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A meaningful disturbance of the earth

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we provide an example of what we consider to be a productive archaeological collaboration between a State Agency and a Native American tribe that we believe has both theoretical and methodological implications. Our work implements and extends Hodder's reflexive method (1999) through the use of inclusivity, reciprocity and mutual respect. We describe how coupling our mutual regard for knowledge of the past with our respect for the spiritual significance of the Kashaya landscape necessarily led to the breaking down of boundaries between the scientific, the sacred and the personal. A 1997 excavation provides a case study of our collaborative process. We conclude by suggesting that the space between the usual oppositions of secular and sacred, science and religion, explanation and understanding, holds promise for Native Americans and archaeologists to participate with each other in non-dichotomous and mutually beneficial ways.

**KEYWORDS**

California ● ceremony ● collaboration ● hybrid methods ● inclusivity
● Kashaya Pomo ● mutual respect ● reciprocity

■ INTRODUCTION

Recent archaeological theory has highlighted the importance of multivocality and pluralism as a means of transforming archaeological practice. Shanks and Tilley (1987: 245), for example, have argued for a radical pluralism that recognizes that multiple pasts are actively produced by different ethnic, cultural, social and political perspectives. Hodder (1999: 160) regards multivocality as central to the interpretative project since dialogue between diverse perspectives on the past yields a 'morally and politically aware archaeology'. Nowhere are these issues foregrounded more completely than in collaborations between archaeologists and indigenous peoples. And yet, there have been very few well documented examples of mutually beneficial collaborations (but see Cohen and Swidler, 2000; Dongoske et al., 2000; Ferguson et al., 2000; Kluth and Munnell, 1997; Swidler et al., 1997). Documenting these kinds of studies, therefore, is crucial if the profession is to develop culturally appropriate methods in a new climate of respect.

In our article,¹ we provide an example of what we consider to be a productive archaeological collaboration between a State Agency and a Native American tribe that we believe has both theoretical and methodological implications. Specifically, we discuss the collaboration between the California Department of Transportation and the Kashaya Pomo tribe in a 1997 excavation of an archaeological site known as C^hiṭibida-qalli² (CA-SO-1661) on the Sonoma coast of California (Figures 1 and 2) and located in traditional Kashaya Pomo territory. This work simultaneously used two contrasting regulatory frameworks: the legal framework of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) as amended and the ceremonial framework of the Kashaya Pomo. Our commitment to intermingle the concerns of regulatory historic preservation and Kashaya Pomo cultural preservation motivated us to think and participate with each other in ways that were non-dichotomous. Not apart from this was our common goal of combining the processes used to conduct archaeology with those used to maintain the Kashaya Pomo cultural landscape. The result is a theme of inclusivity, reciprocity and mutual respect in our collaborative work that holds to the principles of shared authority and hybrid methods suggested by Hodder (1999, 2000, 2002: 5).

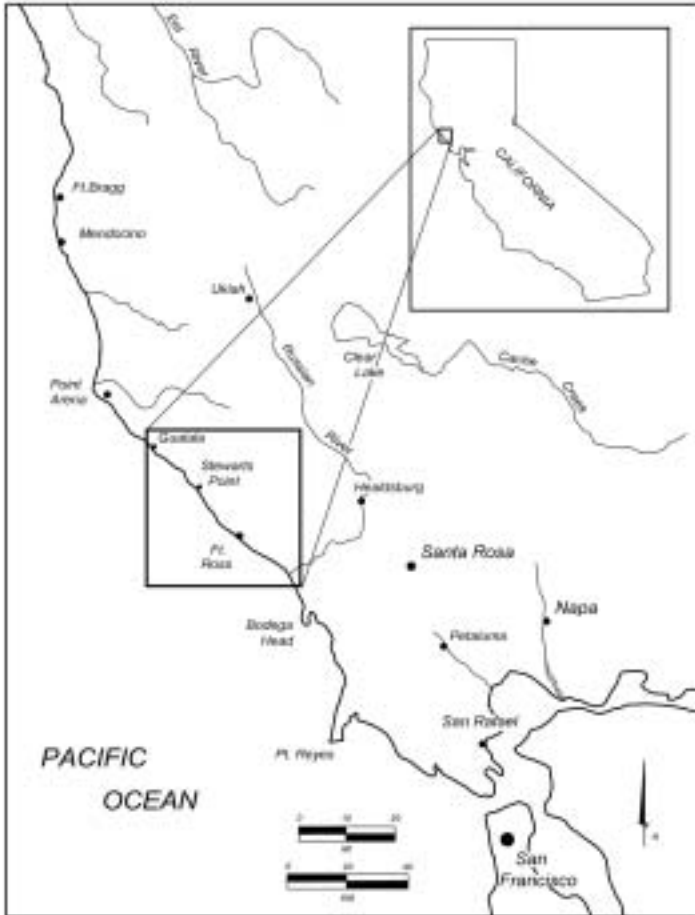


Figure 1 Project Area on the Sonoma Coast, California

■ RECENT COLLABORATIONS

Although collaborations between archaeologists and Native Americans are not new (see Downer, 1997), the nature of collaboration has dramatically changed in the past two decades due to three factors. The first of these is the impact of aspects of postprocessual archaeology upon North American archaeology. It is now commonplace to see discussions of agency, gender and identity that are structured by a new recognition that 'ethnographic variables' are not epiphenomenal, but rather a vital part of a holistic understanding of the past (see Pauketat, 2000; Shackel, 2000; Warburton and

