it showed up only among the Luisen^o; in the southeast it appears among the Mohave. From the Tübatulabal it moved northward through the Yokuts, Costanoans, Miwok, Maidu, and from there fanned out to include most of northern California. Legs were tattooed through the north except in the extreme northwest and north-central. This trait occurred also in the Wappo, Maidu, and Miwok areas; the only southern occurrence in California was among the Chumash.

Realistic and semi-realistic figures occurred among the Wintun and the Pomo, although these reports are sometimes questionable (see comment on Powers by Heizer 1975).

The reasons given for tattooing fall into eight general categories: (1) as a tribal identification mark from village to village, or status mark within a single group; (2) for medical reasons to alleviate the chronic pain of rheumatism or arthritis; (3) as simple decoration for purely aesthetic reasons; (4) for cosmetic reasons -- fashion, or to prevent and/or hide wrinkles; (5) to differentiate men from women in a cultural role context; (6) for religious reasons, frequently associated with a specific cult, or a role within a cult; (7) for measuring dentalia in those parts of the state where dentalia was used as money; and (8) as a mark of adulthood associated with having reached puberty.

Tattooing was used for tribal identification or status within a group on the north coast south of Bear River down to the northern Pomo groups. An unbroken trail of the trait goes on up east of there through Wintun country and up to the Shastans. It is recorded as a medical practice among both the Tuolumne Miwok and the Pomo -- but the Miwoks tattooed over the pain wherever it occurred on the body, while the Pomo only used it for pains in the knees.

Tattooing served only the function of ornamentation through the north (except the extreme northwest), down along the north coast as far south as the Pomo. This is reported also for the Maidu and the Tübatulabal who comprise the only more southerly groups (or easterly) where the trait was found.

The Yokuts believed that tattooing helped prevent or hide wrinkles on women. In the extreme northwest, it was used as a special mark for women, but the Yuki also are reported as having done it for that reason to the extent that being tattooed was taken as a symbol of femininity used to identify men who had taken women's roles. Spiritual reasons for tattooing are given in widely scattered areas -- the Sinkyone related it to long life and good luck in a talismanic way; the Pomo expressed the idea that an untattooed person would not go to heaven; the Yokuts and Mono/Monache referred to tattoo locations on the body as points of permeation for supernatural power; and the Mohave believed, as

did the Pomo, that untattooed people did not gain whatever was normally desired or expected after death. With the Pomo, the tattooing trait probably diffused into the area with the Big-Head Dancers in recent times.

In the extreme northwest, men tattooed marks on their arms to measure dentalia in order to keep an accurate record of their wealth. California Klamath men tattooed identical marks on their arms, but they neither had nor measured dentalia with them. It would appear that the form of the trait diffused without the function, and further that the line of diffusion was west to east.

Only three cases of tattooing directly related to puberty rites are known to have occurred in the north, that being among the Shasta, Bear River, and Sinkyone. All other cases, as well as the major emphasis on puberty tattooing, were in the extreme southwest.

Tattooing was considered to be the work of a specialist throughout California, probably much more than was actually reported. The only case where it was emphasized that a specialist did not do the tattooing was among the California Klamath. In the northerly areas, the specialist tended to be paid while in the south the specialist tended to be a relative who was unpaid.

As might be expected, those areas where the trait was totally unlike elsewhere in California were those areas where they actually bordered on Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, or Baja. The greatest emphasis on tattooing, just in sheer quantity and inventiveness, occurred among the Mohave in the extreme southeast, who also practiced a great deal of face painting (more painting than tattooing) in what was described simply as the fashionable thing to do, and also among the cluster of groups in the area north of the San Francisco Bay Area (except for the Wappo). The trait seemed to be located according to geography rather than to cultural connections between groups -- that is, two groups of different linguistic stocks in the same area were more likely to tattoo similarly than two groups of the same linguistic stock separated by distance.

Key To Figures

(Note: to differentiate men from women in these illustrations; I have indicated femininity by giving the face bangs, and masculinity by parting the hair in the middle. This is for purposes of identifying the sex of a given tattoo-wearer only and is not intended to imply any realistic difference between California Indian men and women in hairstyle or facial features).

Figure 1

- a. "Wintoon" person from Baird Hatchery (from Merriam)
- b. Nomlaki man of high rank showing torso tattoo (from Goldschmidt)
- c. Northern Wintun man (from Goldschmidt)
- d. Northern Wintun woman (from Goldschmidt)
- e. Nomlaki person (from Goldschmidt)
- f. Coast Miwok woman from Phelan Valley on Putah Creek (from Merriam)
- g. Chowchilla Miwok woman (from Merriam)

Figure 2

- a. Chukchansi Yokuts woman from between Fresno Flat and Coarse Gold Gulch (from Merriam)
- b. Chukchansi Yokuts woman from Picayune (from Merriam)
- c. "Yokotch" woman, claiming to be last survivor of group (from Merriam)
- d. Chukchansi Yokuts woman (from Kroeber)
- e. Chukchansi Yokuts woman (from Kroeber)
- f. Chukchansi Yokuts woman (from Kroeber)
- g. Chukchansi Yokuts woman (from Kroeber)
- h. Telamni Yokuts woman (from Gayton)
- i. Chukchansi Yokuts woman (from Kroeber)

Figure 3

- a. Chukchansi Yokuts person (from Kroeber)
- b. Chukchansi Yokuts person (from Kroeber)
- c. Wukchumni Yokuts woman (from Gayton)
- d. Chukchansi Yokuts person (from Kroeber)
- e. Telamni Yokuts woman's arm showing "dove's feet" (from Gayton)
- f. Wukchumni Yokuts woman's arm showing tattoo marks (from Gayton)
- g. Wukchumni Yokuts woman's arm showing cross (from Gayton)

Figure 4

- a. Notomusee Maidu woman from Kahdemah Village on north bank of American River nine miles above mouth (from Merriam)
- b. Notokoiyo Maidu woman from Lake Almanor (from Merriam)
- c. Northeast or Southern Maidu woman (tattoo could be either group) (from Kroeber)
- d. Northwest Valley Maidu woman (from Kroeber)

Figure 4 (continued)

- e. Costanoan woman (from Kroeber)
- f. Costanoan woman (from Kroeber)
- g. Esselen woman (face in shadow; old photo) (from Merriam)

Figure 5

- a. Yurok man with apparent tattooing (from Lowie Museum photo files)
- b. Yurok woman (from Kroeber)
- c. Yurok woman (from Kroeber)
- d. Yurok woman born ca. 1870 (from T. Kroeber and Heizer)
- e. Requa Yurok woman (Lowie Museum 15-23209)
- f. Weitchpec Yurok woman (Lowie Museum 15-3786)
- g. Weitchpec Yurok woman (Lowie Museum 15-4041)
- h. Yurok-Karok weaving woman (Lowie Museum 15-14306)

Figure 6

- a. Yuki woman (from Kroeber)
- b. Yuki woman (from Powers)
- c. Yuki woman; fully tattooed but old photo unclear (Lowie Museum 15-3890)
- d. Yuki woman (Lowie Museum 15-3913)
- e. Yuki woman from Round Valley (Lowie Museum 15-3898)
- f. Yuki woman from Half Eden Valley (Lowie Museum 15-4000)
- g. Yuki-Huchnom woman (Lowie Museum 14-3898)

Figure 7

- a. Yuki woman (from Gifford, Ms. 192)
- b. Yuki woman (from Gifford, Ms. 192)
- c. Yuki woman (from Gifford, Ms. 192)

Figure 8

- a through h. Huchnom Yuki person from "Ta Tu" subgroup (from Powers)

Figure 9

- a. Hupa woman (Lowie Museum 15-3329)
- b. Hupa woman (Lowie Museum 15-13966)
- c. Hupa woman (Lowie Museum 15-2985)
- d. "Principal Female Shaman of the Hupa" (from Curtis)

Figure 10

- a through j. Hupa woman (from Brown and Sapir)

Figure 11

- a. Sinkyone woman (from Kroeber)
- b. Sinkyone woman (Lowie Museum 15-3031)
- c. Wailaki woman (from Powers)

- d. Washo man (from Merriam)
- e. Washo woman (from Merriam)
- f. Washo woman (from Merriam)
- g. Karok woman (from Merriam)
- h. Shastan woman's torso tattoo (from Merriam)

Figure 12

- a. Achomawi woman (Lowie Museum 15-6754)
- b. Achomawi woman (Lowie Museum 15-6745)
- c. Achomawi woman (Lowie Museum 15-6747)
- d. Achomawi woman, tattooing questionable (Lowie Museum 15-6774)

Figure 13

- a. Pomo woman "dressed for dance"; photo old and unclear, marks may be either paint or tattoo (from Purdy)
- b. Bo'yah/Yokiah Pomo woman from Point Arena (from Merriam)
- c. Bo'yah/Yokiah Pomo woman, photo old and unclear (Lowie Museum 15-2620)
- d. Tahbahtah Pomo woman from Anderson Valley (from Merriam)
- e. Katchehwachummi Pomo woman from Sebastopol (daughter of Chief Sebastian) (from Merriam)
- f. "Poam" (?) Pomo woman from Potter Valley (from Powers)
- g. Metumwah Pomo woman (from Merriam)

Figure 14

- a. Panamint Shoshoni woman from Keeler (from Merriam)
- b. Tübatulabal woman (from Voegelin)
- c. Tübatulabal woman (from Voegelin)
- d. Owens Valley Paiute person (from Steward)
- e. Owens Valley Paiute person (from Steward)
- f. Owens Valley Paiute person (from Steward)

(NOTE: 14d, 14e, 14f illustrate face painting with designs similar to tattooing designs of neighboring groups; a case of imitation or diffusion of form without technique, function or original context)

- g. Luiseño woman (from Strong)

Figure 15

- a. Mohave man (Lowie Museum 15-2558)
- b. Mohave man (Lowie Museum 15-2560)
- c. Mohave man (from Kroeber)
- d. Mohave man (from Kroeber)
- e. Mohave woman (Lowie Museum 15-2525)
- f. Mohave woman from the vicinity of Needles (Lowie Museum 15-4326)
- g. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)

Figure 15 (continued)

- h. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)
- i. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)

Figure 16

- a. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)
- b. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)
- c. Mohave woman (from Kroeber)
- d. Mohave woman (from T. Kroeber and Heizer)
- e. Mohave woman (from T. Kroeber and Heizer)
- f. Mohave woman with painted white spots (from T. Kroeber and Heizer)
- g. Diegueño woman (from Spier)
- h. Diegueño man with face paint (from Spier)
- i. Southern Diegueño woman, Jacumba Rancheria ca. 1910-1915; a basketmaker (from family album photo of the Gerner Family)

Figure 17: Map of tribes and territories of California Indians

Figure 18: Distribution map of on whom tattooing is done (male/female/child)

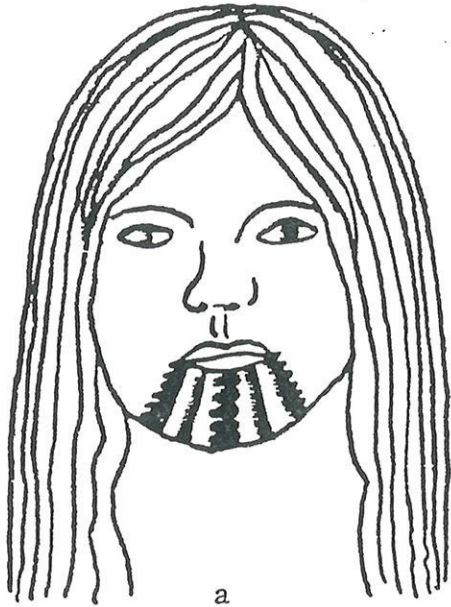
Figure 19: Distribution map of techniques and materials for tattooing

Figure 20: Distribution map of facial tattooing designs

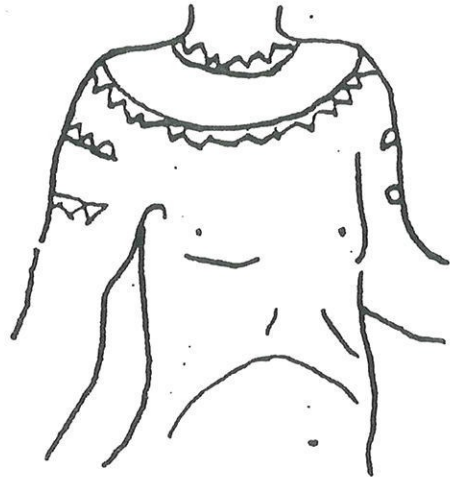
Figure 21: Distribution map of body tattooing designs

Figure 22: Distribution map of reasons given for tattooing

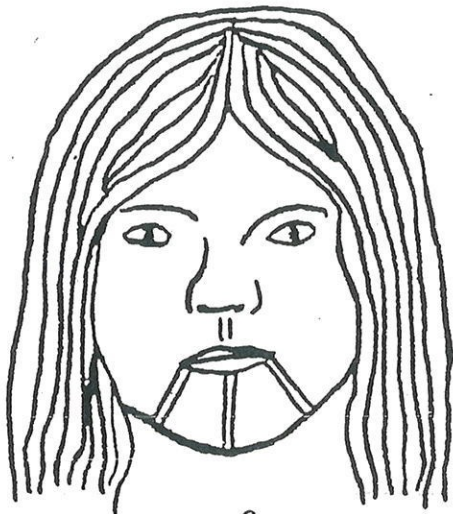
Figure 1



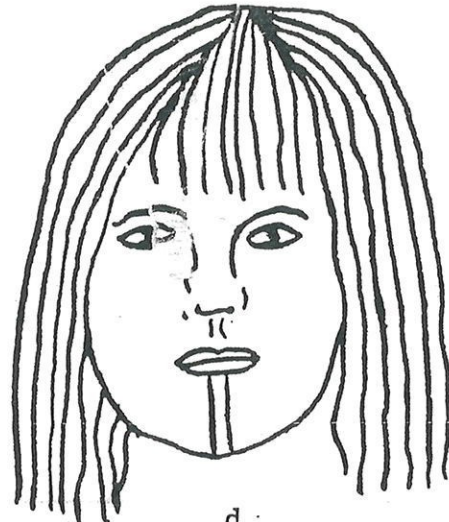
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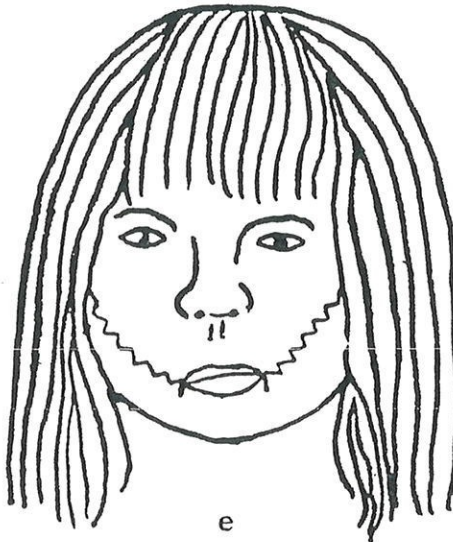
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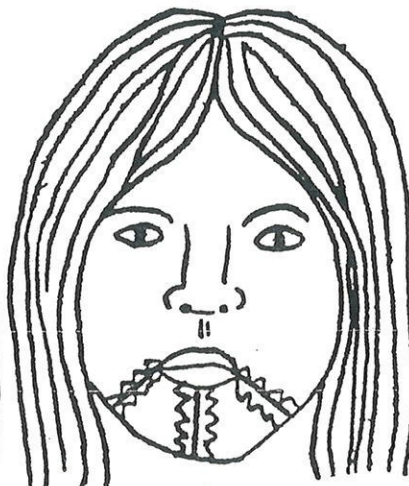
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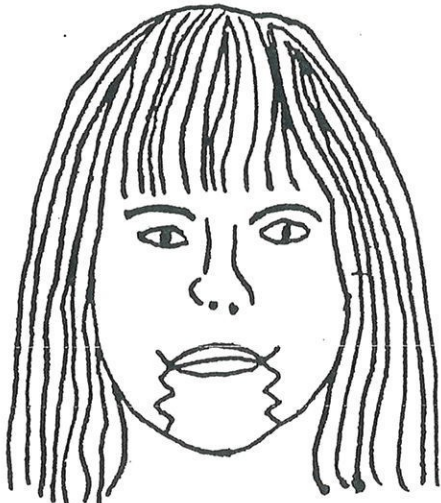
d



e



f



g

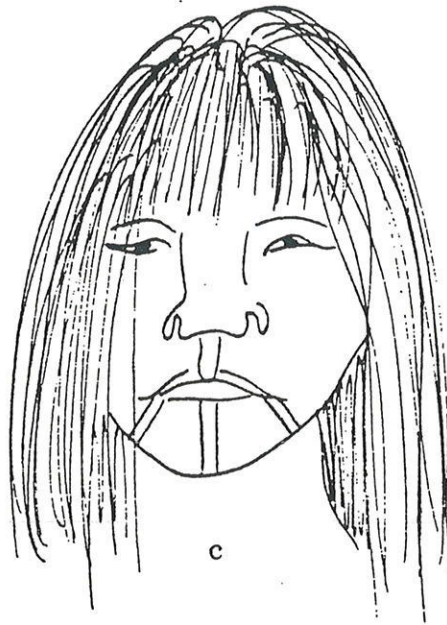
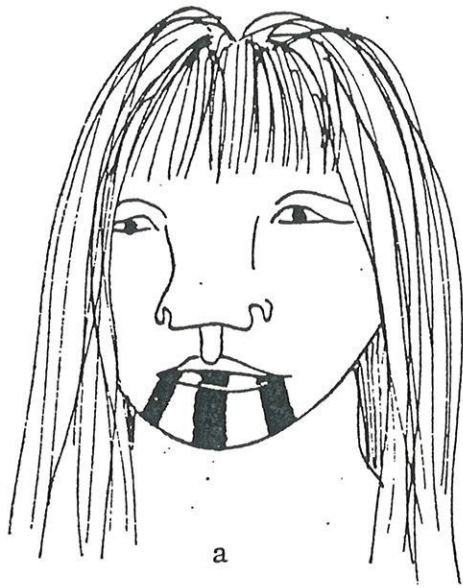


Figure 2



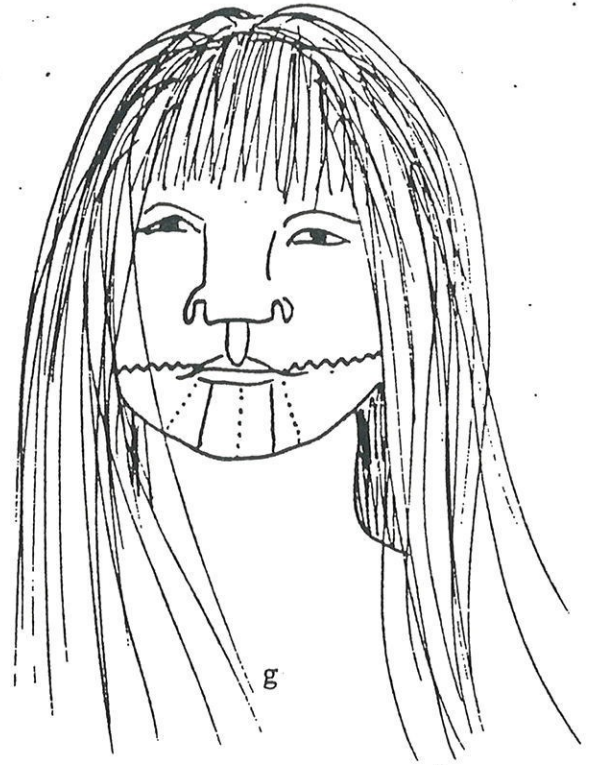


Figure 2 (continued)