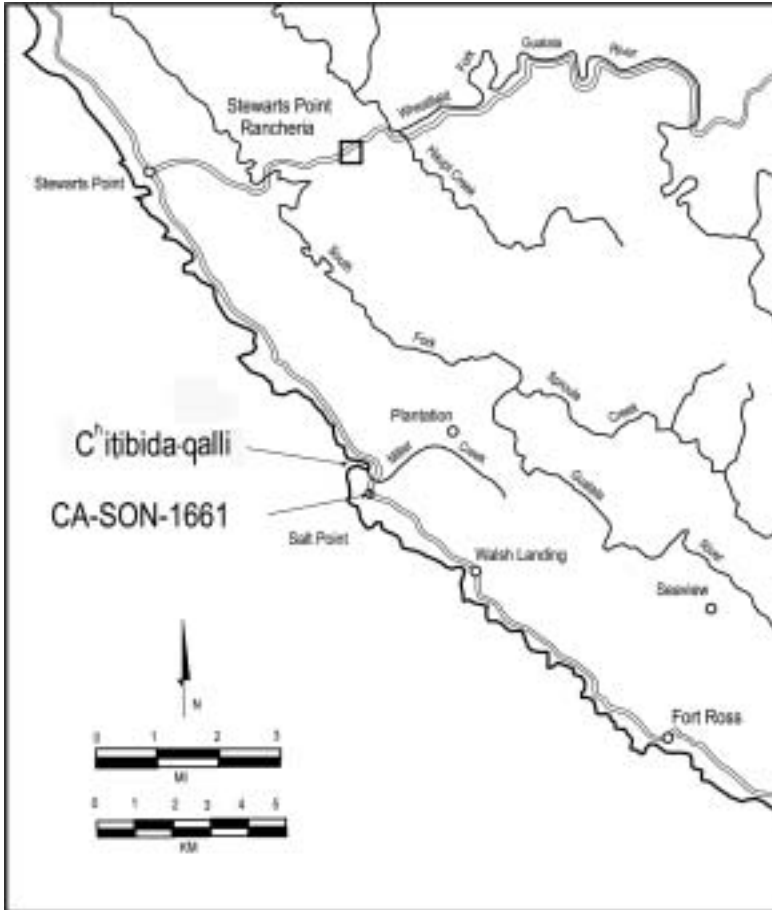


Figure 2 Locations of Ch'itibida-qalli and CA-SON-1661

Duke, 1995). These theoretical developments have inspired some archaeologists to initiate collaborations with native tribes. Lightfoot and Parrish (Lightfoot et al., 2001; Parrish et al., 2000) are currently pairing academic archaeology and Kashaya spiritual practices in the investigation of the Kashaya village known as Metini, at Fort Ross in California. Similarly, Preucel has been working closely with Cochiti Pueblo to understand the historical significance and ongoing meaning of their ancestral village known as Hanat Kotyiti, which was built and occupied immediately following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Preucel, 1998, 2000).

The second of these is the growing use of archaeology by Native peoples

themselves. In some cases, archaeologists have been hired on a consulting basis to meet tribal needs. In other cases, archaeological programs have been established, some of the best known being the programs at Hopi and the Navajo Nation. In both cases, the tribe is the employing body and thus in control of the shape and content of the research design. Ferguson et al. (2000) participated in the development of a mutually beneficial program using Hopi oral history and archaeology. As professional peers, Hopi tribal scholars and archaeologists respected each other's knowledge, values and beliefs and Hopi oral history and cultural knowledge furnished important elements of archaeological interpretations. In the same vein, Cohen and Swidler (2000) approached regulatory evaluations in a way that broke down barriers between archaeology, ethnography and Navajo tribal scholarship; and tribal scholars contributed to archaeological interpretations through their traditional and ceremonial expertise.

The third is the increasing political power of Native peoples as represented most clearly in the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. Many government agencies are now developing innovative programs of consultation and collaboration with Native tribes that build on and extend NAGPRA concerns. US Forest Service Archaeologist Terry Fifield collaborates with Alaskan tribes on many levels: oral history, research design, scientific study and regional planning (cited in Thomas, 2000: 268–76). Kluth and Munnell (1997) conducted regulatory projects on the Leech Lake Reservation in Minnesota that integrated the sacred and the scientific. Proper respect was paid to places that were spiritually significant to the Anishinabe through prayer, smudging, the offering of tobacco, alcohol abstention, immediate reburial of artifacts and remains and negotiating excavation unit locations.

As examples of successful partnerships between indigenous people and archaeologists continue to multiply, there is much that appears to be local, contingent and pluralistic. Though some successes have spawned methodological suggestions, it is difficult to see a unifying principal or theme at work. Certainly, many collaborations would benefit from answering White Deer's (1997: 43) call for interdisciplinary approaches that integrate both science and tribal traditions. Our own case study is one such example. Likewise, much can be gained from Zimmerman's (1997: 55) 'covenantal approach' where archaeological research questions and methods negotiate and support a mutually agreed upon agenda.

Wylie (2000: viii), in her overview of *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists*, located an underlying theme from which other themes developed: successful encounters were underlain by 'willingness on the part of the archaeologists involved to consider that there were other ways of knowing'. Many of the successes, then, appear to involve varieties of what Hodder (1999; 2000) calls 'non-dichotomous thinking' – the breaking down of boundaries and dichotomies. In his reflexive method,



Hodder states, 'if the boundaries around the discipline, site, team and author are broken down, then it cannot any longer be adequate to separate an objective past defined by archaeologists and a subjective past defined by non-archaeologists' (Hodder, 1999: 195–200; 2000: 3–10).

■ THE CHİTIBIDA•QALLI PROJECT

Kashaya Pomo history: The founding of the Kashaya Rancheria

The recent history of the Kashaya Pomo people is one of displacement and dispossession. The ancestors of the Kashaya Pomo had intimate contact with Russian colonizers during the period of the Fort Ross colony, from 1812 to 1841 (Kennedy, 1955: 4). After the Russian Period, the Kashaya spent more than 40 years residing on the private land of a friendly German-American, Charles Haupt, who had married a Kashaya woman. The tribe moved to the government-purchased Kashaya Rancheria in 1919, 4 miles inland from Stewart's Point. The religion, which provided the foundation for community life and group identity, was the Bole-Maru, an outgrowth of the 1870 Ghost Dance movement (Bean and Vane, 1978: 670; Kennedy, 1955: 4–5). Variations of the Ghost Dance movement, such as Bole Maru, persisted in areas where the Kuksu religion had been practiced (Bean and Vane, 1978: 670). In the Bole Maru religion, drinking, quarreling, stealing and disbelief are forbidden. The center-pole of the roundhouse (a structure used for ceremonial events) was a Kuksu symbol of the world's center and a path that connects humans to the creator. This meaning intensifies in the Bole Maru (Bean and Vane, 1978: 671).

The Annie Jarvis years (1912–1943)

The revival and reinterpretation of the native religious system was transformed by various degrees to fit a changing socioeconomic system. This was largely accomplished under the direction of native shamans (Bean and Vane, 1978: 670) or 'dreamers', including a notable Kashaya Pomo woman named Annie Jarvis (Kennedy, 1955: 5).

OP: Annie Jarvis was a conservative spiritual leader from 1912 to 1943. It was her belief that the Kashaya should turn inward and protect their culture from outside influences.

She banned gambling and drinking; forbade intermarriage with non-Indians; favored unions with the Central Pomo of Point Arena if suitable matches could not be made within the group; barred sending the children away to boarding school; and discouraged association with white people other than the minimum necessary in the course of work (Oswalt, 1964: 5).



Figure 3 Essie Parrish posing for her self-named portrait: 'I Stand on the Rock of Truth', in the Kashaya Roundhouse at Stewart's Point, 1963. Courtesy of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California, 15–19036

A sign of Annie Jarvis's exclusivity is a lack of anthropological publications from her era.

The Essie Parrish years (1941–1979)

OP: My mother, Essie Parrish (Figure 3), was the successor to Annie Jarvis and a more liberal spiritual leader. During her tenure from 1941 to



Figure 4 Julia Maruffo, Essie Parrish and Merlene Maruffo James posing for movie on dances, in front of the Kashaya Roundhouse at Stewart's Point, 1963. Courtesy of the private archives of William R. Heike

1979 she felt that academia's interest in and tools for cultural preservation would facilitate Kashaya tribal preservation. Volumes of anthropological monographs, audiotapes and movie film exist from her era (e.g. Barrett, 1952; Bean, 1968; Bean and Vane, 1978; Goodrich, 1974; Goodrich et al., 1980; Lawson and Parrish Lawson, 1976; Kennedy, 1955; Peri, 1987; Peri et al., 1964; Oswalt, 1957, 1964, 1975).