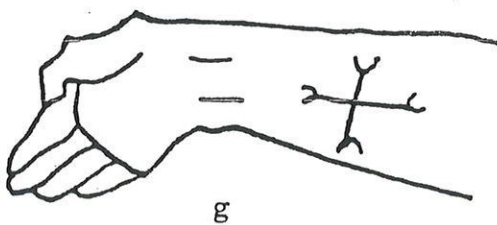
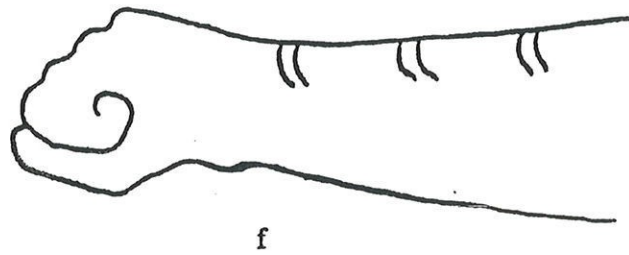
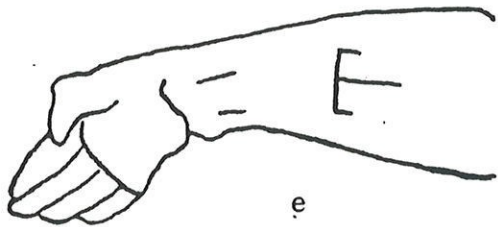
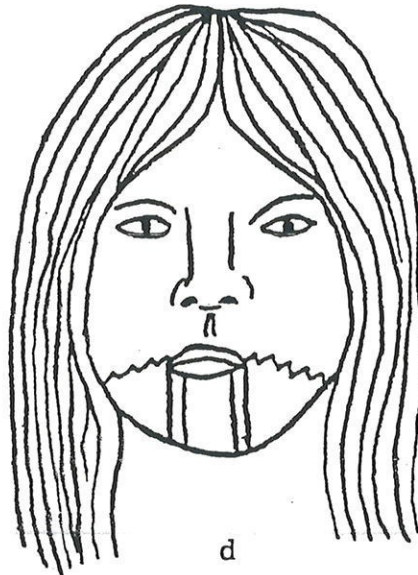
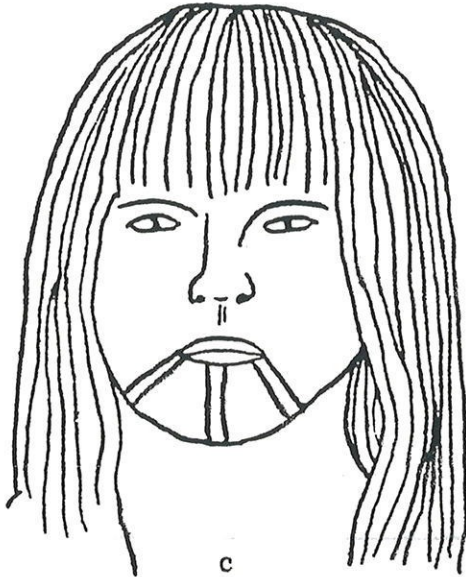
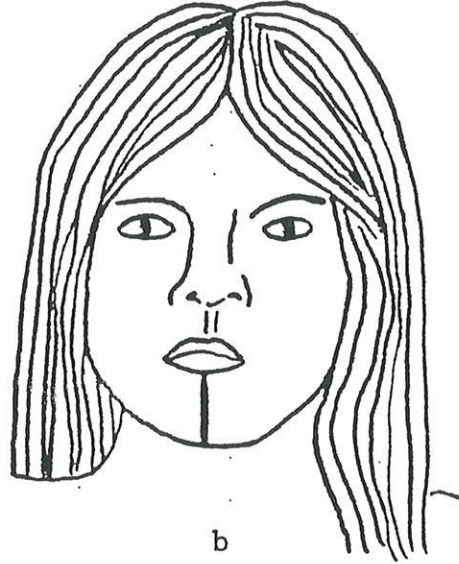
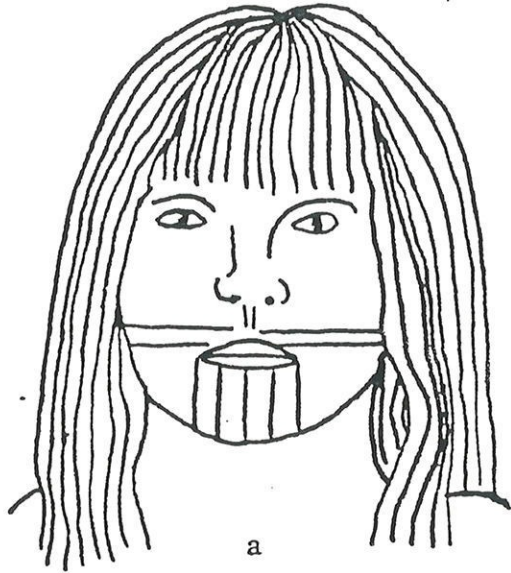


Figure 3

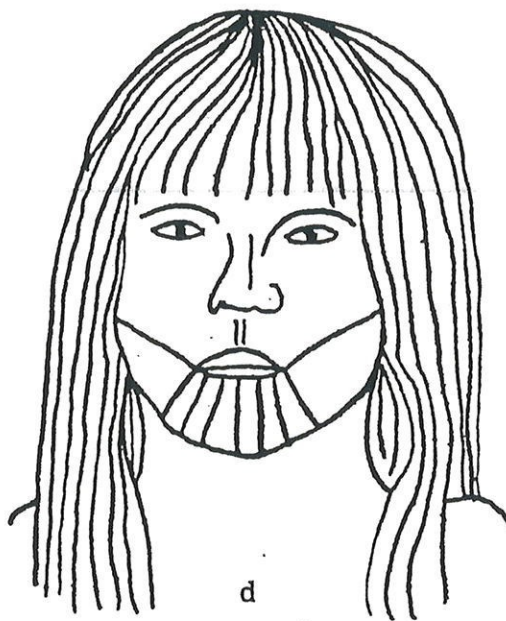
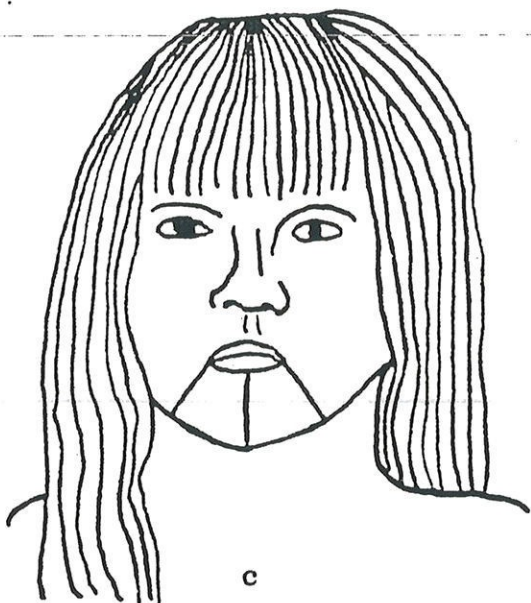
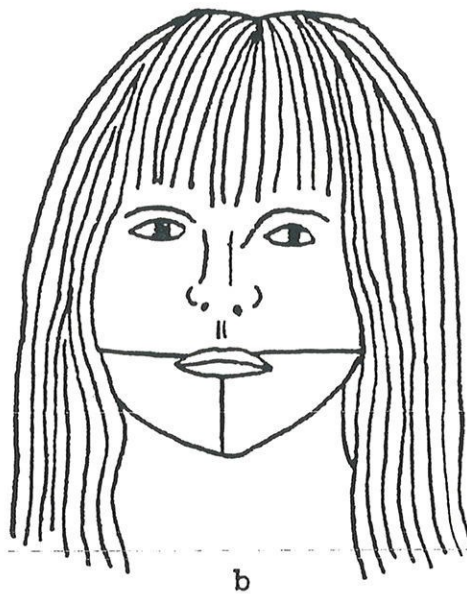
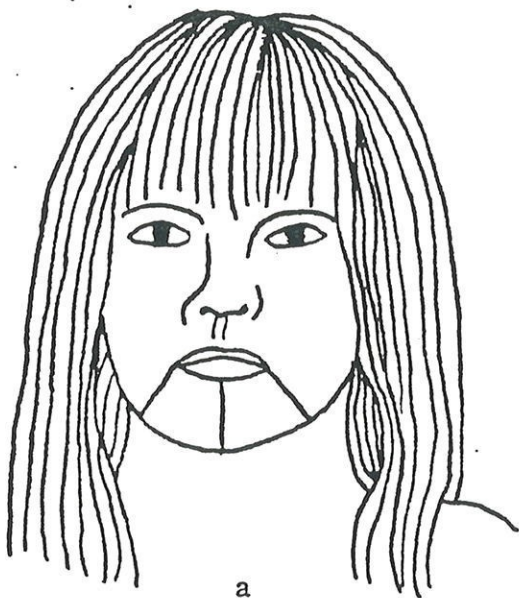
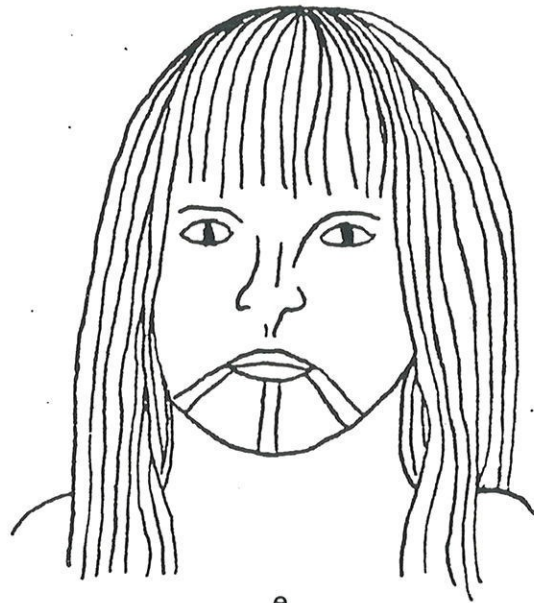
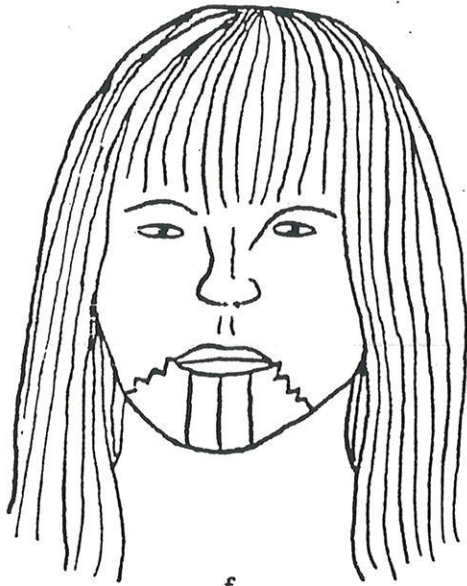


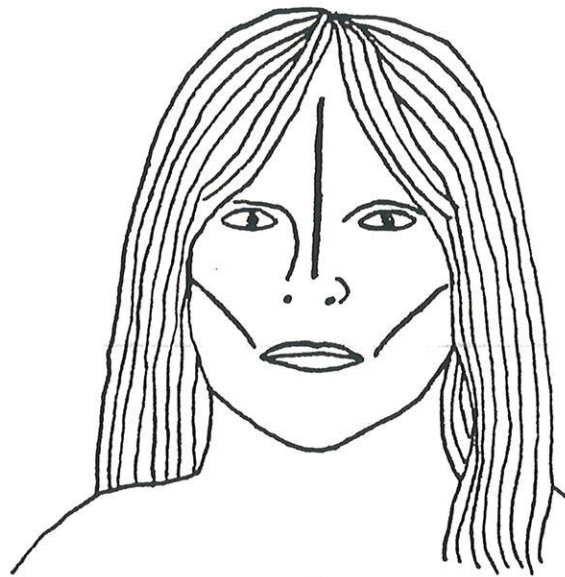
Figure 4



e

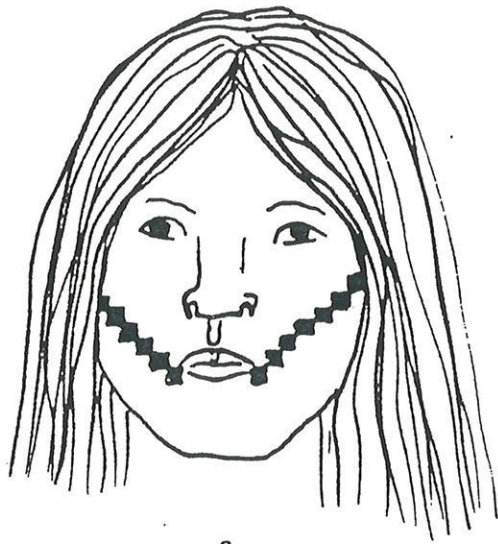


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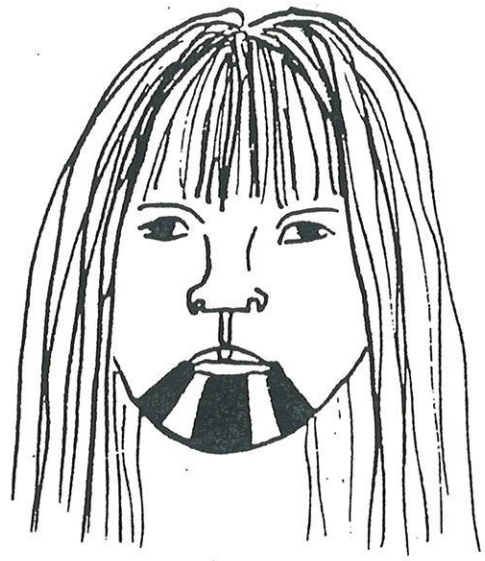


g

Figure 4 (continued)



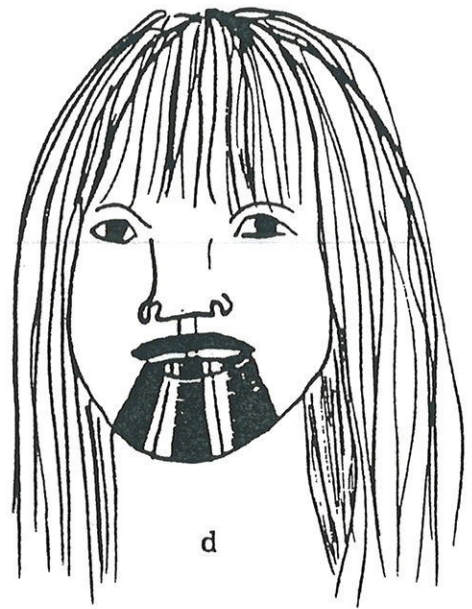
a



b



c



d

Figure 5

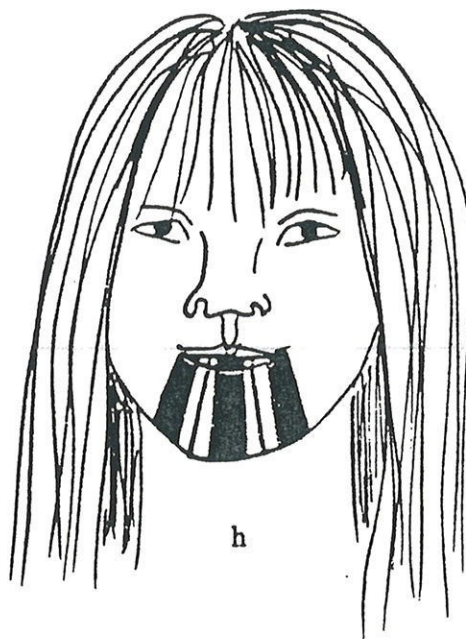
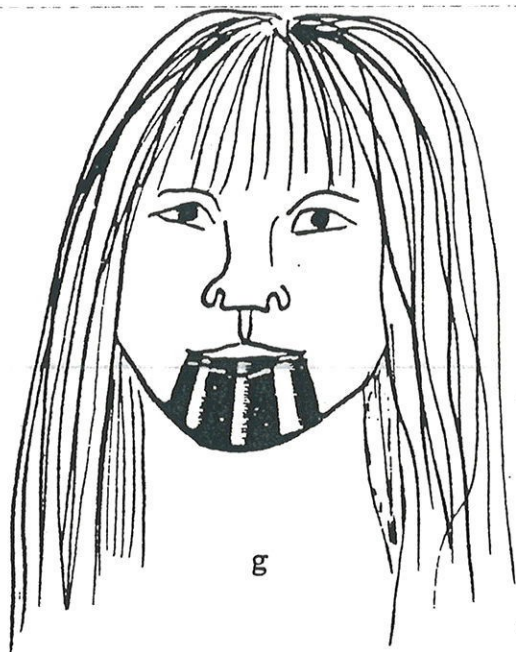
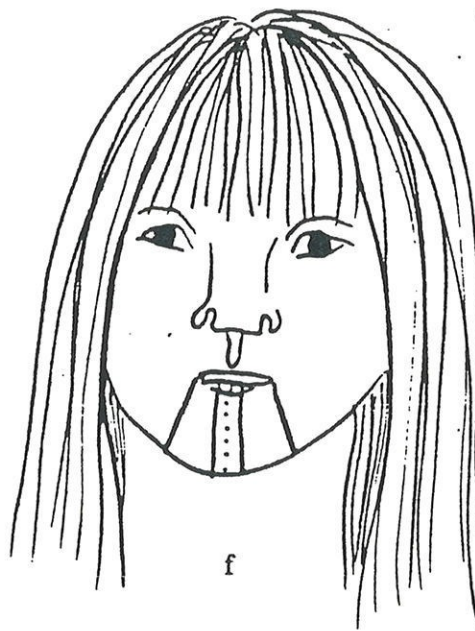
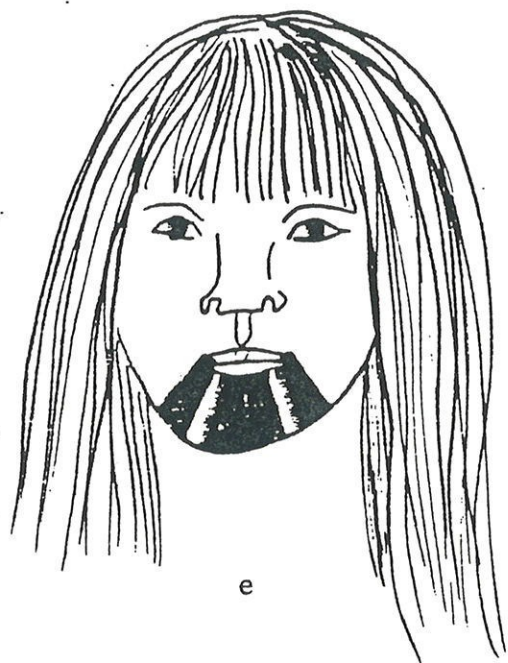


Figure 5 (continued)