Although more socially permissive than Annie Jarvis, Essie Parrish maintained traditional laws and taboos. She was adamantly opposed to the reconstruction of a Kashaya roundhouse (Figure 4) and a Kashaya village at a state park within the tribe's ethnographic territory. She felt that reconstruction should not be attempted, because no one but a spiritual leader had the knowledge of the complicated ceremonial processes that made up the rituals.

In order for a roundhouse to be built, it first had to come in a dream to a healer. In the dream, the person would get instructions about how to build the structure as well as instructions for each part

of the building and the meanings of its parts. Instructions for the accompanying rituals and ceremonies would also be given in dreams. New songs, dances and regalia were given in the dreams, each specific to a certain ceremony.

Similar procedures for planning a village would also have to be followed. Village sites must be built on land that is free of any negative spiritual forces. In order to cleanse the land, special cleansing ceremonies had to be conducted. Another set of ceremonies had to be performed while the construction was carried out. Furthermore, a roundhouse, even a reconstructed one, requires a full-time spiritual leader to maintain it. Because my mother was already the spiritual leader for the roundhouse on the Kashaya reservation, she was unable to serve a reconstructed roundhouse.

Essie Parrish was also opposed to the study and disturbance of sacred sites through archaeology because such activity could bring harm to all Kashaya people who participated.

After Essie Parrish (1979 – Present)

OP: It is common for succeeding spiritual leaders to show themselves to the active leader through dreams and revelations. In the absence of a new spiritual leader, instructions are left with the tribe by the spiritual leader regarding tribal maintenance through sacred laws, rituals and taboos. No one showed the signs of spiritual leadership during the Essie Parrish tenure.

The instructions she left with us to follow after her death were that sacred laws and taboos should not be broken. Upon her death, there would no longer be a Roundhouse Dreamer. The roundhouse should remain unused until such time that a new spiritual leader could maintain it. Because the Kashaya no longer would have a spiritual leader, they would not have the special ceremonies and rituals for the use of the roundhouse.

With regard to a reconstructed roundhouse and village, her instructions were that at some time in the future when the Kashaya people have lost the knowledge of their language, ceremonies and history, then the study and reconstruction of a roundhouse and village could be attempted with the guidance of a new spiritual leader. Furthermore, it would be imperative that the spiritual leader would have the authority to maintain the roundhouse in a traditional manner once it was built.

It was her feeling that the current generation of elders would have a tremendous responsibility. It would be up to us to make intelligent decisions within the parameters of sacred laws and taboos about what would be in the best interest of the tribe.



Following mother's position, we, the Parrish family, feel that if the world knows about the Kashaya people, our future as a tribe is best protected. Although our mother was opposed to archaeology, she also left us with rituals that are designed to mitigate negative effects. At this point we feel that, although archaeology has always been taboo, with the proper ceremonies it may be useful because archaeologists write about our history and by getting our history in print, we are more visible to the world.

■ PRINCIPLES OF COLLABORATION

KMD: The Parrish family and I have been working together intermittently within a legally mandated archaeological context since 1988. In this context, our work together includes wages for all persons involved and our roles are that of archaeologist and Native American consultants. At other times, we work together on volunteer projects and no one receives wages. It was during volunteer work in the early 1990s, particularly during my thesis excavations on eroding sites and our later collaboration on a joint interpretive program, that we were able to develop our own methods based on inclusivity, reciprocity and collaboration. In 1995, we agreed to apply our hybrid methods to archaeological projects that we worked on within a legally mandated context.

Inclusivity

By inclusivity we mean devising a collaboration where goals and methods of both the Kashaya people and the archaeologists are given equal attention in the archaeological process. Although coming from different sets of assumptions and worldviews, we feel that our goals and methods are to some degree compatible and we include both sets when conducting archaeological work. Kashaya goals include preserving Kashaya tribal culture and history for future generations, group cohesiveness and teaching the world about the tribe. Kashaya methods include dreams, ceremonies (Figure 5), visiting, consensus building and observing *k^hela* rules. Archaeological goals include contributing to understandings of various human histories and to understandings of the local archaeology. Where a Federal project is involved, archaeological goals also include taking into account the effects of Federal undertakings on historic properties through Section 106 compliance (36 CFR 800.1[a]). Archaeological methods include written documentation, meetings, archival research, survey, excavation, analysis and interpretation.