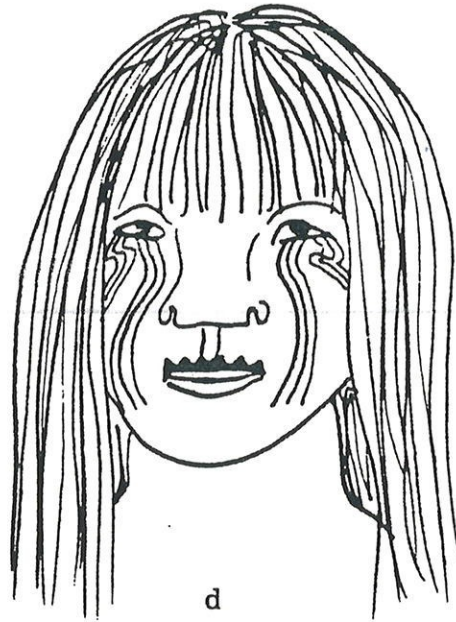
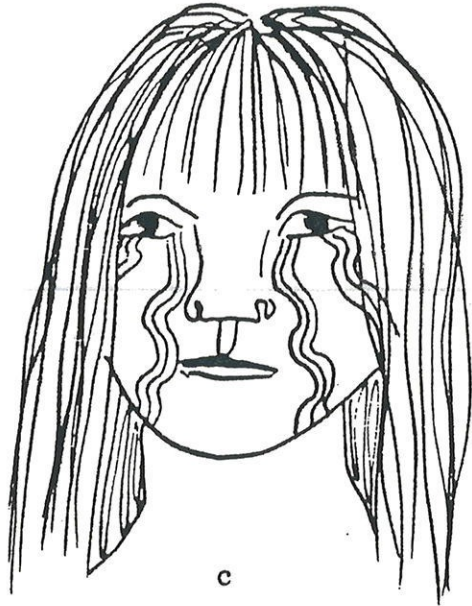
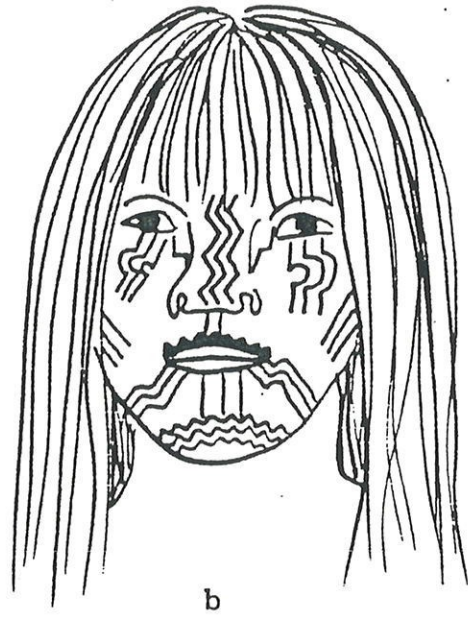
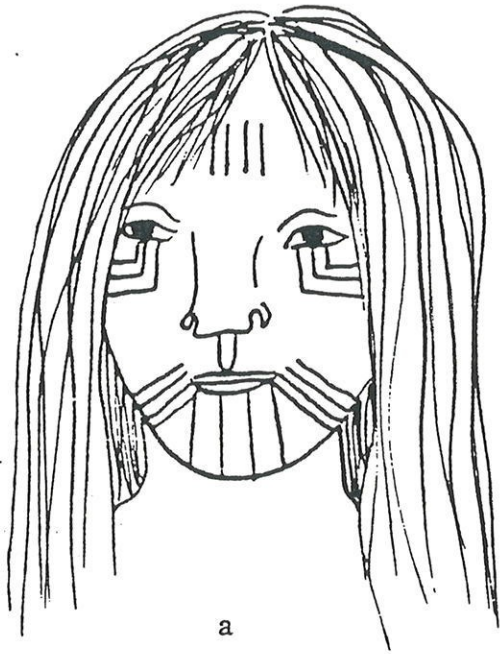


Figure 6

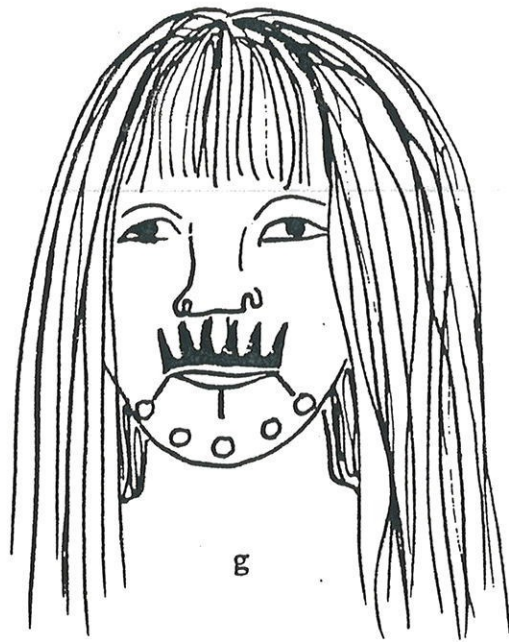
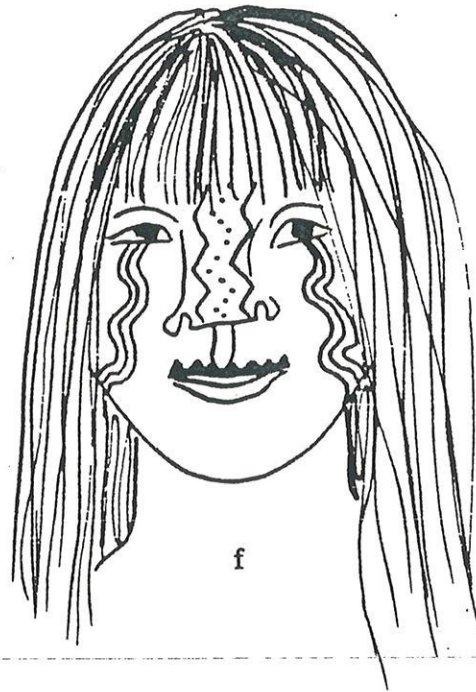
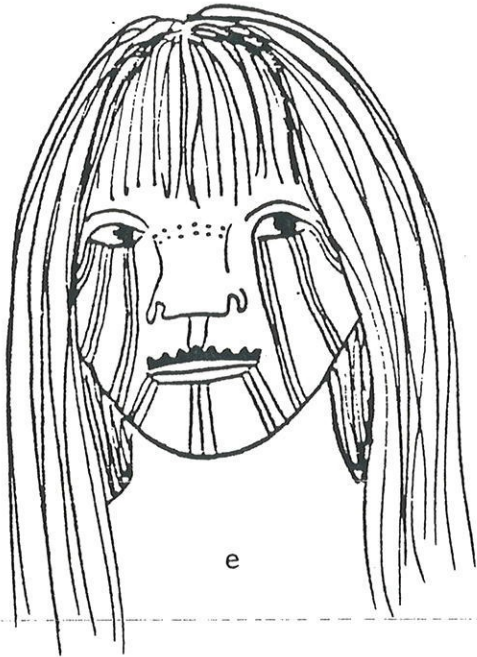
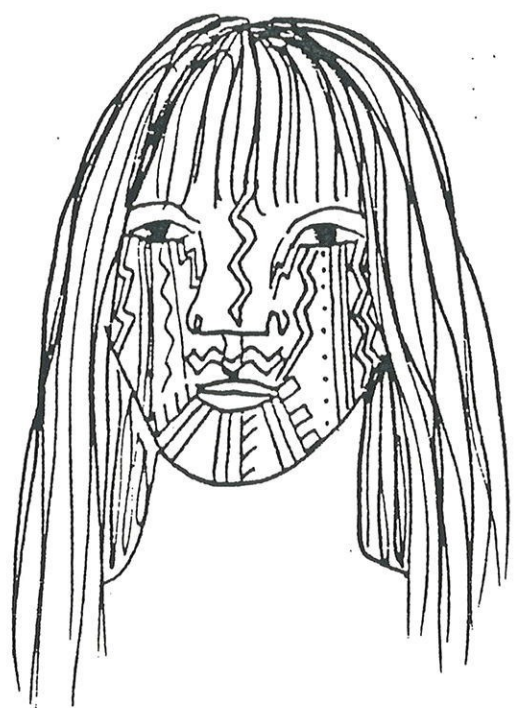
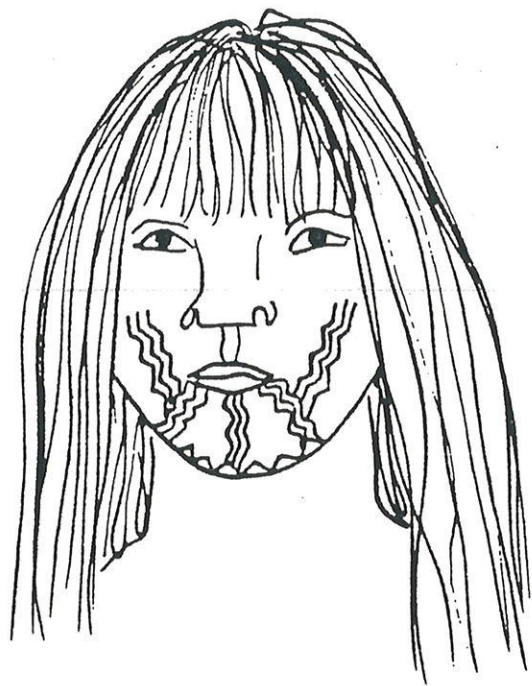


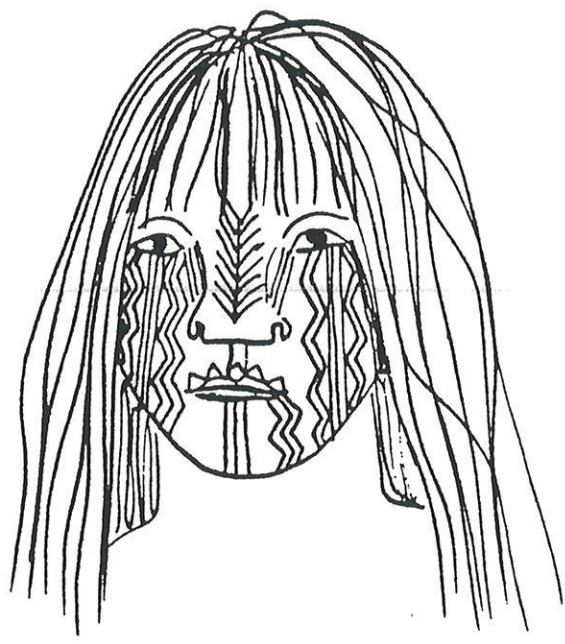
Figure 6 (continued)



b



a



c

Figure 7

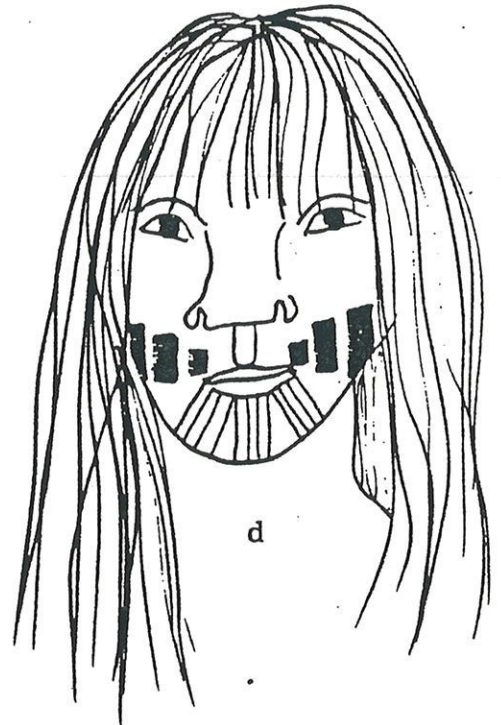
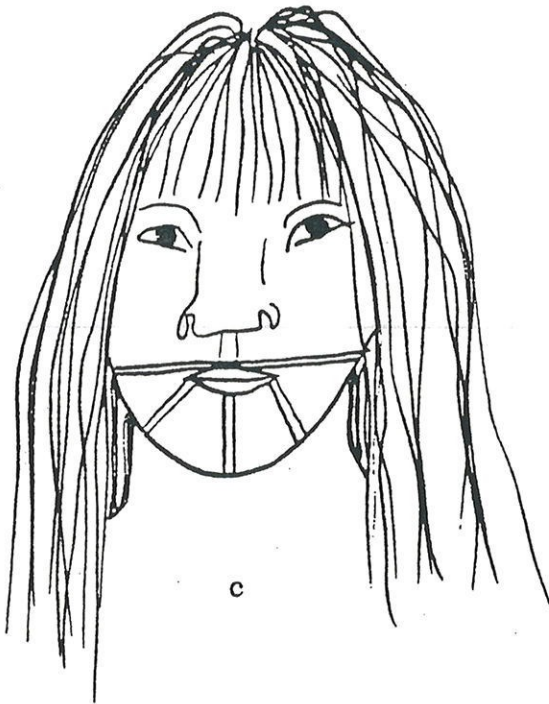
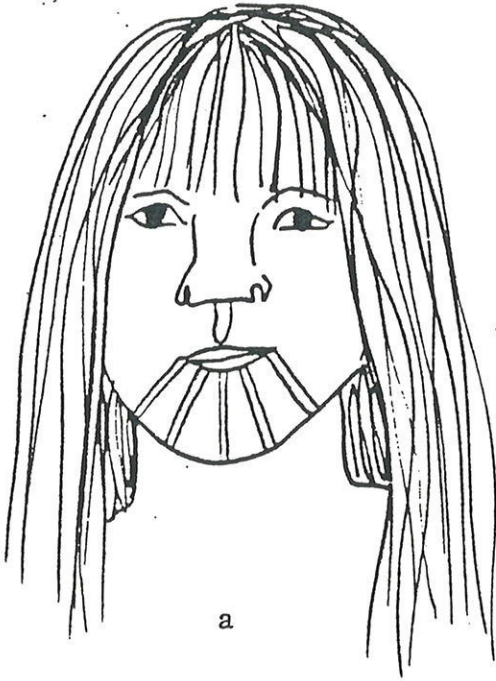
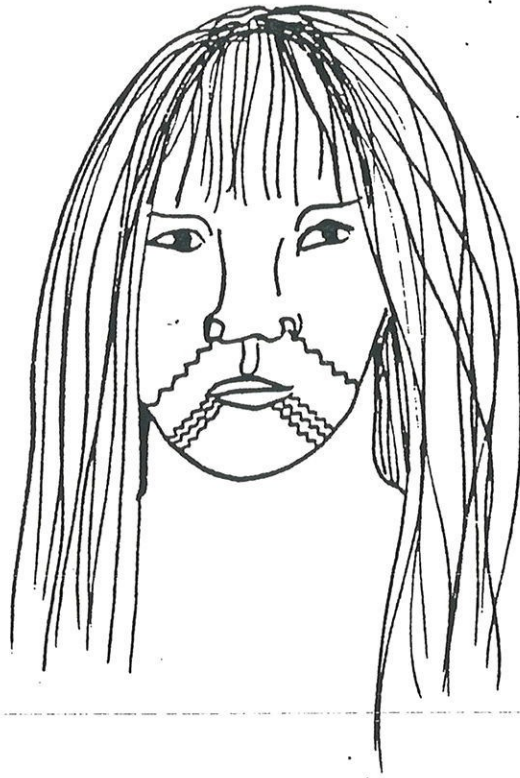


Figure 8

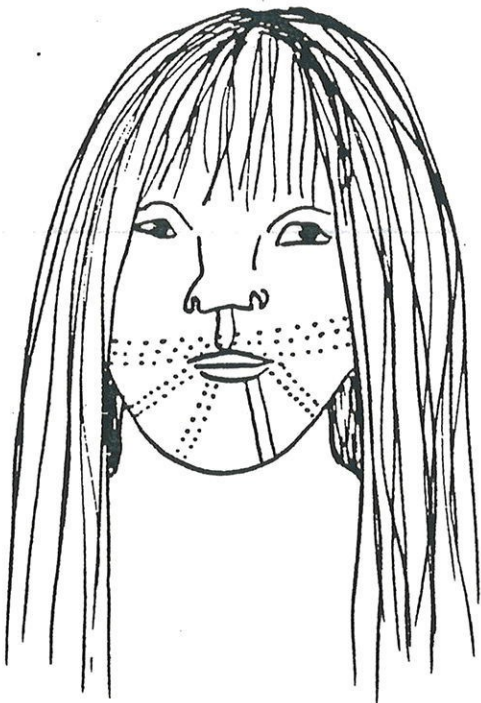


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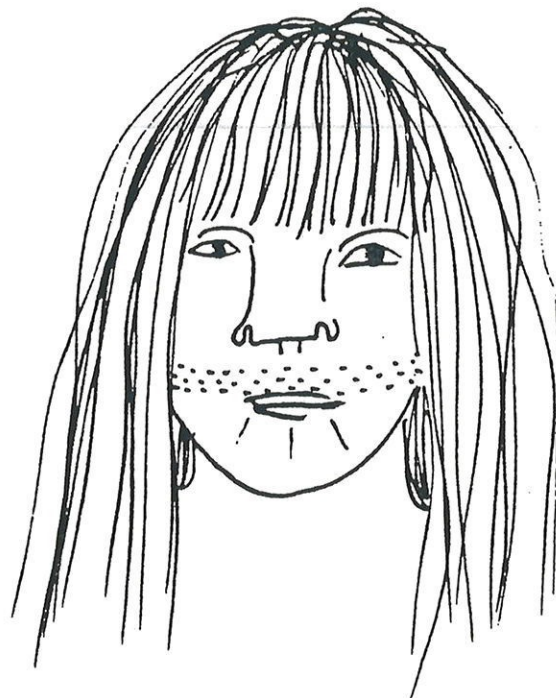


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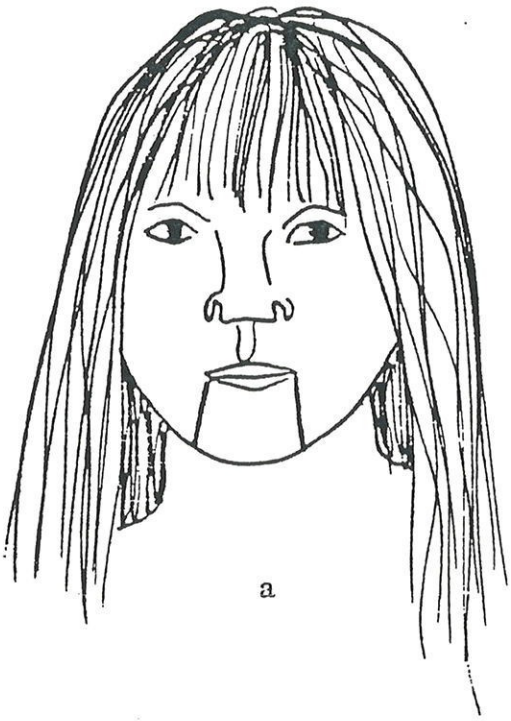
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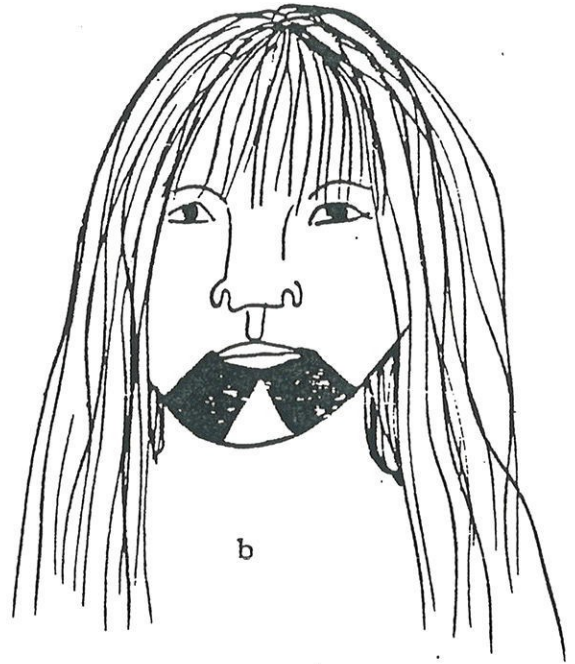
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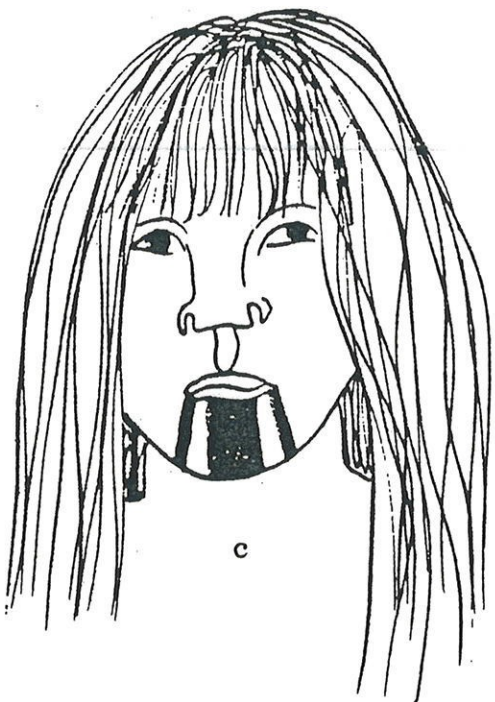