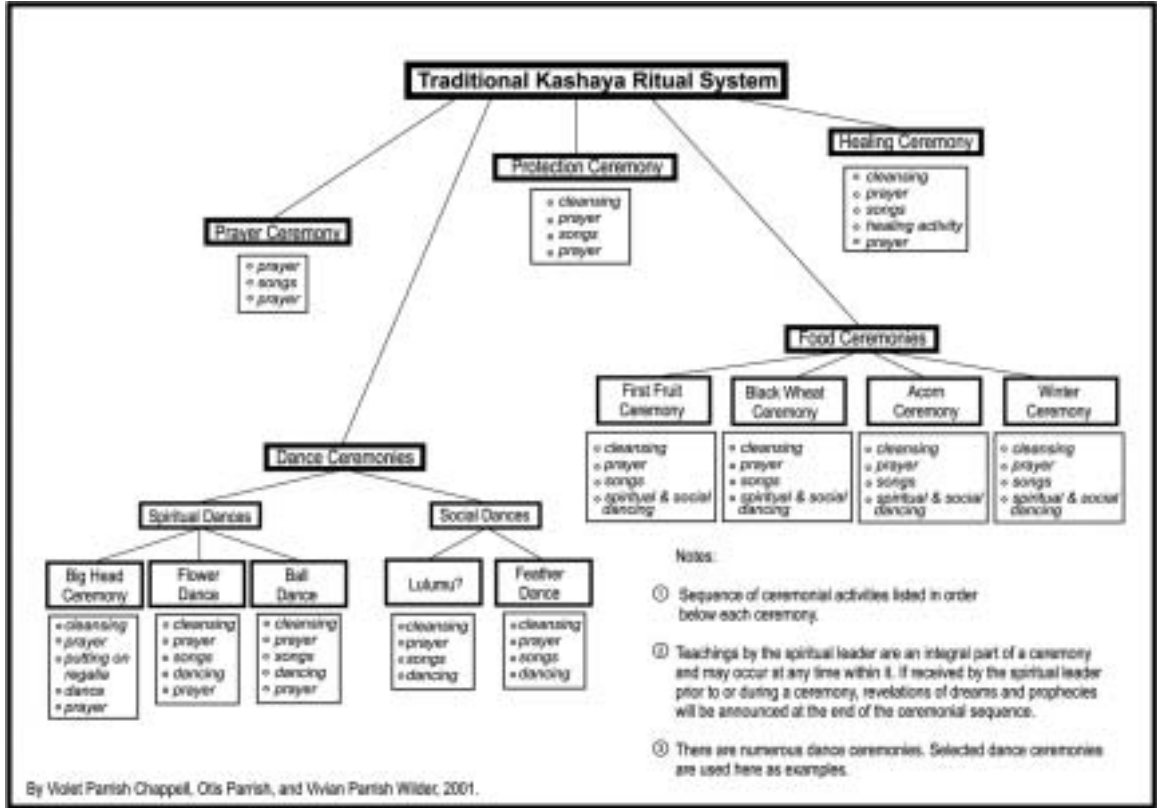


Figure 5 Kashaya Ritual System



Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a traditional Kashaya method of conducting business and often involves the concept of sacrifice. Reciprocity can be defined as accountability to each other over the long term that involves various givings and receivings. It is a relational practice and part of Kashaya law. The use of reciprocity creates the need for value equivalencies in some elements of our work.

From a Kashaya point of view, the giving of knowledge requires a sacrifice from those who are receiving it. Financial compensation for that knowledge is one possible sacrifice. The payment for Native American consultation has varied widely throughout California and among agencies (K. McBride, 1997 personal communication). In an inclusive context where financial compensation is being exchanged for traditional knowledge, it is essential that professional economic value be assigned to tribal expertise.

KMD: Along with other archaeologists, I lobbied for and was granted Department budgets that pay tribal scholars as professional subject specialists who are compensated for their time and expertise accordingly.

Mutual respect

The first step towards achieving mutual respect lies in treating each other's work as having legitimate social value and in assisting each other in meeting our respective goals. This form of reciprocity holds the participants to an agreement and has been stated as follows (V. Parrish Chappell, 2001, personal communication):

We follow Kashaya law as well as the law of the land and we are both true in our endeavors. We know each other's goals and seek to help each other with those goals as well as seeking our own. We learn from each other and together we participate in a meaningful disturbance of the earth through archaeology.

Process and product

The Kashaya emphasize the successful process of conducting business whereas the Department of Transportation emphasizes successful project delivery. Here the Kashaya position is the more holistic, since for them how business is conducted is as important as its outcome. Valuing the process as defined by the Kashaya is the foundation of our collaboration and the most labor-intensive element of our work. Many meetings, other communications and document edits are necessary to ensure that the final product reflects the views, intentions and interests of all participants. Although we seek to meet project deadlines and thus far have met them all, the collaborative process has never been circumvented for a deadline.

■ KASHAYA GOALS

Kashaya goals include group cohesiveness, preserving tribal culture and history for future generations and teaching the world about the tribe. Essie Parrish taught the importance of working with academic scholars as part of this effort. Currently, her children are the tribal elders and it is their responsibility to train the next generation in tribal scholarship and interfacing with academic scholars.

OP: Our mother prophesied that the world would one day know the Kashaya people. The Internet (e.g. www.kashaya.homestead.com; www.mcn.org/ed/ross/gv.htm), passing on our mother's teachings to the younger generation, working with anthropologists and archaeologists and collaborative publications such as this one, contribute to the fulfillment of her prophecy.

■ THE KASHAYA WORLDVIEW

Dreams and ceremonies

The Kashaya worldview holds that there are things of the earth and things of the spirit. Things of the earth are physical, they can be seen. Things of the spirit are not physical and thus cannot be seen. Kashaya methods of the spirit, such as dreams and ceremonies (Figure 5) are used to conduct business in a way that keeps things of the earth in balance. Ritual is the framework within which segments are interpreted as ceremonials. Kashaya ceremonies themselves contain components that are sequentially ordered in such a way that activities are in a prescribed manner governed by rules at different intervals which are specific to the purpose of sustainability (Parrish, 1997: 1).

Essie Parrish's guidance is still received by the tribal scholars. Dreams are how Kashaya individuals receive guidance. Prayer ceremonies (Figure 5) are used for receiving guidance in a group. In our work together, tribal scholars use dreams and prayer ceremonies for gathering information on how to proceed with project-related issues.

OP: Prayer ceremonies are based on two themes – protection and healing. A prayer ceremony will be initiated by a request and the offering of payment. The request will determine what kind of prayer ceremony there should be (e.g. safe traveling, alleviation of sickness, alleviation of a broken heart, alleviation of poisoning). Even though it is one of the themes of all ceremonies, protection is a common request as well. The protection ceremony (Figure 5), is of primary importance to the



Kashaya. It is within a protection ceremony that potential hazards can best be controlled, dangerous outcomes can be mitigated and positive influences can have their strongest effect.

Visiting and consensus building

KMD: According to V. Parrish Chappell (1997 pers. com.), initially visiting allows the Kashaya to determine if someone is trustworthy. After rapport has been established, visiting is the respectful way to conduct business. Beginning in 1988 with letters and intermittent meetings, we have been establishing a rapport through CRM projects (e.g. Dowdall, 1988; 1993; 1997; 2001; Parrish, 1996); a volunteer project (Dowdall et al., in press) and professional papers (e.g. Dowdall, 1995; Dowdall and Parrish, 2001; Parrish et al., 2000).

Since 1995, approximately once each month, I have been going to the home of Kashaya elder Violet Parrish Chappell and meeting with Violet and another elder, Vivian Parrish Wilder. We found that the continuity of monthly meetings is essential for maintaining rapport. In the initial years that we worked together and prior to developing our collaborative approach, I voluntarily reported my activities to the Parrish family as representatives of the Kashaya Pomo. This manner of Native American involvement in archaeology was established as early as 1967 by Dave Fredrickson, a previous professor of both authors.

My early CRM reports and some of our later collaborations have been voluntary and the Kashaya consider the volunteering of my time to be a type of sacrifice. In more recent times, our established rapport has, at times, focused on project-related business for the Department and these visits include payment to all participants. The Kashaya interpret financial compensation as a sacrifice by the Department.

A visit starts with lunch. It is customary for someone visiting elders to show respect by bringing lunch, which I do. The tribal scholars often share Kashaya foods such as pinole, fried seaweed, or bay nut meal. Gift exchange is commonplace. I often bring gifts such as wheat berries for pinole, potted herbs for cooking, and artwork. The tribal scholars give gifts of artwork such as beaded friendship necklaces and, in one instance, a small 'tort' basket that Violet Parrish Chappell made for my mother. After visiting, project-related work takes place for several hours. As is customary with the Kashaya, at the end of visiting, the remaining food is always left with the hosts as a gift.

Consensus building supports the Kashaya goal of group cohesiveness. Consensus building entails the presentation of an idea by one of the tribal scholars or me, or perhaps brainstorming, during a visit. This is followed by presentation of the idea to members of the extended Parrish family with requests for feedback. Feedback is discussed at the next scheduled monthly meeting.

K^hela rules

The Kashaya have traditionally ritualized the female menstrual cycle through k^hela rules. Although commonly cited in California ethnographies (Barrett, 1952: 389–94; Blackburn and Bean, 1978: 565; Bright, 1978: 184, 186; Buckley, 1982: 47–60; Elsasser, 1978: 196; Goldschmidt, 1978: 343, 346; Johnson, 1978: 366; Kelly, 1978: 421; Kelly, 1991: 497; Lapena, 1978: 328; Levy, 1978: 409; Loeb, 1926: 271–4; Sawyer, 1978: 259; Silver, 1978: 209, 215; Spier, 1978: 432; E. Wallace, 1978: 688; W. Wallace, 1978: 172; Wilson and Towne, 1978: 392) and an integral part of traditional Kashaya culture, menstrual cycle ritualization involves behavior that is unlike that of contemporary American culture.

At menarche, a young girl is sequestered for 4 days and nights and tended by her family (see Parrish, 1976). All her clothes are given away and she is given new ones to mark the beginning of a new era in her life (V. Parrish Chappell, 2000, pers. comm.).

Throughout a woman's reproductive life she was traditionally secluded in a family menstrual structure. In most recent times, she may be secluded in her home. If married, her husband will be considered k^hela as well and may be secluded with her. The couple will have strict taboos limiting their behavior during this time. Among many restrictions, they may not prepare or gather food, hunt or go near water. Other family members may prepare their meals and tend to them during k^hela. Because k^hela is 'of the earth' and incompatible with things 'of the spirit', they must avoid talking about or participating in things of a sacred or ceremonial nature. It is a strong belief that great harm may come to the couple, their family and the entire tribe if they do not abide by k^hela rules.

At menopause a woman's kitchen equipment may be replaced, depending on the opinion of the spiritual leader. This decision is based on whether the kitchen equipment had been touched by a woman who was k^hela. If new kitchen equipment is not affordable, it may be boiled in water with blessed angelica root as an alternative way of cleansing. Food prepared while k^hela (i.e. k^hela food) results in stomach ailments, particularly among men and boys (V. Parrish Chappell, 2000, pers. comm.). Menopause gives an opportunity for ridding a house of k^hela-tainted objects if needed.

At the transition to menopause, women come into their full social and



spiritual power and can devote themselves to duties in these realms. Although there have customarily been female spiritual leaders in the tribe, they did not gain their full status until menopause. It is only when they are free of earthly duties, such as *k^hela* and child rearing, that women can devote themselves fully to tribal leadership and mediation between the spirit world and the tribe.

At the end of a woman's life, everything was traditionally burned and broken (as was the case upon Annie Jarvis' death). Now everything is redistributed within the extended family (as was the case with Essie Parrish). This signifies the transition from physical human being to being part of the spirit realm (V. Parrish Chappell, 2000, pers. comm.).

In the absence of a usable roundhouse, V. Parrish Chappell's home is the only permanently *k^hela*-free environment on the Kashaya reservation. For the Kashaya, all rituals, teaching, tribal history and anything to do with people of the past are 'of the spirit' and should be discussed in a *k^hela*-free environment. These topics are commonly discussed by archaeologists and traditional people.

KMD: The Parrish family asked me if I would be willing to honor *k^hela* rules when working with them. *Honoring* *k^hela* rules is much less complicated than *following* *k^hela* rules and entails abstaining from the following activities while menstruating: talking about things of a spiritual nature; being within proximity of Kashaya elders; and surveying or excavating Native American archaeological sites within traditional Kashaya territory. If a man were in my position, he would have been asked to honor *k^hela* rules when his spouse was menstruating. I agreed to honor *k^hela* rules.

■ DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION GOALS

The purpose of Section 106 (Figure 6) is to guide Federal agencies in meeting their statutory responsibilities to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties (36 CFR 800.1[a]). An undertaking is defined as a project, activity, or program that has direct or indirect Federal jurisdiction (e.g. it is being conducted by or on behalf of a Federal agency, it requires Federal assistance or permits, or involves Federal land).

The documentation of department business and meetings

KMD: Meeting minutes, summaries, records of conversation, budget tracking and progress reports are all used to document an appropriate use of funds, time and resources to the agency that is

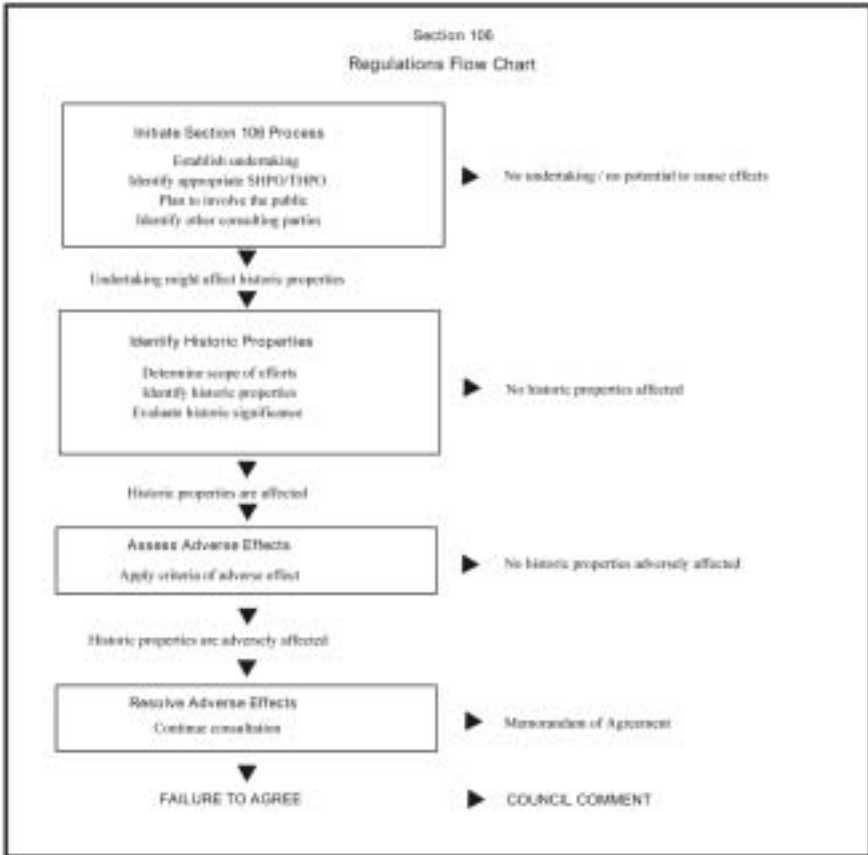


Figure 6 Section 106 Process
(abstracted from www.achp.gov/regflow.html)

providing financial sponsorship and/or permits. I also make these documents available for review by the tribal scholars at our monthly meetings.