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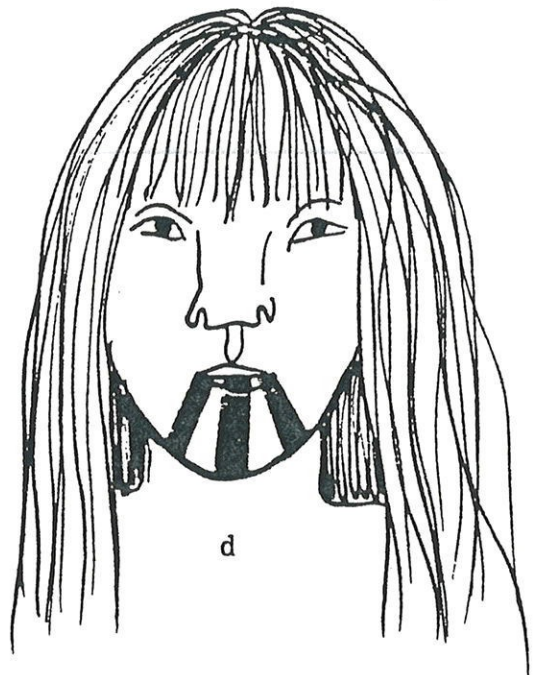


b

Figure 9



c

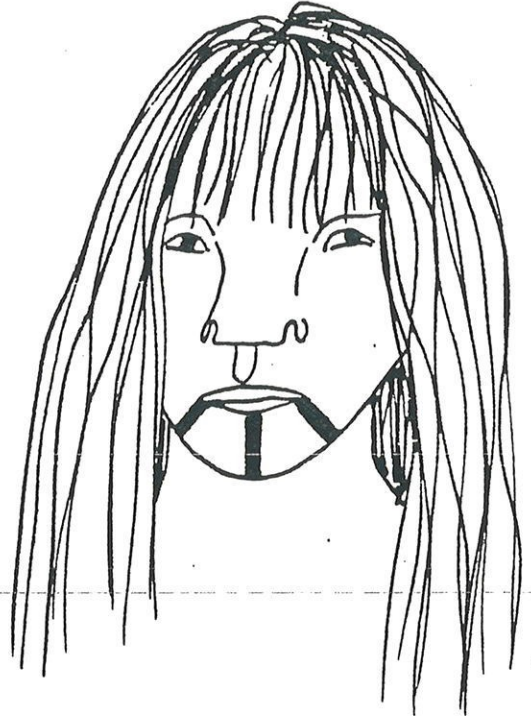


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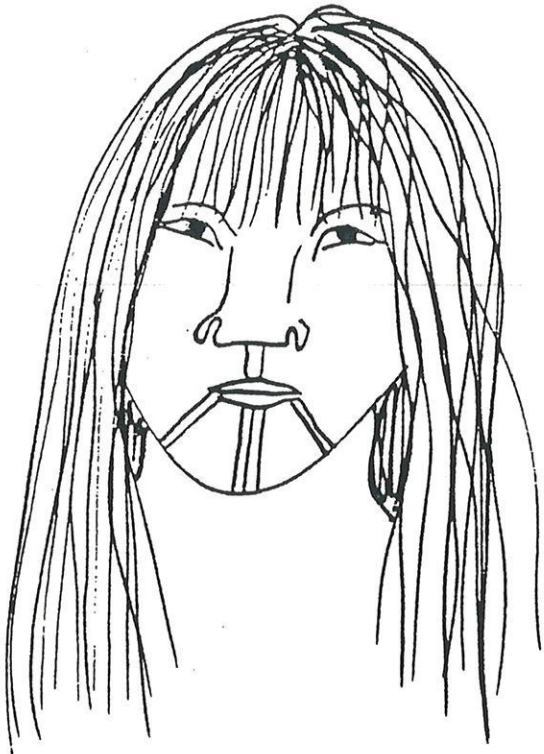
Figure 10



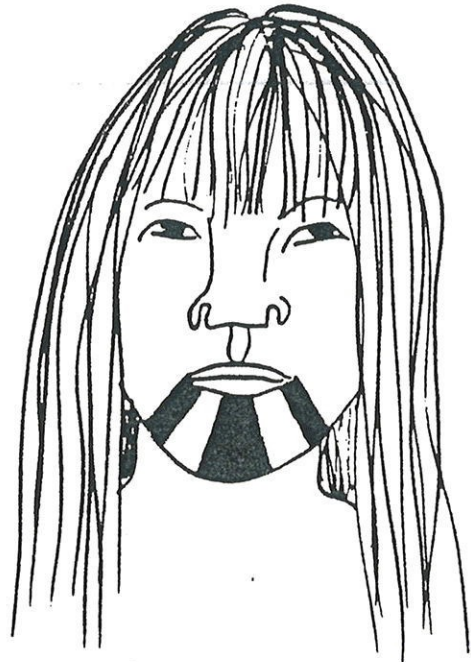
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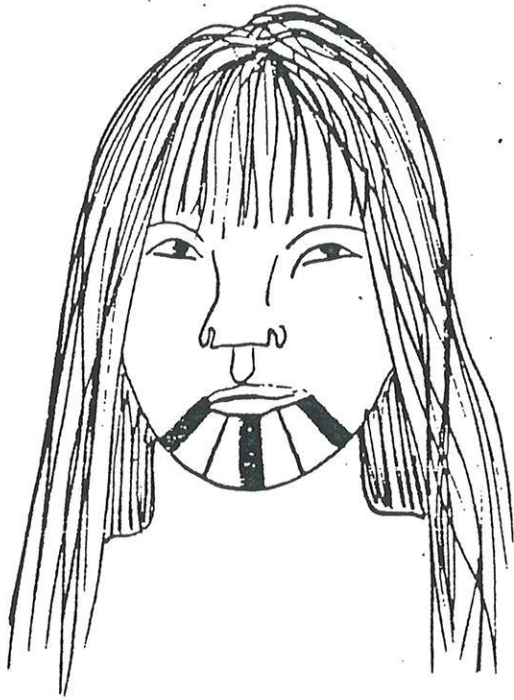
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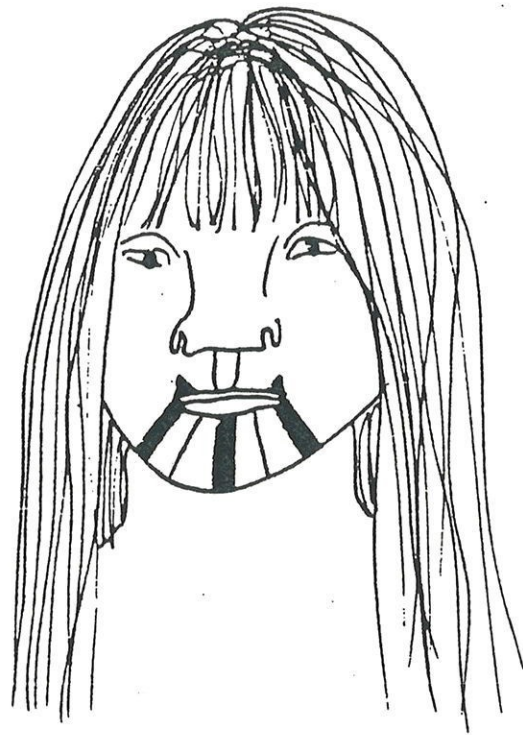
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d "nite l wiltac"



e

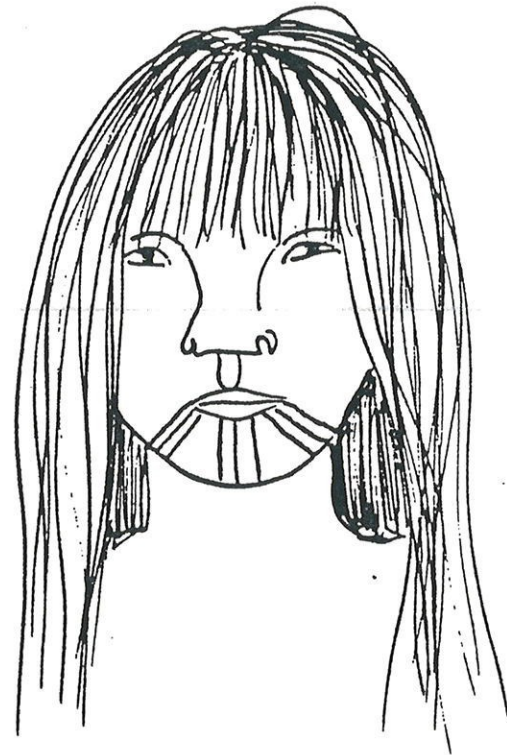


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Figure 10 (continued)

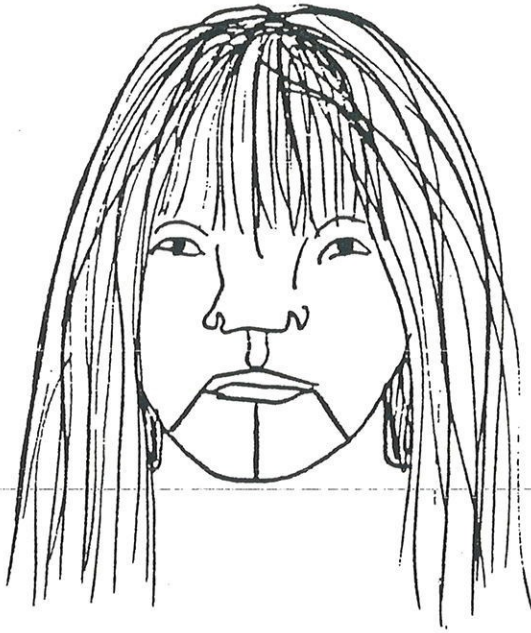


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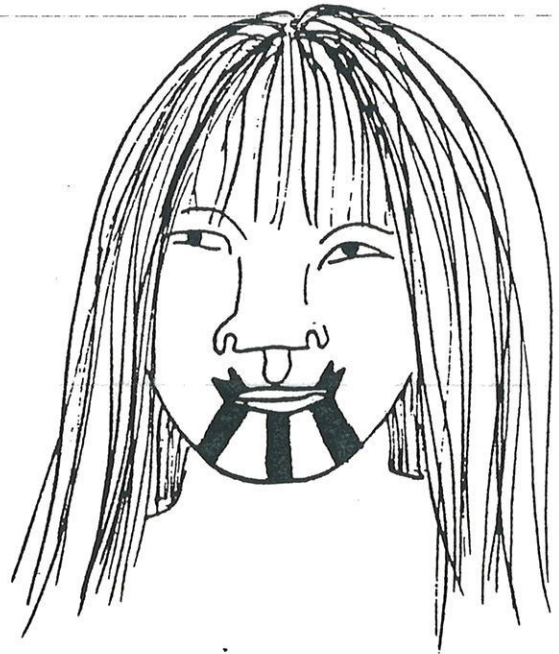


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Figure 10 (continued)



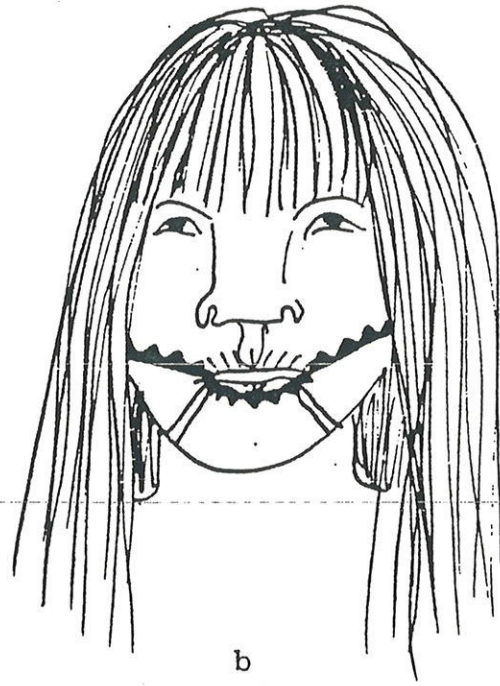
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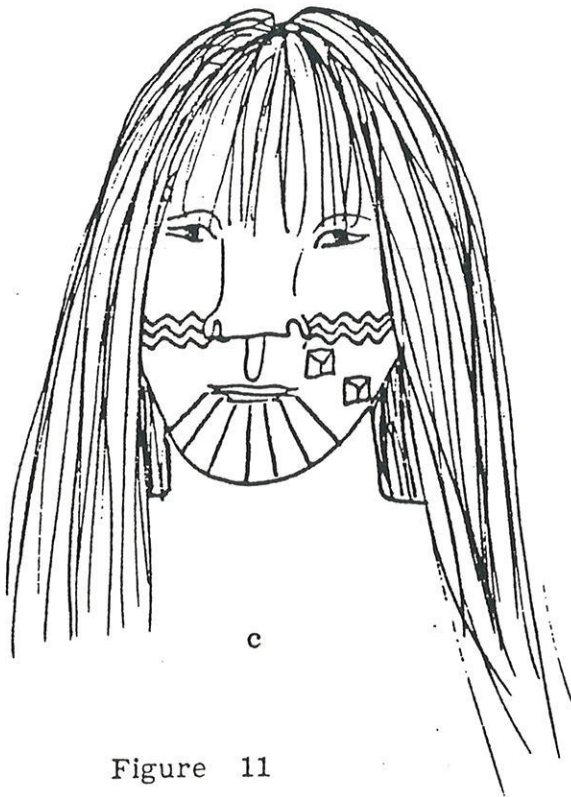
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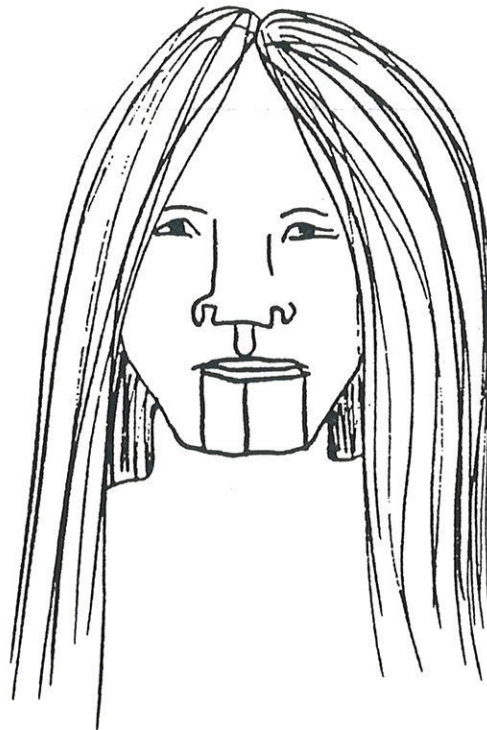
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b

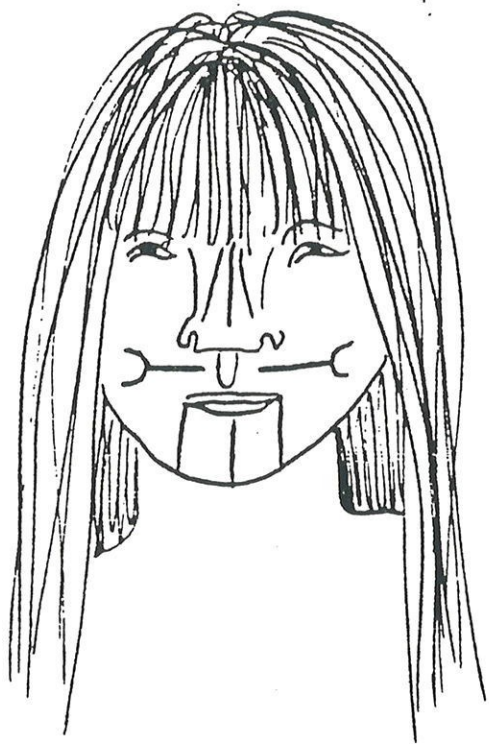


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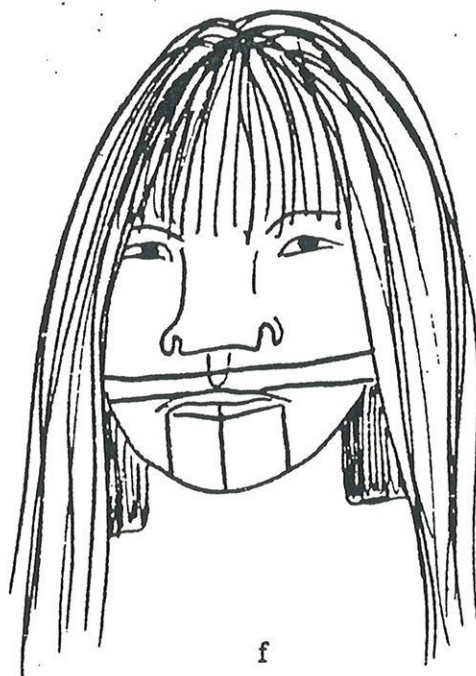