Meetings with the Kashaya customarily include defining project objectives and participant roles, setting goals, project planning and scheduling. Meetings have been incorporated into visiting. We communicate via telephones and e-mail between visits. We initially tried to tape our meetings in order to develop a library of interviews with the Kashaya tribal scholars. The idea was that the tape library would serve several functions: (1) it would be used by the Kashaya for the education of future generations; (2) it would be a database from which to generate various co-authored documents; and (3) it would be a tangible product demonstrating that fundable



work occurred at our meetings in cases where there was financial support. However, using the tape recordings as a potential product made the tribal scholars uncomfortable. Knowing copies of the tapes could be made for the Department to use at its own discretion made it very difficult for the tribal scholars to disclose tribal information. As a result, general tape recording was abandoned and tape recording is only used for prearranged specific purposes. For example, a previously arranged topical interview (e.g. Kashaya place names) may be conducted to ensure accuracy in the evaluation of a cultural property. Note taking during visits is the only regular documentation that occurs at meetings.

Identification and evaluation of historic properties

The Department procedure involves identifying an Area of Potential Effects (APE) and consultation. An APE is established to determine the boundaries of the area within which a proposed project might affect, directly or indirectly, any historic properties. This usually includes the State right of way; all proposed easements; material borrow or disposal sites; and haul roads (*Caltrans Environmental Handbook*, Vol. 2, 1991: 2–10).

Next, the consultation process begins. Native American consultation consists of formal Department contact by letter with the Native American Heritage Commission and the Kashaya Pomo Tribal Chairperson. The role of the Department is as the designee of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) in a government to government relationship with the Kashaya Pomo Tribal Council.

For the purposes of government to government consultation (as opposed to consultation regarding cultural and historical information), tribal elders who are not tribal council members only have the right to be involved in this part of the process as 'interested parties'. This is the same right given to all interested US citizens. For the purposes of government to government consultation, Otis Parrish, as the Tribal Vice-Chair and Cultural Resources Liaison, has made Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Parrish Wilder his designees.

KMD: This gives Violet and Vivian *the legal authority*, as agents of the Tribal Council, to consult with me (as an agent of the Department) on proposed Department projects in Kashaya territory.

As part of historic property identification, a record search is conducted to identify previously recorded cultural resources located within or adjacent to the project APE. The record search includes review of all pertinent records, documents and historic maps on file at the Northwest Information Center of the California Historic Resources Information System. In addition, local libraries and historical societies are consulted and oral interviews are conducted with people who have local historical and

cultural knowledge. In this capacity, the Kashaya tribal scholars are consulted.

Next, an archaeological survey is generally conducted on-foot to locate cultural resources through visible remains on the ground surface. There have been few logistical problems using our collaborative approach for surveys because the Departments' supervisors customarily allow archaeologists professional autonomy.

KMD: The archaeologists in my unit are assigned projects independently of one another and we each routinely work alone. When I need the assistance of another archaeologist, I work with my colleague from Sonoma State University, Nelson B. (Scotty) Thompson, who shares my inclusive philosophy.

When an archaeological site cannot be avoided, it is evaluated for its significance as an historic property. An evaluation is often, but not always, accomplished through excavation. Analysis of site constituents and contexts and the interpretation of their meanings as a collective whole, constitute site evaluation. This process is codified in the regulatory framework of 36 CFR Section 800.4(c) of the National Historic Preservation Act.

■ EXCAVATION AT C^hİTİBIDA•QALLI (CA-SON-1661)

In 1997, the archaeological site CA-SON-1661 was impacted by highway construction and the Department required an excavation for evaluation of the site's significance. In traditional Kashaya territory there are over 130 recorded Native American archaeological sites (Bramlette, 1990: 4) and in excess of 72 recorded places with Kashaya names (Parrish, 1996). CA-SON-1661 is considered by the Kashaya to be part of a traditional use area called C^hİtibida•qalli. Essie Parrish, in her interview with William Pritchard (1970: 18–19), states:

Stump Beach was known as 'Mo-su-da-mo Kale'. This is the spot where the Indian people came to pick seaweed. The cove had the best seaweed. They dry them and then cook them crispy in grease and eat them with corn mush. This constituted a meal. They came here (Stump Beach) and stayed and picked as much as they wanted – for the whole winter supply and they could be camping one or two weeks at a time. They had to dry it and pack it in storage baskets and they could have been camped around two or three weeks at a time about sixty years ago. They still do it, but not like the ancient time. Adjacent Miller Creek is 'Chitibeedakia' all the way up and back down to the ocean and our old people say that this used to be a salmon creek, long time ago. Salmon came up in here. I don't know how many years ago they



used to catch salmon. This was great spot for Indian people to get seaweeds, abalones and for fish – ocean fish – and for salmon. This water here in the creek was used to soak acorns. This spot meant something to them.

According to Violet Parrish Chappell (1997, pers. comm.), the entire area of use, all the plants, animals, rocks and archaeological sites – everything, is part of C^hiṭibida•qalli.

From a regulatory archaeological perspective, it is the potential impacts to an archaeological site that need to be mitigated. From a Kashaya perspective, *it is the spiritual danger created by archaeological activities that needs mitigation*. Excavating locations of past human events brings great risk of upsetting the balance between things of the spirit and things of the earth. Furthermore, items may belong to past poisoners and their negative power could have an impact on people of today. The tribal scholars indicated that because archaeological excavation is ‘of the spirit’ as well as being very dangerous, it is best conducted within a ceremonial context. Historically, because their mitigation measures have not been given a place in the archaeological process, the Kashaya have participated in intensive pre-field ceremonies, evening ceremonies and covert on-site ceremonies, during an excavation while serving as Native American consultants and monitors.

We agreed that the excavation of CA-SON-1661 would include Kashaya mitigation measures and therefore would be conducted within a Kashaya ceremonial context. Plans were made to incorporate Kashaya prayer and protection ceremonies into the archaeological process. Special emphasis was given to planning the containment of archaeological field procedures within a Kashaya protection ceremony (Figure 5). Ceremonies are strictly ‘of the spirit’ and it was imperative that things ‘of the earth’ be removed from the ceremonial context. Thus, it was necessary that the entire crew honor k^hela rules in order to create a constant ceremonial presence.

The excavation also had to fulfill legal responsibilities under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) as amended. The tribal scholars were in full support of ensuring that legal responsibilities were met. Several pre-field planning meetings with the tribal scholars followed. In the meetings, legal, archaeological and Kashaya ceremonial needs were clarified.

KMD: In order to incorporate Kashaya ceremonial procedures into the excavation, I investigated legal issues, such as civil and privacy rights of State employees with respect to honoring k^hela rules and then included the results in the project research design (Dowdall, 1997: 37–8). After legal discussions with the Department Headquarters Union Steward, it was determined that there was no legal reason not to honor k^hela rules during the excavation. Legally, no term or condition of employment was being set (i.e. no one would

lose their job if they did not participate). Precedent to take culturally specific requests into account had been set (e.g. State employees have been asked to remove their shoes prior to conducting work in mosques). Such precedent had also been set in Native American/archaeologist interactions elsewhere in the state of California (e.g. Milton Marx of the Yurok tribe requested that archaeologists working on inland sites not eat salmon since it was a coastal food) (L. Weigel, 1997, pers. comm.). Conversations with the Department Headquarters Native American Coordinator and archaeologists from three other Department districts supported honoring *k^hela* rules as a culturally specific request.