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Figure 11



e

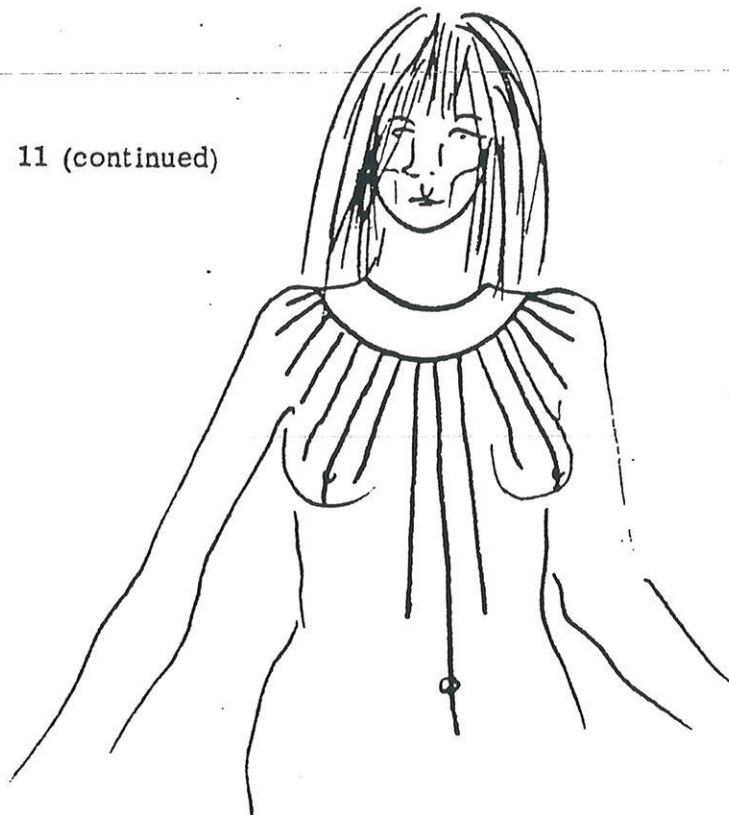


f

Figure 11 (continued)



g



h

Figure 12

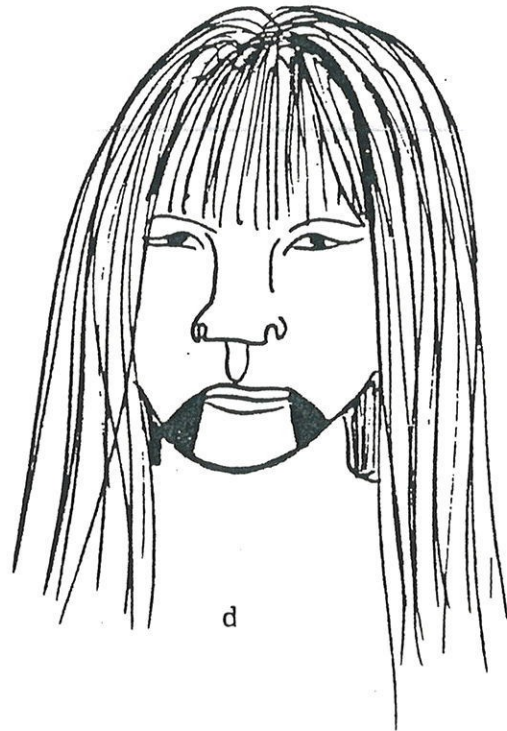
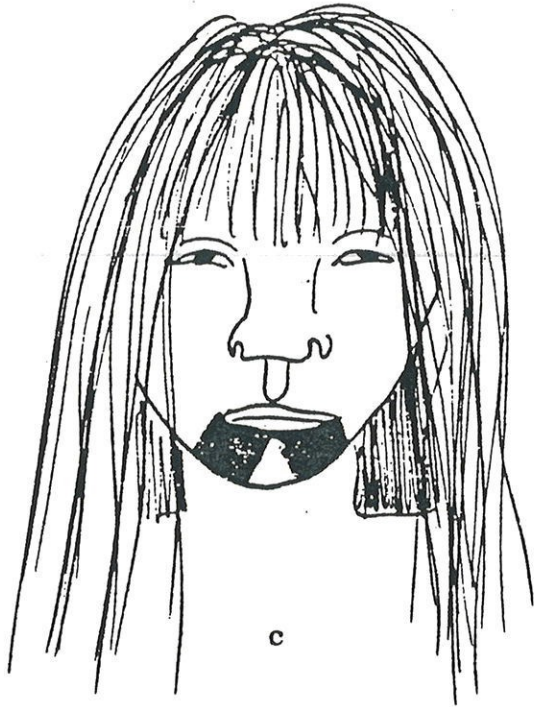
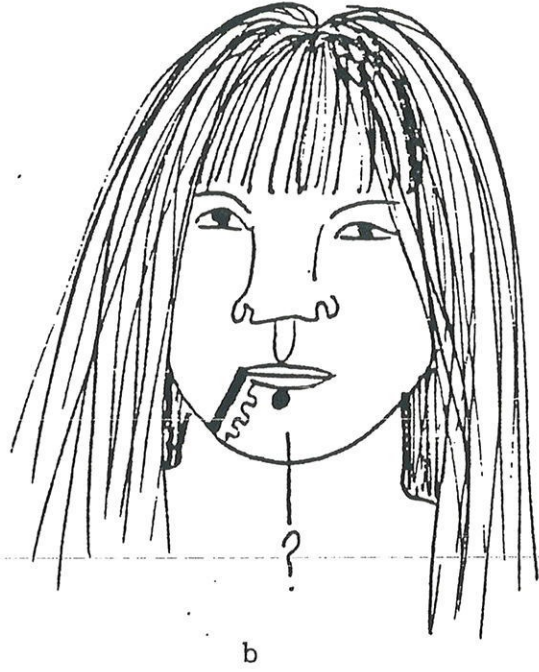
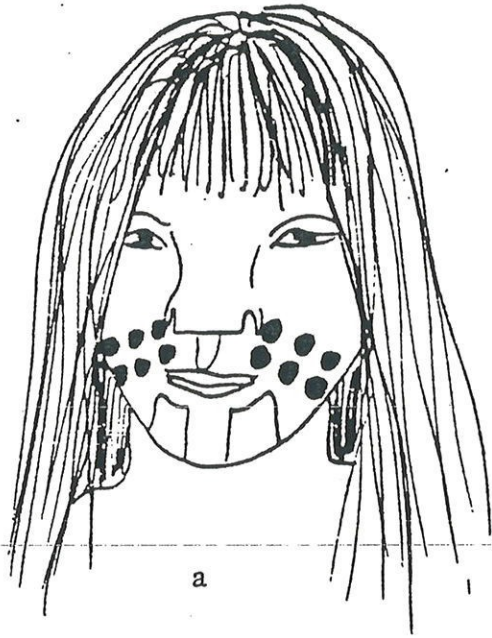
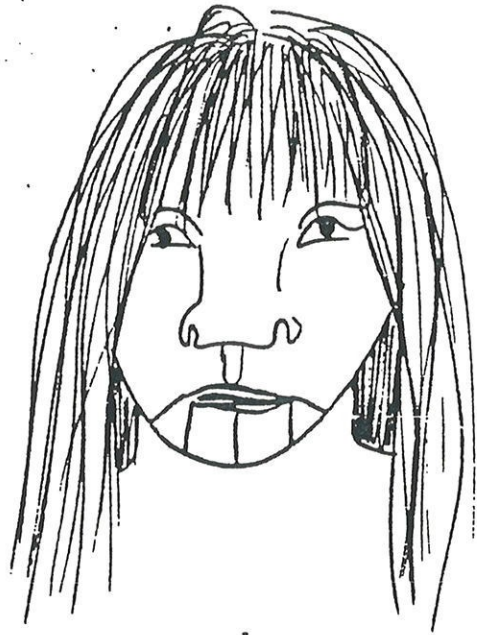


Figure 13



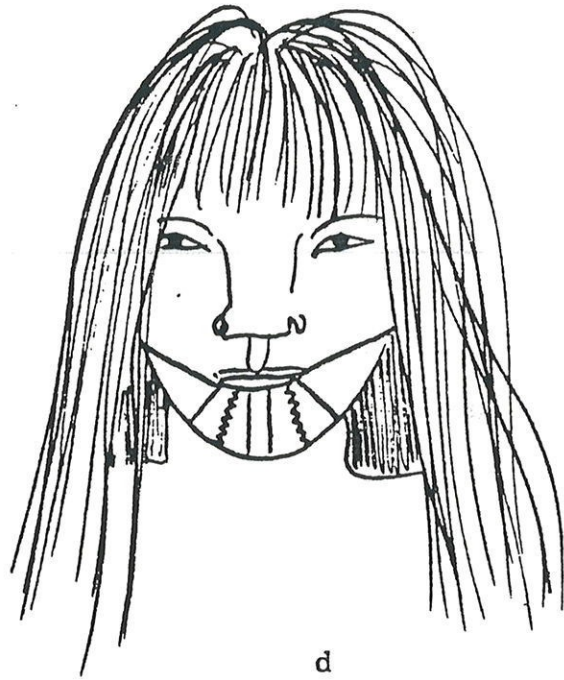
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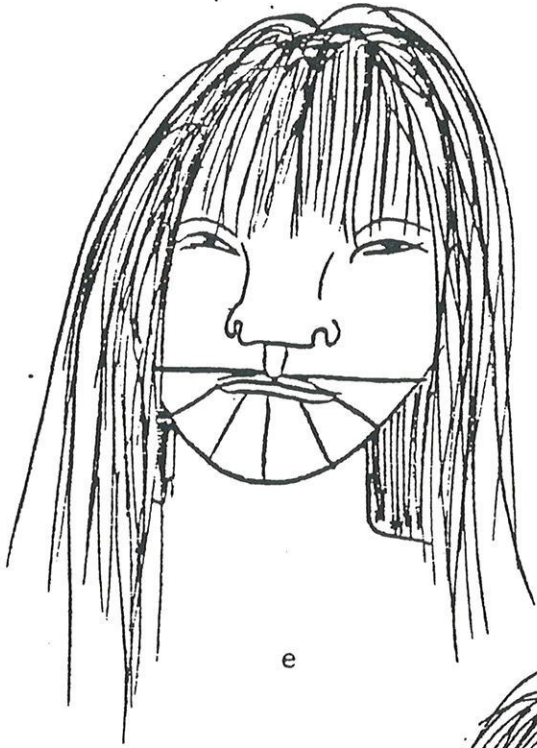
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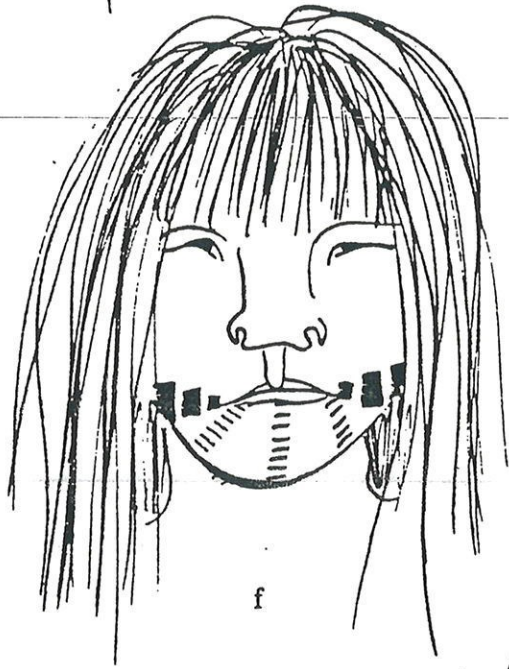
c



d

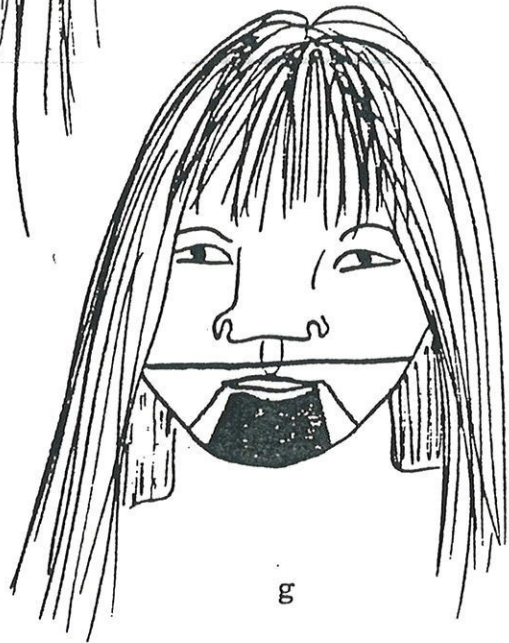


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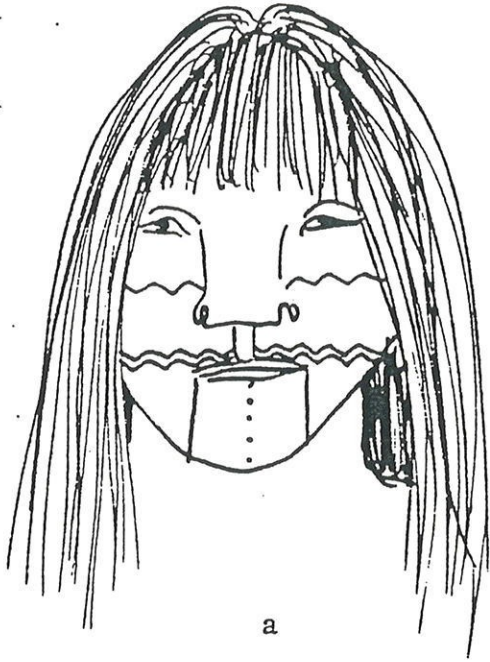


f

Figure 13 (continued)



g

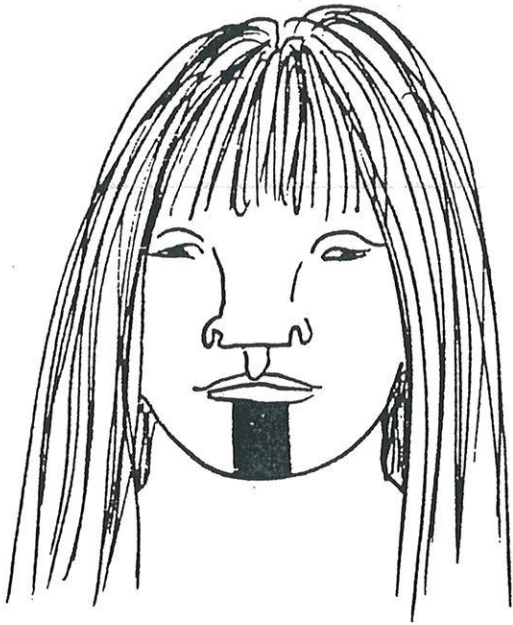


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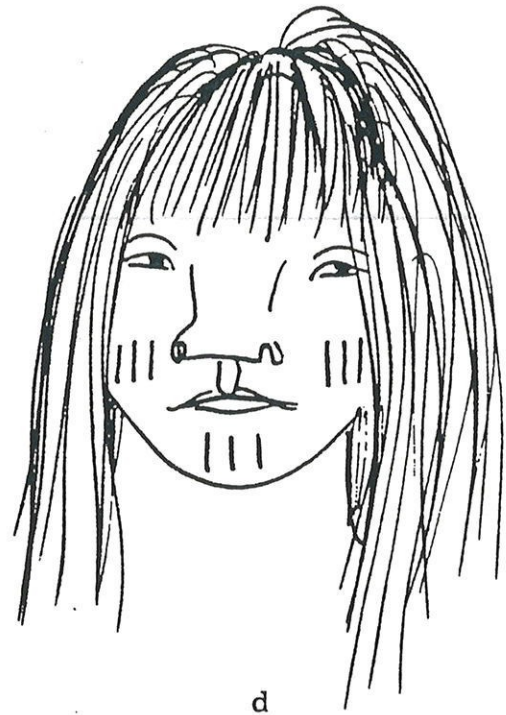


b

Figure 14



c



d

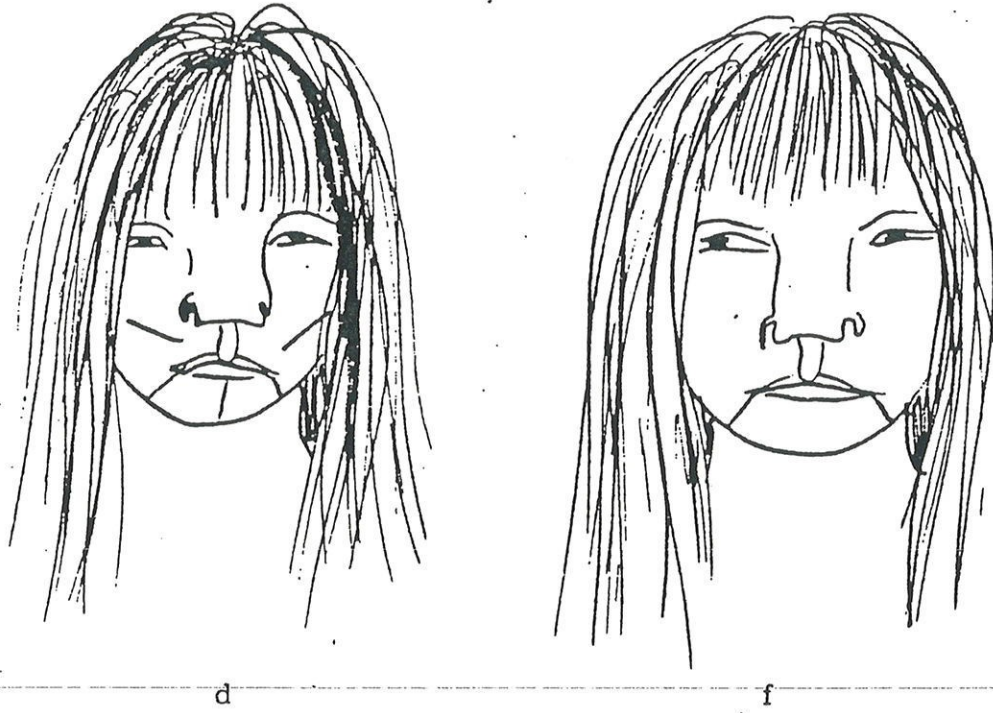
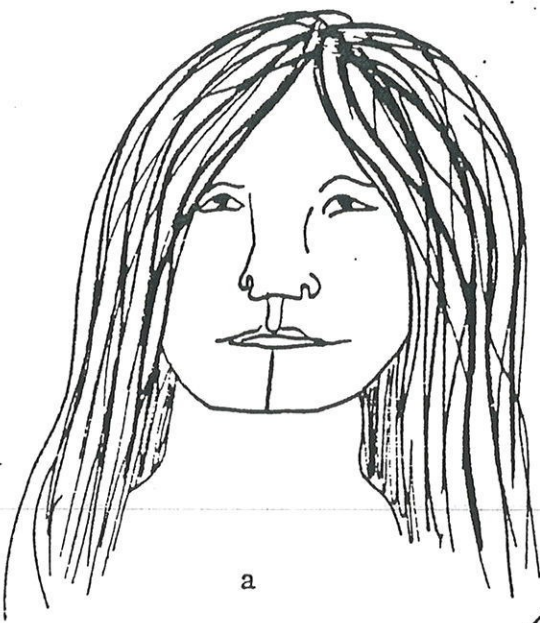


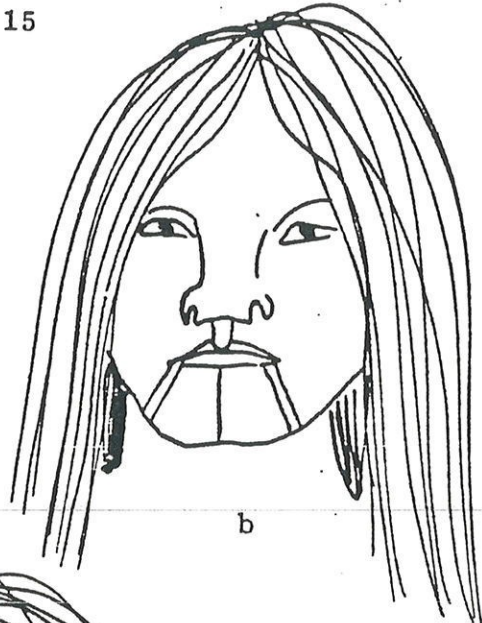
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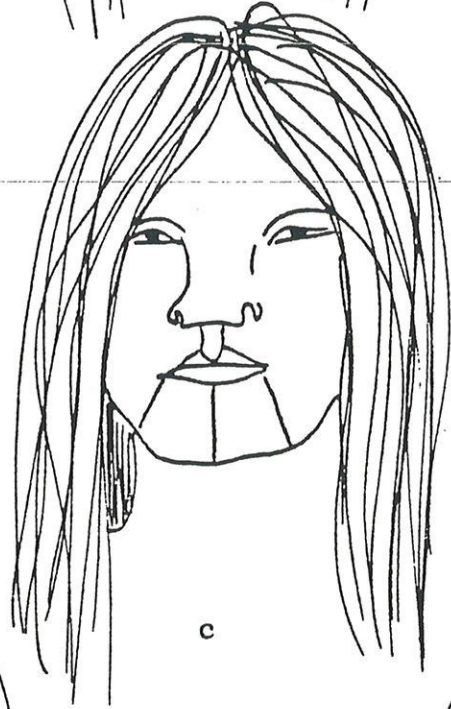
Figure 15



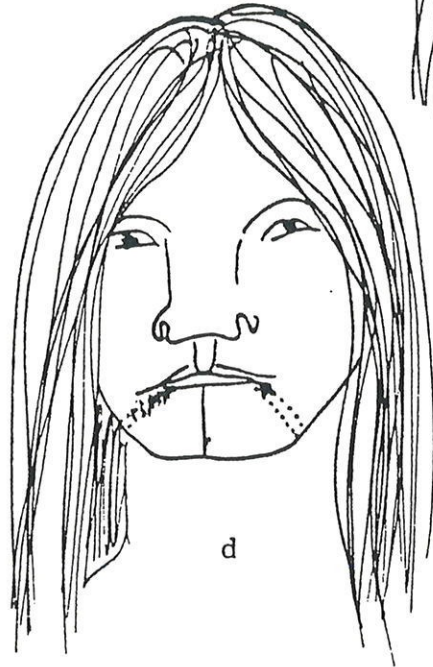
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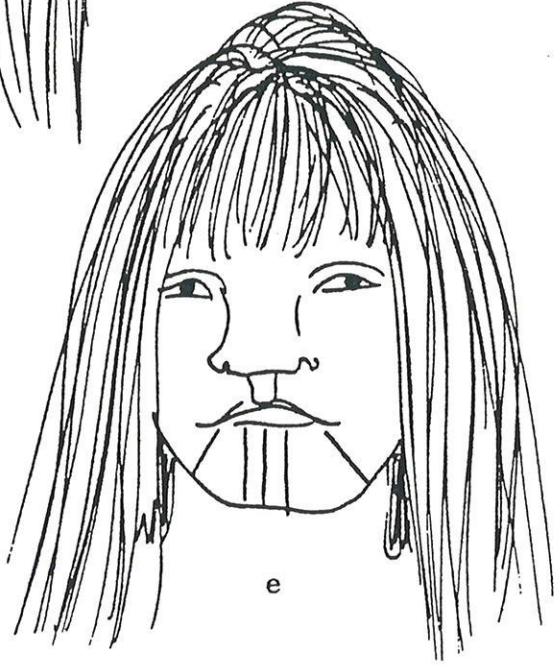
b



c



d



e

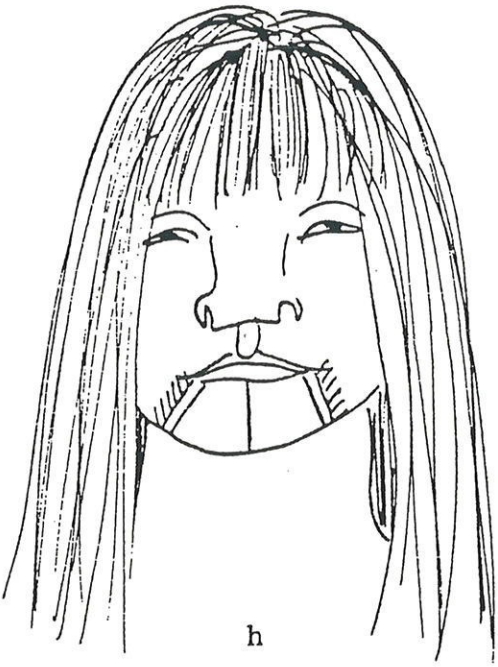
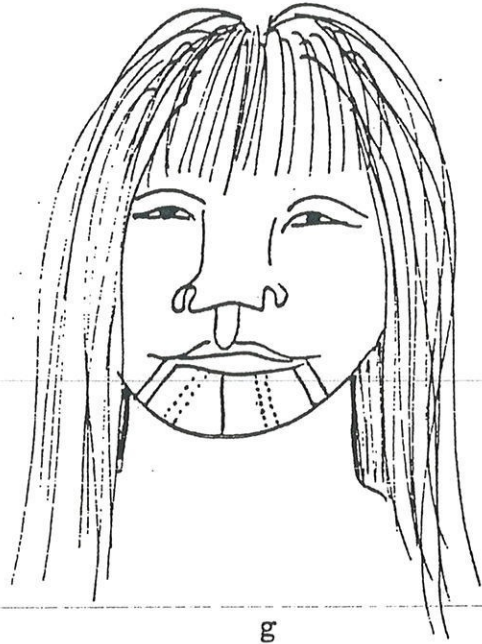
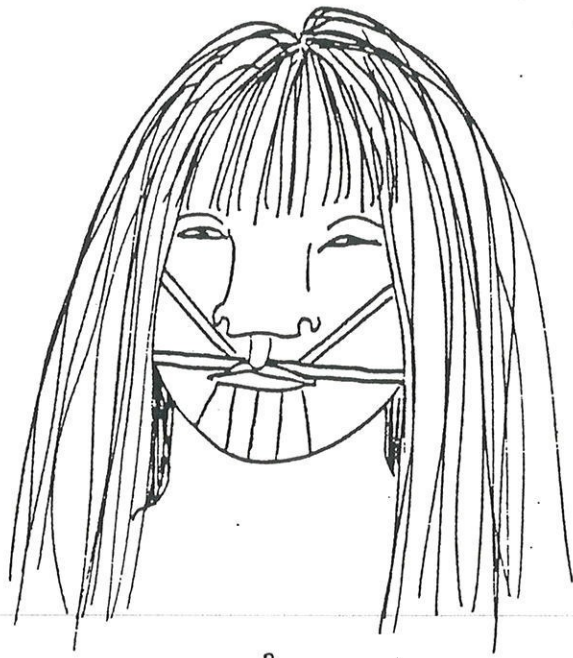


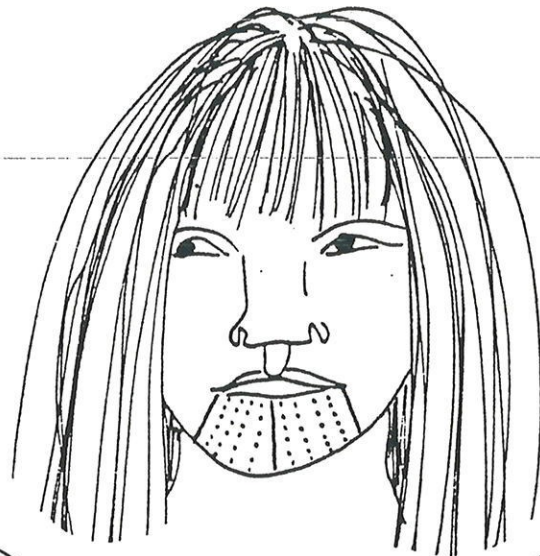
Figure 15 (continued)



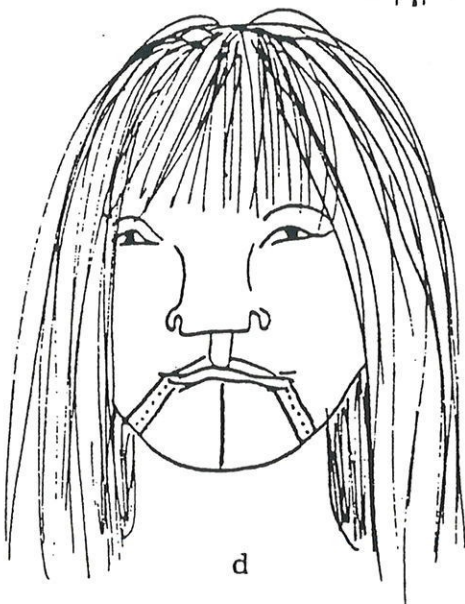
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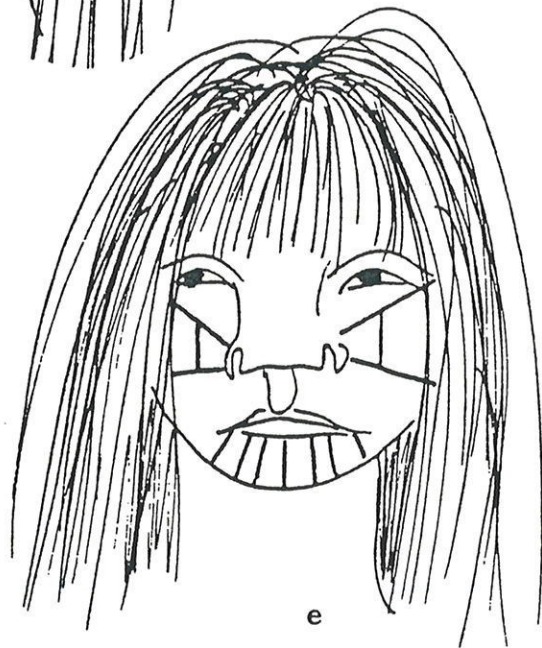
b



c



d



e

Figure 16

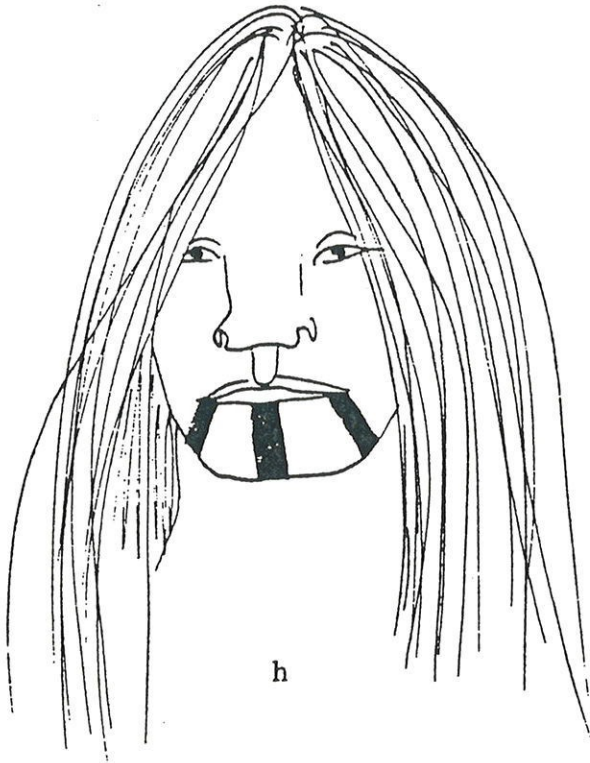


f

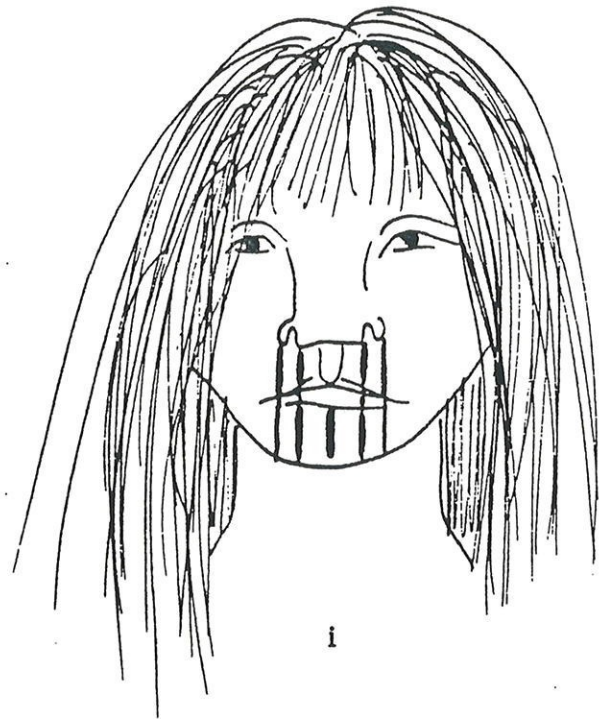


g

Figure 16 (continued)



h



i

KEY TO MAP NUMBERS FOR TRIBES AND TERRITORIES OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS

1.	Tolowa	31.	Mohave
2.	Hupa	32.	Modoc
3.	Whilkut	32a.	California Klamath
4.	Nongatl	33.	Wintun
5.	Lassik	33a.	Nomlaki
6.	Wailaki	34.	Patwin
7.	Kato	34a.	Choohelmemsel
8.	Sinkyone	35.	Maidu
9.	Mattole	35a.	Notokoioyo
10.	Bear River	36.	Coast Miwok / Hoo Koo E Ko
11.	Yurok	37.	Lake Miwok
12.	Wiyot	38.	Miwok
13.	Yuki / Huchnom	38a.	Tuolumne
14.	Wappo	38b.	Chowchilla
15.	Karok	38c.	Michahai
16.	Chimariko	38d.	Chooimimni
17.	Shasta	39.	Costanoan
17a.	Konomehoo	39a.	Kah Koon
18.	Achomawi	40.	Yokuts
19.	Atsugewi	41.	Northern Paiute
20.	Yana	42.	Mono / Paiute
21.	Yahi	43.	Owens Valley Paiute
22.	Pomo	44.	Monache
22a.	Metumwah	45.	Panamint Shoshoni
22b.	Kashia	46.	Tubatulabal
22c.	Bo'yah / Yokiah	47.	Chemehuevi
22d.	Mahkahmochummi	48.	Kawaiisu
22e.	Shokoah	49.	Vanyume
22f.	Hramfo	50.	Kitanemuk
22g.	Katchewochummi	51.	Alliklik
23.	Washo	52.	Fernandeno
24.	Esselen	53.	Serrano
25.	Salinan	54.	Gabrielino
26.	Chumash	55.	Juaneno
26a.	Ventureno	56.	Luiseno
27.	Diegueno	57.	Cahuilla
28.	Kamia	57a.	Pass Cahuilla
29.	Yuma	57b.	Desert Cahuilla
30.	Halchidoma	57b.	Mountain Cahuilla

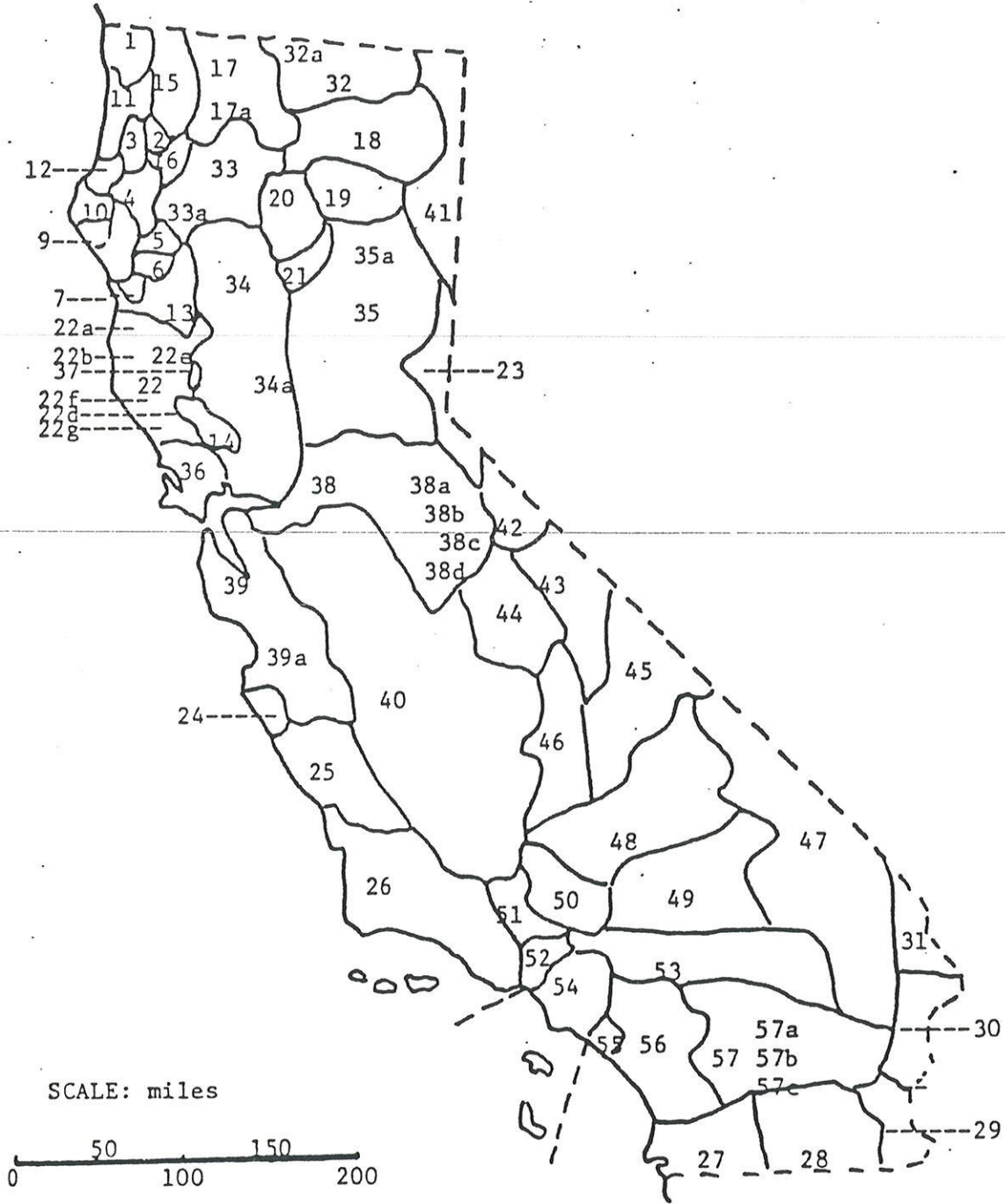
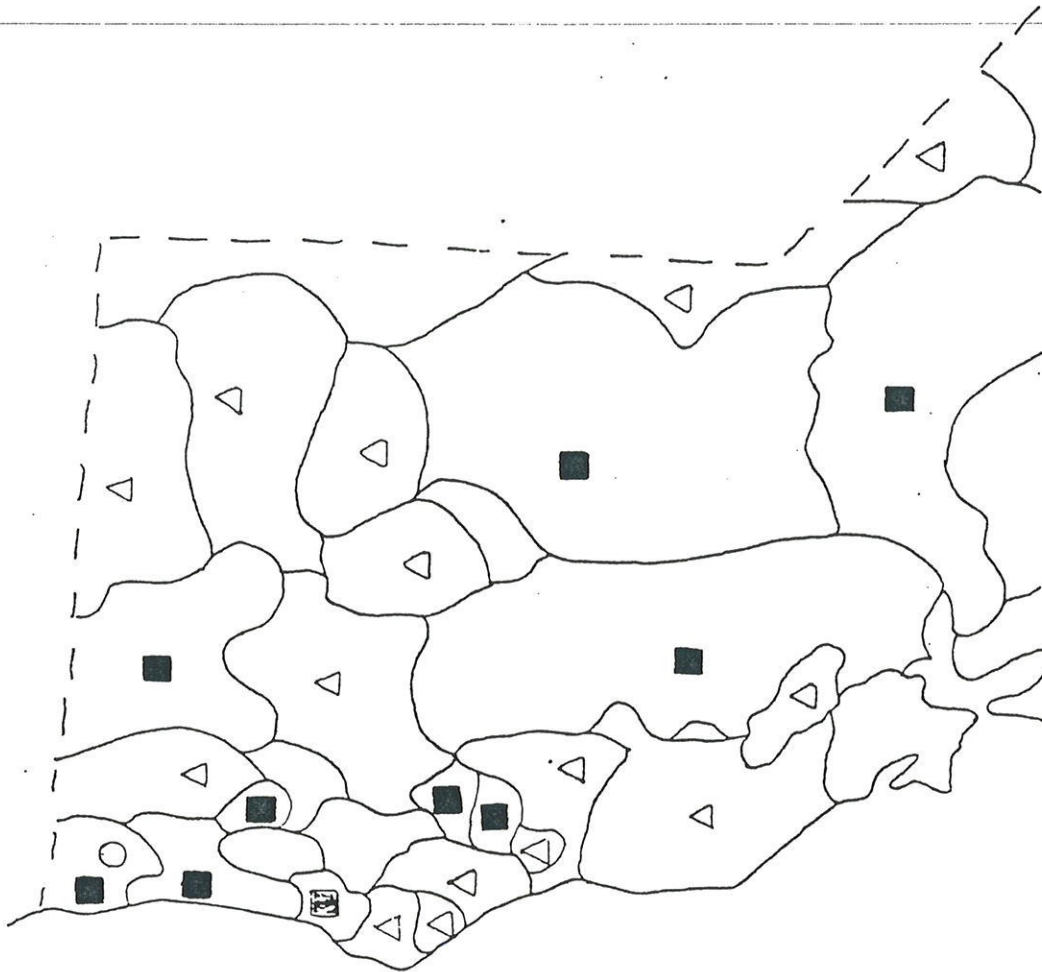


FIGURE 17: Tribes and Territories of California Indians.