K^hela rules would affect crew members who were, or were married to, reproductive females. Individuals were considered *k^hela* if they were menstruating or married to someone who was. Marriage was defined as living with someone who was a sexual partner. It was agreed that when crew members or Native American consultant trainees were *k^hela*, they would work in the off-site field lab.

Logistically, the off-site field lab was located at the archaeological base camp 2 miles away from the excavation. Since honoring *k^hela* rules created an element of unpredictability regarding field crew size, we assumed that at any one time there might be a large lab crew. A full field lab was planned including all necessary technical equipment to conduct tasks up to and including a computerized catalog. Menstruating women and/or the partners of menstruating women worked in the field lab for as long as necessary. Violet Parrish Chappell (1997, pers. comm.) considered this to be a satisfactory solution.

OP: As part of our pre-field planning, the Parrish family held a prayer ceremony for four consecutive nights prior to the excavation. With the information we received from Kathy regarding her in-progress pre-field research, we also prayed that the California Department of Transportation chain of command and the archaeological field crew would be understanding of our ways.

KMD: The first three archaeologists who were asked to be field crew refused to participate, because they felt honoring *k^hela* rules was an infringement on their privacy. All were married men and my office colleagues. Although they all said no, there was great diversity in their responses. On one end of the spectrum, one of them exclaimed, 'Isn't anything sacred anymore?!' On the other end, another changed his mind over the course of the day, citing a conviction to being inclusive. In a recent interview he pointed out:



As a member of our culture I have an automatic repulsion regarding infringements on my personal privacy and hygiene. However, I have also been actively supporting Native American rights for a long time. I think being in the office setting played a part. I do think that I was momentarily surprised by the question, but I was also surprised by my own behavior. The experience taught me a lot about who I am in different situations and I reflect on it still. (M. Hylkema, 2002, pers. comm.)

Having gained one crew member from my office, I continued to assemble a crew from the local archaeological community. A legally unmarried woman (though she was considered married by Kashaya criteria) was comfortable enough to participate and honor *k^hela* rules but, citing feminism, was still not at ease. The same held true for a married couple that cited privacy rights as the issue. The husband in this couple voiced further discomfort honoring a request that involved a religious point of view. Four crew members were single men and were not affected by *k^hela* rules. Two did not offer an opinion on the issue but cited needing the work as their reason for agreeing to be crew. The other two held convictions of being inclusive. Finally, a couple and an unmarried woman held convictions of being inclusive and honoring *k^hela* rules. A sentiment shared by some crew members was stated as follows: 'For some of us this is basic anthropology. We are, in essence, working in another country under a minor restriction' (J. Loyd, 1997, pers. comm.). It took approximately 1 week to assemble a crew of 11 willing participants.

Safety meeting

The fieldwork began with a safety meeting. First, Cal/OSHA regulations and field protocol were covered by the project safety officer. Next, Violet Parrish Chappell explained safety measures within a Kashaya context. She described *k^hela* rules and how the tribe would be protected from harm by archaeologists honoring *k^hela* rules while participating in 'things of the spirit' and thanked the crew for their participation.

Violet Parrish Chappell indicated that, additionally, the Kashaya were not to touch artifacts because it was unknown who they belonged to in the past. If artifacts belonged to poisoners, they would still contain negative power dangerous to the Kashaya. Archaeologists were asked to respect this request when showing artifacts to the Kashaya during the excavation.

As part of Kashaya safety measures, Violet Parrish Chappell prayed in Kashaya for the well being of the excavation participants and the success of the excavation. She finished by throwing bread in the four directions as a sacrifice to the earth and the archaeological excavation began.

Native American Consultant training

There were two Native American Consultant trainees understudying with Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Parrish Wilder. These were Violet Wilder and Mary Ann Parrish, both of whom have a strong interest in their tribal history and archaeology.

All three tribal scholars stated that it was a high priority that their younger generation (who were between approximately 25 and 40 years of age) receive training regarding proper traditional conduct on archaeological sites and successful interfacing with academic scholars. The trainees would work directly under the tribal scholars and, if the tribal scholars thought it appropriate, would also receive archaeological training.

On several occasions in the past, there have been Native American Consultant trainees on archaeological excavations in the San Francisco Bay Area. However, Violet Parrish Chappell pointed out that it was difficult to get them to commit when they had to leave work and volunteer or get paid minimum wages to participate. She requested that Native American Consultant trainees be paid a stipend that would not financially penalize them. In response to this request, the Native American Consultant trainees were paid 50% of the tribal scholars' professional stipends.

Excavation fieldwork

Since CA-SON-1661 was a lithic scatter, the archaeological team used excavation methods appropriate for this site type in this region. Surface transect units were used to determine horizontal patterning and site boundaries. Vertical units were used to determine vertical patterning and locate archaeological features. A 3 mm dry mesh was used for collecting artifactual remains including lithic flaking debris in a region that has a very modest amount of lithics, most of which range between 6 mm and 3 mm in size (Dowdall, 1995). Arbitrary 10 cm levels were used since there was no obvious vertical stratigraphy and routine flotation samples were taken.

Initially, the Native American Consultant trainees conducted dry screening with gloves. The tribal scholars considered this to be a safe activity since the trainees were not directly involved in excavating site soil and their hands were protected from touching any artifacts. Midway into the excavation two of the tribal scholars and both trainees developed severe rashes. To the tribal scholars, the outbreak indicated that Kashaya spiritual law had been broken. This was mitigated by having the trainees spending the rest of the excavation in traditional Kashaya activities such as learning tribal history from the tribal scholars.

OP: I participated in all excavation activities (Figure 7). This prompted my sister, Violet Parrish Chappell, to say extra prayers during the excavation for my safety. We felt pleased that our safety measures



Figure 7 Otis Parrish screening in the foreground

were being followed and following Kashaya law allowed us to act upon the land in our way. Besides participating in the archaeological process, we could speak our language, sing our songs, collect materials and weave baskets (Figure 8).

KMD: Reciprocity was an integral component of the excavation. As part of reciprocity, attention was given to both Kashaya and archaeological knowledge. I rotated crew members so that some archaeologists were always learning from the traditional Kashaya scholars (Figure 9). Some found it very informative and were encouraged to make this a larger part of their excavation duties, others preferred to devote themselves to conventional excavation tasks.