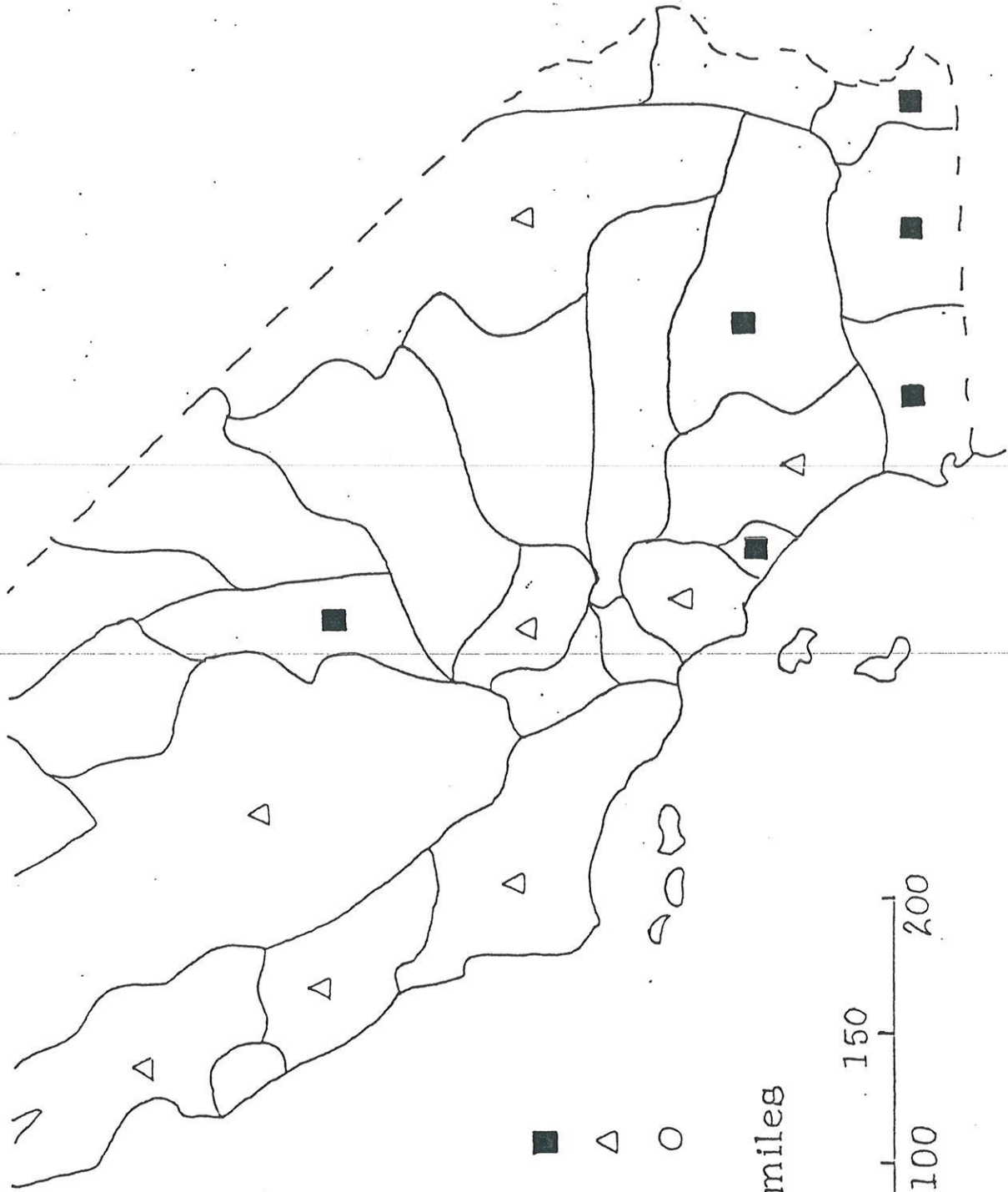


SCALE: miles



FIGURE 18

Tattooing: on whom (not including medical or measuring marks)



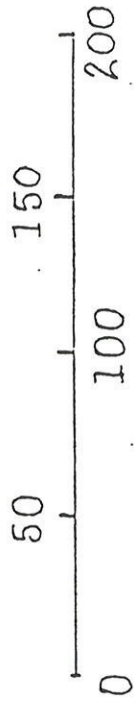
KEY

Women only

Men and Women

Children

SCALE: miles

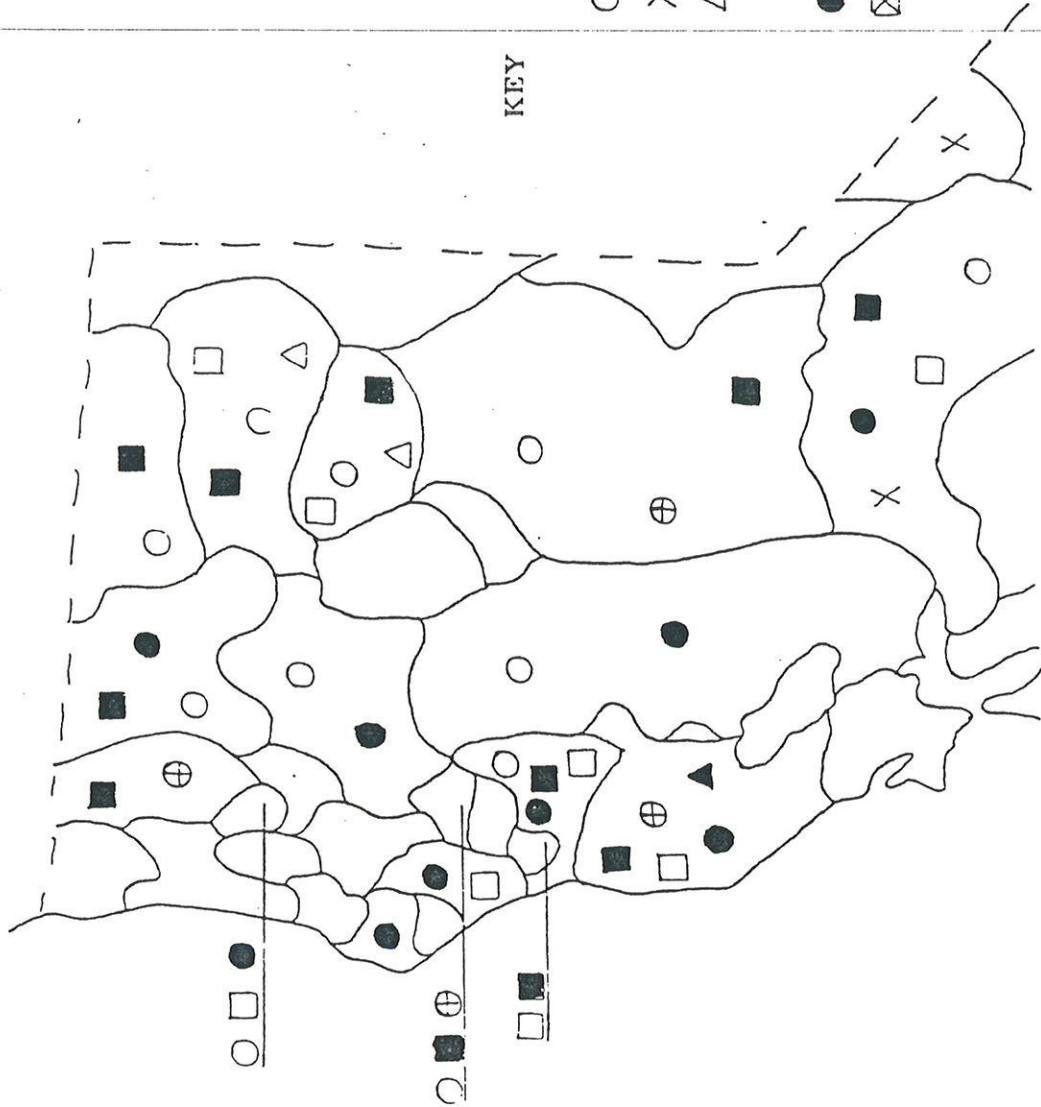


SCALE: miles



KEY

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| ○ | Stone | □ | Bone |
| × | Pine needles | + | Cactus thorn |
| △ | Porcupine quill | | |
| ● | Plant soot | ■ | Plant charcoal |
| ⊗ | Coal & grease | ⊕ | Plant juice |
| | | ▲ | Red mineral pigment (ocher) |



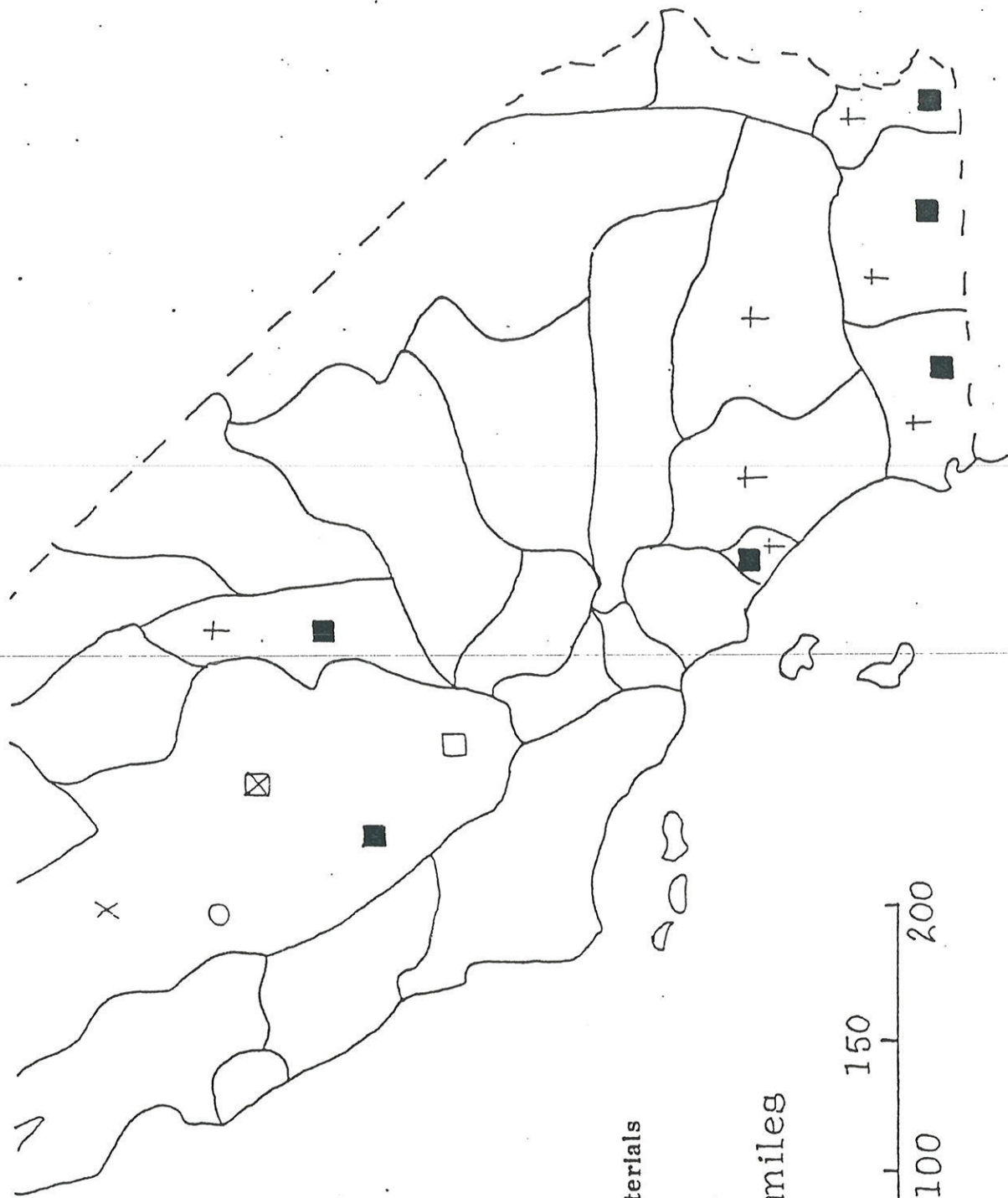
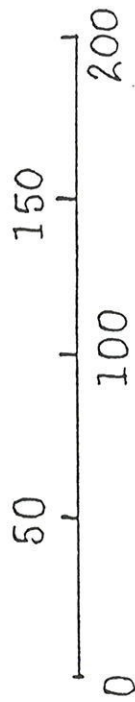


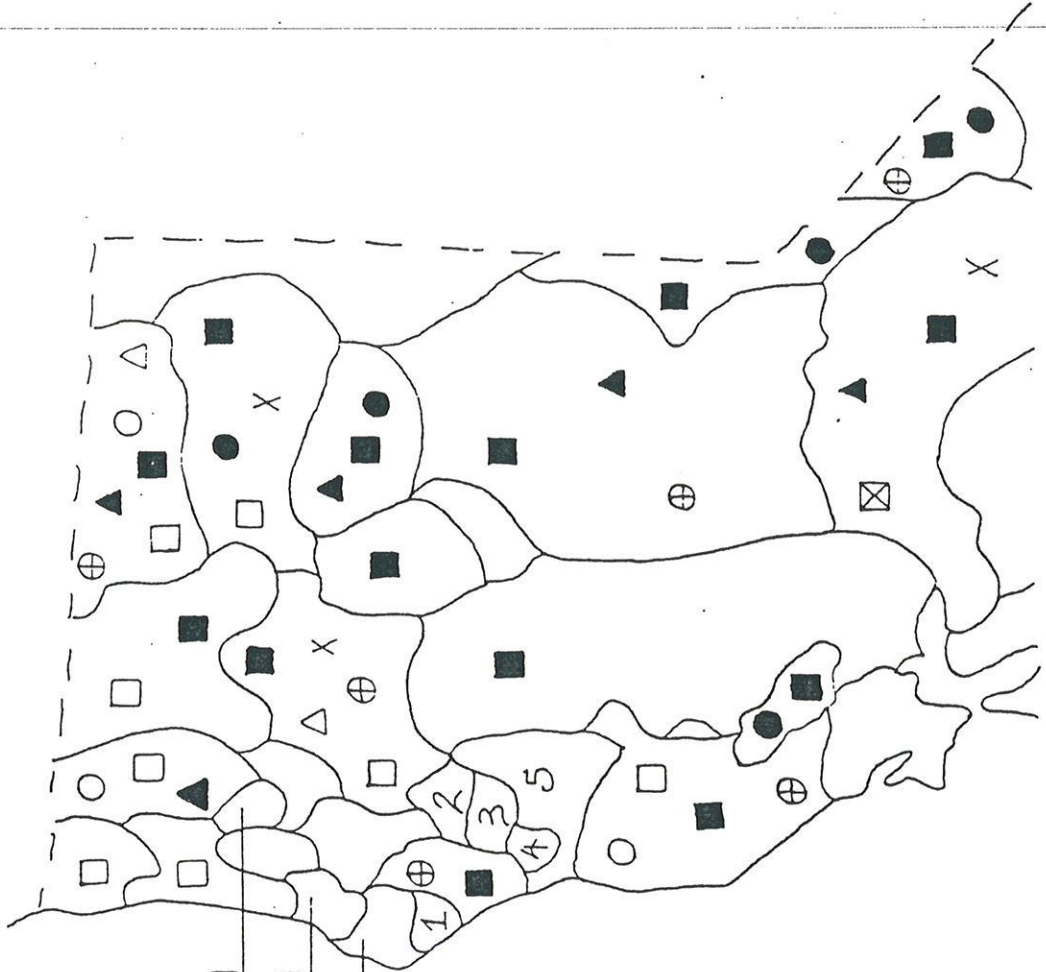
FIGURE 19

Techniques/Materials

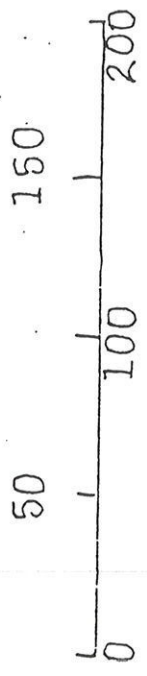
SCALE: miles



- 1 X □
- 2 ■ ● ▲
- 3 X ▲ ○ ● ●
- 4 ⊕ X □
- 5 ○ Δ X ▲ ■ ⊕



SCALE: miles



KEY

- wide vertical lines on chin
- narrow vertical lines on chin
- ⊕ oblique lines on chin
- dots, spots, circles on chin
- X zigzag lines on chin
- horizontal, radiating lines on cheeks, around mouth
- ▲ figures, marks on cheeks
- △ tattooing on nose
- ⊗ tattooing on forehead

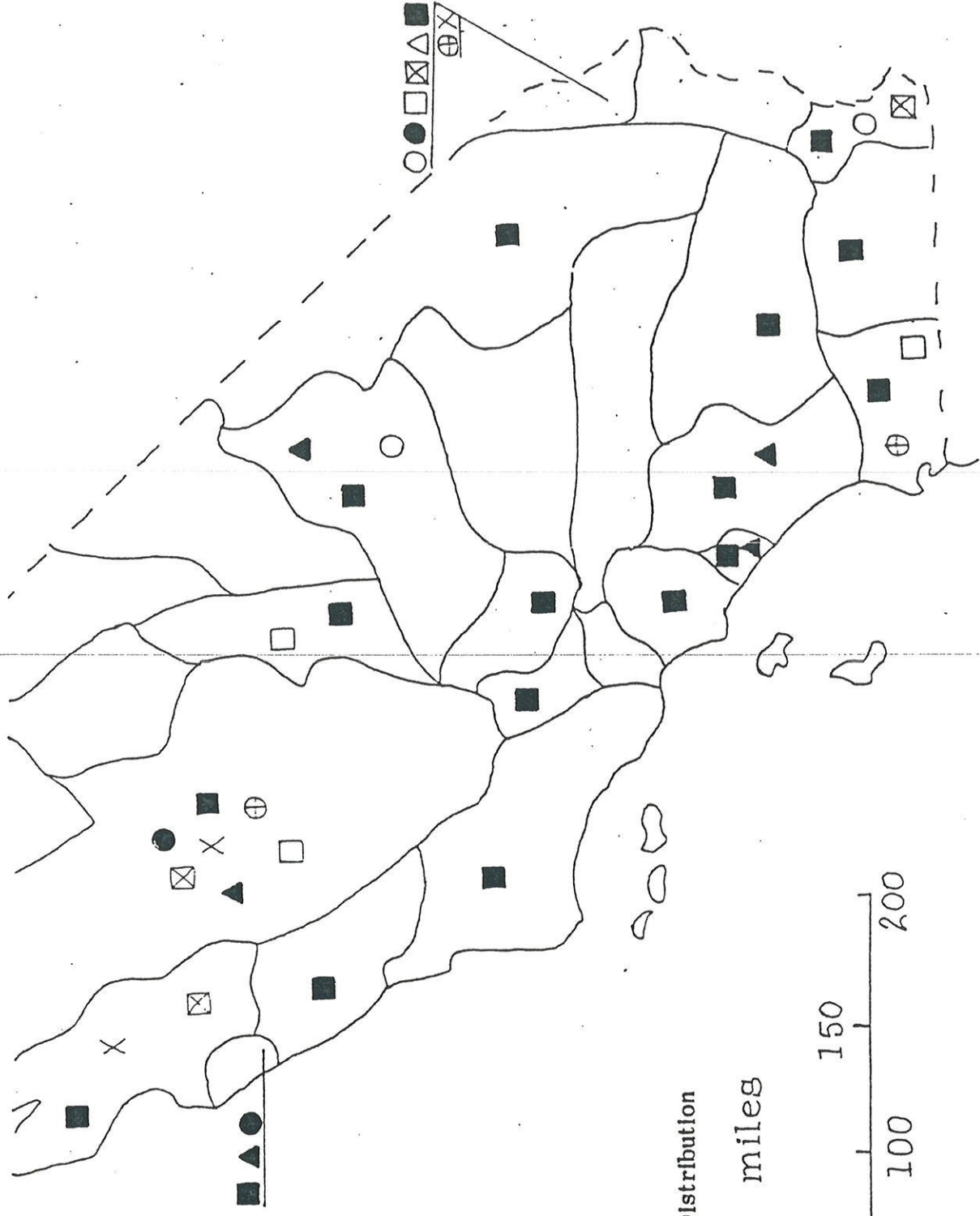
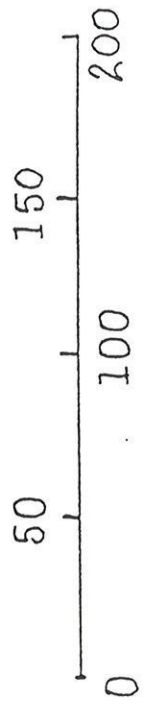
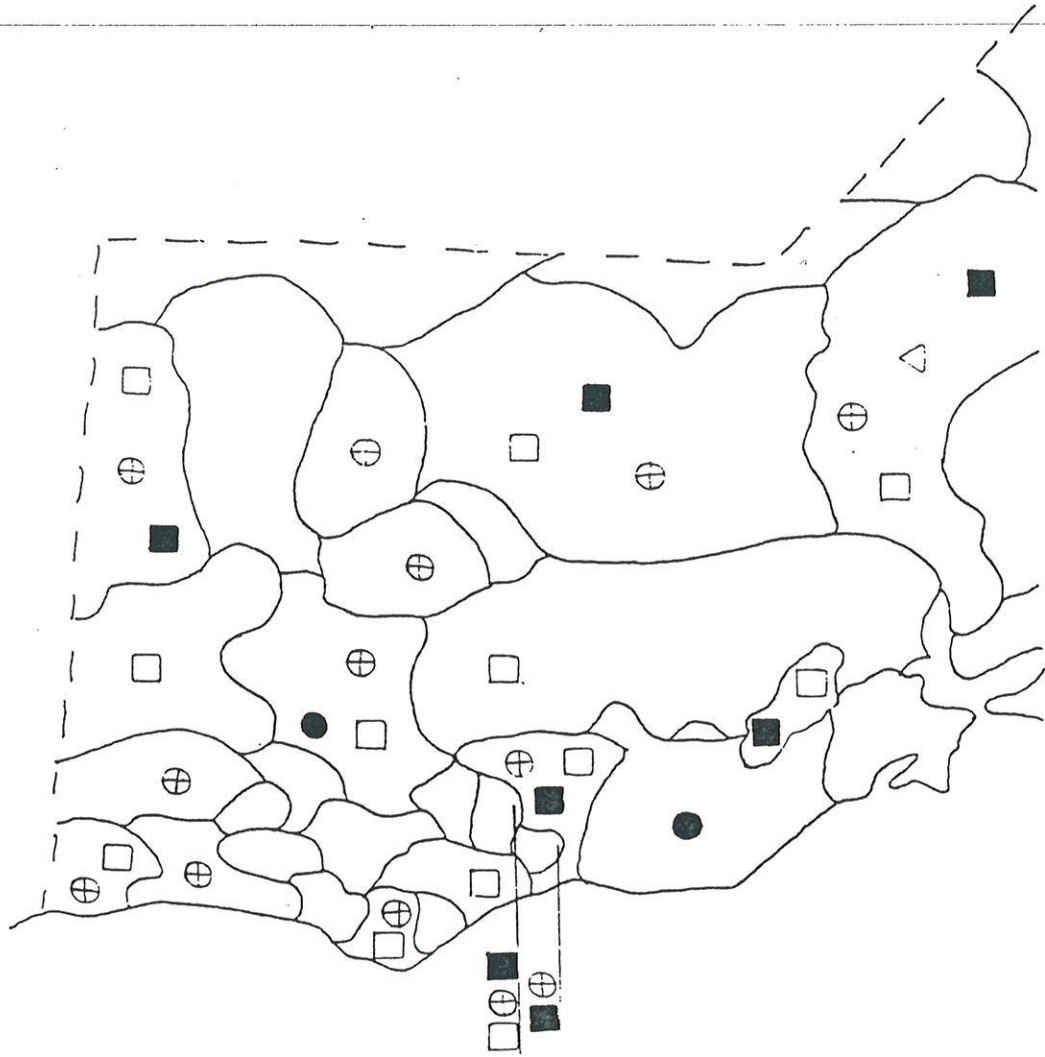


FIGURE 20
Facial Tattooing Distribution

SCALE: miles





SCALE: miles

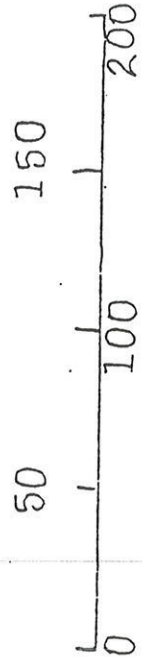
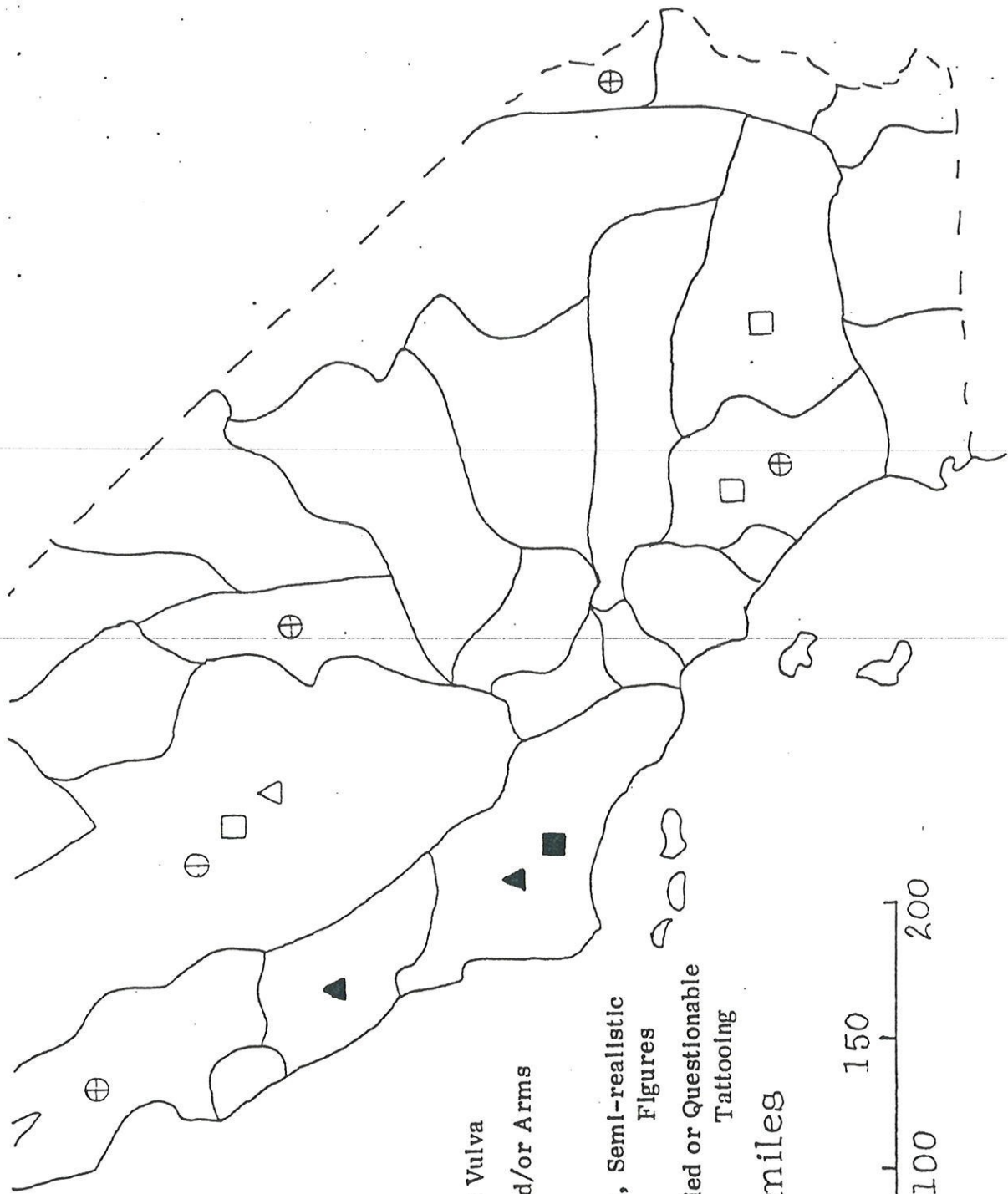


FIGURE 21
Parts of Body Tattooed



KEY

□ Torso

△ Women's Vulva

⊕ Hands and/or Arms

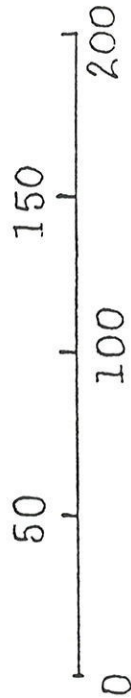
■ Legs

● Realistic, Semi-realistic

▲ Figures

▲ Unspecified or Questionable
Tattooing

SCALE: miles

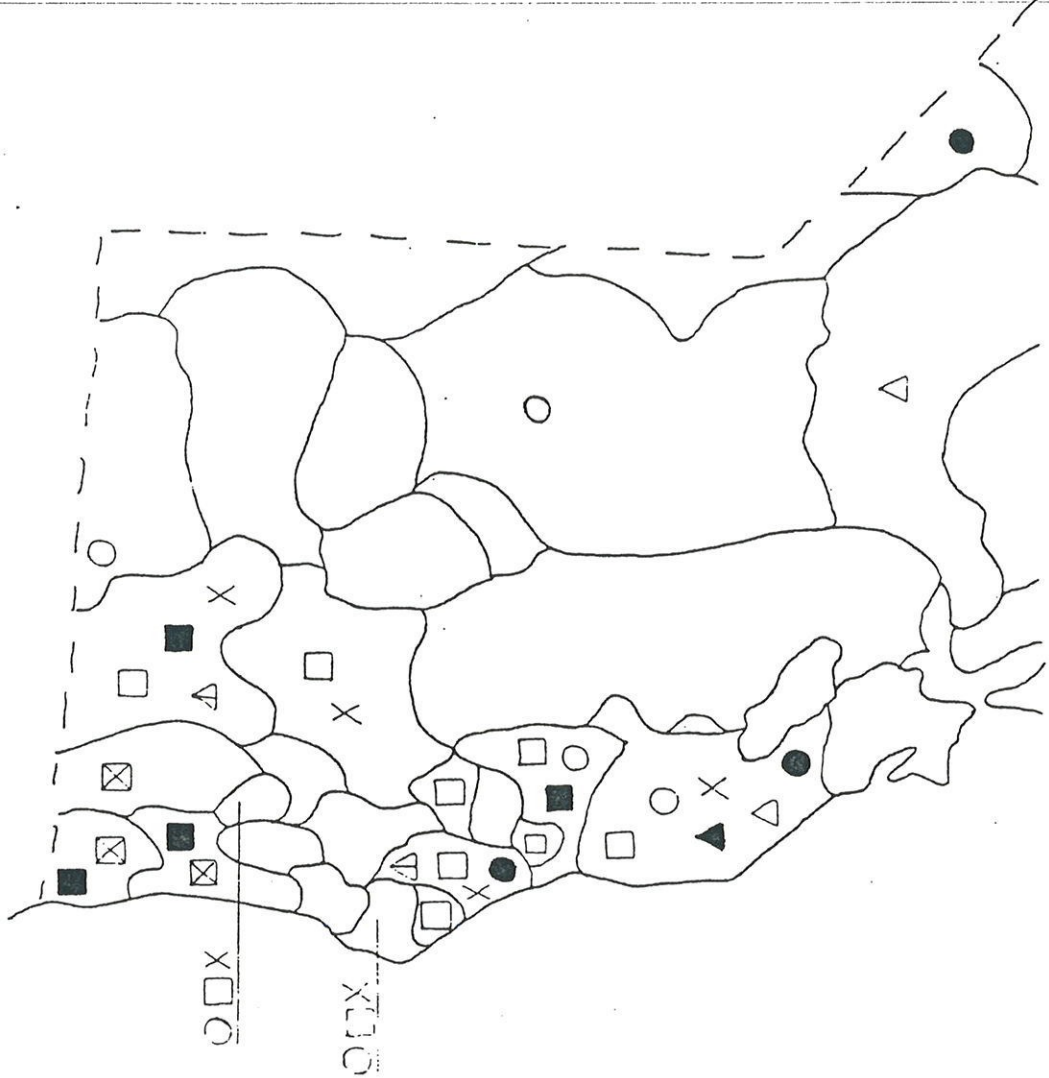


SCALE: miles



KEY

- Tribal identification or status
- △ Medical
- Simple decoration
- ⊕ To prevent or hide wrinkles
- ⊗ Differentiate men and women
- Spiritual
- △ Diffused into area with cult
- ⊗ To measure dentalla
- △ Associated with puberty rites
- X Done by a specialist



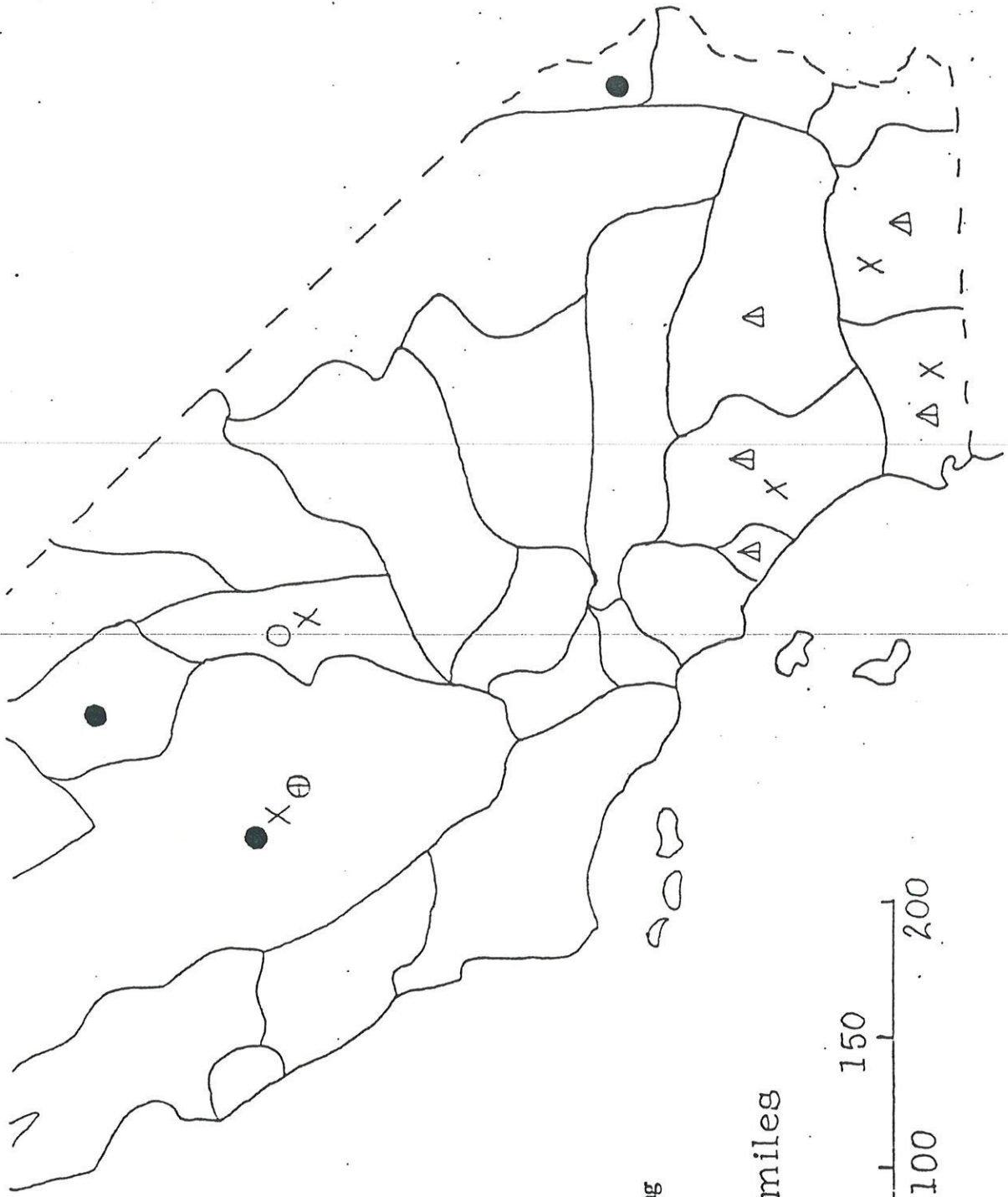
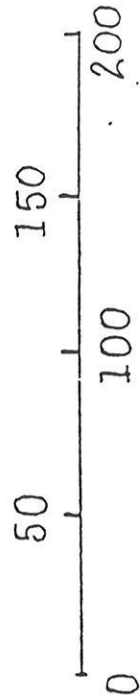


FIGURE 22
Reasons for Tattooing

SCALE: miles



	wide vertical	chin	narrow vertical	oblique on chin	wavy, zigzag on chin	spots, circle, squares/chin	vertical on cheeks	wavy, zigzag on cheeks	stepped lines on cheeks	horizontal lines/cheeks	spots, circle, squares/cheeks	lines on nose	spots on nose	lines on forehead	spots on forehead	on torso	on vulva	on arms, hands	on legs	unspecified	rep. pictures
Mattole	x										x				x						
Bear River			x		x									x				x			
Yuki			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			
Wappo			x							x								x	x		
Wiyot	x		x	x												x			x		
Klamath	x		x	x						x	x	x				x		x	x		
Modoc	x		x	x						x						x		x	x		

APPENDIX I: DESIGN ELEMENTS AND PLACEMENT ON BODY

	cut, then color	color, then cut	obsidian/other stone	bunch of pine needles	bone	cactus thorn	porcupine quill	oak gall soot	pitch or resin soot	wormwood soot	grass & pine pitch soot	manzanita charcoal	cottonwood charcoal	wild nutmeg charcoal	mesquite charcoal	willow charcoal	agave charcoal	soaproot charcoal
Klamath/Modoc	x		x															
Wintun/Patwin	x		x					x	x									
Miwok	x		x	x	x					x		x						
Yokuts	x		x	x	x							x						
Maidu	x		x											x				
Yuma	x					x									x			
Diegueno/	x					x							x		x	x		
Kamia																		
Mono	x			x														
Chemehuevi																		
Luiseno/Cahuilla	x					x												
Juaneno	x					x											x	
Pomo	x				x				x									x
Achomawi/Atsugewi	x	x	x		x		x											
Shasta	x		x									x						
Lassik			x															
Wappo		x			x													
Sinkyone	x				x													
Yuki	x		x		x				x		x							
Kato					x													
Hupa	x		x		x				x									
Karok																		
Bear River									x									
Tubatulabal		x				x												

APPENDIX II: TECHNIQUES AND MATERIALS

	tribal i. d.	group status	medical	just decoration	prevent wrinkling	make girls ugly to whitemen	sexual differentiation for happy afterlife	mark point of power on body	talisman/charm	diffused with cult	measure dentalla	girls puberty	boys puberty	girls/boys puberty	help grow children	punitive mark
Wintun	x	x														
Miwok			x													
Yokuts					x			x								
Diegueno/ Kamia												x				
Mohave							x									
Cahuilla												x				
Juaneno												x				
Luiseno														x		
Tubatulabal				x												
Pomo	x(N.)		x	x		x	x?			x						
Shasta		x					x					x				
Karok											x					
Wailaki																
Sinkyone	x								x			x				
Kato	x															
Lassik	x															
Tolowa							x				x				x	
Hupa		x		x							x					
Mattole	x?															x?
Bear River	x			x								x				
Yuki	x(N.)			x			x									
Yurok							x				x					
Klamath/ Modoc				x												
Maidu				x												

APPENDIX III: REASONS FOR TATTOOING,

paid specialist		
unpaid specialist		
done by anyone		
competition		

x

x?

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x?

x

x?

TATTOO PLACED IN CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

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