The tribal scholars were on the site daily, teaching archaeologists traditional history and place names as well as uses of plants, animals and tools. They conversed in the Kashaya language and Violet Parrish Chappell wove 'chatting baskets' from on-site grasses as a demonstration of plant use. Chatting baskets are informal baskets that are made to pass the time. In addition, Vivian Parrish Wilder, who studied under linguist Dr Shirley Silver, taught archaeologists proper pronunciation and spelling



Figure 8 Baskets woven by Violet Parrish Chappell with grasses from Ch'itibida-qalli

of Kashaya place names and both she and Violet gave definitions and cultural interpretations.

When a crew member was *k'hela*, they worked in the field lab, or, in one case, conducted a project-related historical archaeology survey of sawmill elements. *K'hela* rules did *not* apply to the survey or excavation of non-native historic resources (V. Parrish Chappell, 1997, pers. comm.).

To keep the excavation running smoothly while honoring *k'hela* rules, contingency plans were made for all field crew positions. The restrictions created by honoring *k'hela* rules challenged the crew to be more flexible about work roles as well as sharing and taking responsibility. For example, when the safety officer was *k'hela*, she was the lab director, the lab director went to the field and another crew member was the safety officer.

KMD: For the position of principal investigator, when I was *k'hela* I worked in the field lab and Otis Parrish was the field director. I gave instructions to a crew member each morning at base camp and daily developments were handled by Otis. We had a contingency plan for unforeseen circumstances that was never needed: a crew member would drive from the excavation to the field lab where I would make decisions that would be delivered back to the



Figure 9 Violet Parrish Chappell (center) and Vivian Parrish Wilder (left) teaching during the excavation

excavation. I reviewed site maps, level records and field counts in the evening for the following day.

The excavation took 3 weeks to complete. A total of 15.2 cubic meters of site soil was excavated, yielding 33 tools and 452 pieces of debitage.

We ended the excavation in the traditional Kashaya manner – with a feast. For the Kashaya, the feast is a protection ceremony to safeguard the work we conducted with a sacrifice to the earthly spirit. The blessing and eating of food feeds the physical body which is of the earth and thus feeds the earthly spirit, keeping it satisfied so it will not cause harm.

Because the Kashaya Reservation is 4 miles uphill and inland, the feast was held at archaeological base camp. The archaeologists honored a request that people who were *k^hela* not prepare food.

KMD: Complications arose when the tribal scholars requested that *k^hela* people eat apart from the rest of the group. Base camp was private space for the archaeologists and the request created anxiety for some crew members. I told the tribal scholars that their request could not be met for the time being. We agreed that the next feast would be held away from base camp so that the Kashaya could

have a feast in a traditional manner and k^hela archaeologists could decline participating in the feast if they did not want to be sequestered at a k^hela table. The tribal scholars were satisfied with this solution.

The archaeologists were encouraged by the tribal scholars to invite their families and relatives. It is customary for Kashaya couples to withhold displays of affection, including hand-holding, while in public. Such affections are referred to as 'bedroom manners' and public displays are thought to be inconsiderate of others (V. Parrish Chappell, 1997, pers. comm.). Although the tribal scholars did not make this a request, they did emphatically relay this information to me. I relayed the information to the crew but did not suggest that it was a request. I interpreted the added emphasis as an implied request and chose to honor the public affection taboo with my own partner when he, my mother and the Department environmental planner for the project came to the feast as my guests. The tribal scholars acknowledged this as being respectful of their ways.

The feast was mutually hosted and the majority of participants contributed large quantities of food. The tribal scholars brought their extended families. One Native American Consultant trainee was k^hela and ate at a table designated by the tribal scholars. As is customary, she was served her food unblessed before everyone else was served. K^hela women do not eat blessed food because the spirit does not act when the body is k^hela and a woman is set aside in the spirit world (V. Parrish Chappell, 1997, pers. comm.).

KMD: The other archaeologists and I had prepared trays of artifacts in plastic bags for the tribal scholars' families to see. Plastic bags were considered a satisfactory barrier for handling artifacts in the short term without incurring potential harm from past poisoners. The feast lasted several hours and marked the successful completion of our fieldwork.

■ CONCLUSION

It is our belief that collaborative programs and institutional arrangements such as ours hold considerable potential for balancing the study of the past with the needs of Native American tribes in identifying culturally sensitive places and in training their youth in archaeology. Our embodiment of the Kashaya Pomo processes of knowledge production through k^hela observance enriched our appreciation of the site and allowed us to develop a methodology that merged aspects of the sacred and secular. As White Deer



(1997: 43) states, if archaeology allows sacred considerations to influence its practices, it does not have to abandon its secularity. The space between the usual oppositions of secular and the sacred, science and religion, explanation and understanding, holds great promise because from it Native Americans and archaeologists can construct non-dichotomous ways of thinking and acting.

The inclusivity, reciprocity and mutual respect in our work is a way of implementing and extending the reflexive method advocated by Hodder (1999). The coupling of our mutual regard for knowledge of the past with our respect for the spiritual significance of the Kashaya landscape has necessarily led to the breaking down of boundaries between the scientific, the sacred and the personal. In this context, archaeology, a traditional Kashaya taboo, was recast as 'a meaningful disturbance of the earth' (cf. V. Parrish Chappell, 2001, this article).

KMD: The tribal scholars and I continue work together and to have monthly meetings to discuss Department projects. We now have succeeded in gaining State support for our process – though it still holds potential as a discomfoting method for some. Archaeologists are seldom asked to open up their personhood when participating with native people in ritual and ceremonial contexts. Kashaya ritual and ceremony require non-dichotomous thinking that, among other things, breaks down boundaries between the personal and the scientific. I open up certain parts of my self-identity and self-authority when I provide the tribal scholars with typically private information and permit certain elements of my body and behavior to be situationally restricted. When other archaeologists are involved, they are also asked to temporarily open up their personhood in the same manner.

OP: Being able to use Kashaya institutions, such as ritual and ceremony, in collaborations with archaeologists gives Kashaya people protection while crossing cultural, social and scientific boundaries. We are able to go out into the larger society yet retain the ability to pull back into our own culture still intact. From our perspective, a large part of our success is that we are able to accomplish this for ourselves and also give non-native people a window through which to share a part of our view of the world.

The other aspect of our success is that the Kashaya consider all knowledge to be sacred, including scientifically derived knowledge about the past. By incorporating our rituals and ceremonies into the methods for obtaining that knowledge, the laws that ensure balance between the spiritual and earthly worlds are maintained and we are kept free from harm.

Since the excavation, we have taken our collaboration into the interpretive realm. Following writers like Thomas (2001) and Snead and Preucel (1999), we are developing an archaeology of the Kashaya landscape by combining the place names and archaeological features of traditional use areas into an interpretive whole.

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Notes

- 1 The writing of this text was part of our collaborative process. In order to combine our voices where appropriate, yet avoid blurring them where not, the main text represents our co-authored voice; the appearance of initials OP: followed by indented text is the voice of Otis Parrish; and KMD: followed by indented text is that of Kathy Dowdall.
- 2 C^hitibida•qalli means where alder creek runs out of a brushy place into a more open space.

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