

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev 8-86)

OMB No 1024-0018

CARRIZO PLAIN ARCHEOLOGICAL DISTRICT

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: CARRIZO PLAIN ARCHEOLOGICAL DISTRICT

Other Name/Site Number: See Table 1 for Site Numbers

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: N/A

Not for publication: X

City/Town: California Valley

Vicinity: X

State: California County: San Luis Obispo Code: 079

Zip Code: N/A

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: ___
Public-Local: ___
Public-State: X
Public-Federal: X

Category of Property

Building(s): ___
District: X
Site: ___
Structure: ___
Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

100

100

Noncontributing

___ buildings
8 sites
___ structures
___ objects
8 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 24

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: RELIGION
RECREATION AND CULTURE
DOMESTIC
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE
INDUSTRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION

Sub: ceremonial site
work of art
camp, village
processing site
processing site

Current: LANDSCAPE
RECREATION AND CULTURE
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE
INDUSRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION
DOMESTIC

Sub: unoccupied land
outdoor recreation
storage
processing site
secondary structure

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A

MATERIAL: N/A

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SUMMARY

The Carrizo Plain Archeological District lies within the Carrizo Plain National Monument (CPNM), managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), in San Luis Obispo County, California. The district consists of 100 nationally significant archeological sites that, together, reflect the stunningly intact Carrizo Plain pictograph sites and associated archeological remains. The property was previously listed at the national level of significance in the National Register of Historic Places in the Carrizo Plain Rock Art Discontiguous Archeological District. The proposed NHL district is nominated under NHL Criteria 5 and 6 under the NHL thematic framework themes of Peopling Places and Expressing Cultural Values. The proposed NHL expands the boundaries of the National Register district to include additional, recently discovered pictograph sites along with a remarkable concentration of villages, camps and other sites dating from about 10,000 to 200 BP (8050 BCE - 1750 CE). The concentration of these sites outstandingly documents the demographic precontact history of the first inhabitants in the far western United States, especially in light of changing environmental conditions and the expression of cultural values and concerns in the rock paintings, created for religious purposes, that are the impressive hallmark of this district.

PRESENT AND HISTORIC PHYSICAL APPEARANCE**Location and Environmental Setting**

The CPNM and the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological District NHL are located on the Carrizo Plain, a large inland valley that lies along the boundary of Kern and San Luis Obispo Counties, California, roughly midway between Bakersfield, in the southern San Joaquin Valley, and the Pacific coast (Map 1). The plain is, in fact, a broad inland valley that (physiographically) forms a southern part of the larger South Coast Ranges. It is bordered on the west by the Caliente Range and on the east by the San Andreas Rift Zone and the Temblor Range. Although once entirely internally draining, the northern end of the plain has been hydrographically captured by the Salinas River system whereas the majority of the southern portions of the plain, including the CPNM, continue to drain into Soda Lake (Photo. 1).

Soda Lake is a large, usually dry mud playa; however, during wet years and seasons, it receives and holds water for a period. During earlier and wetter paleoclimatic regimes it held saline water continuously. Elevation at the bottom of Soda Lake is approximately 1900 feet above mean sea level. The high stand for this lake, presumably achieved at the end of the Late Pleistocene, is only 1940 feet in elevation, indicating that this was once a broad but relatively shallow body of water.

The Caliente Range, running SE-NW, is a relatively low and narrow series of ridges separating the Cuyama Valley, to the southwest, from the plain. Maximum elevation in this range, found at Caliente Mountain, is 5106 feet above mean sea level (a.s.l). The Calientes are primarily comprised of poorly consolidated sedimentary rock formations. When combined with the rapid tectonic uplift that characterizes this portion of inland-coastal California—the San Andreas Earthquake Fault rift zone—the result is an extremely rugged, heavily dissected, and rapidly eroding landscape. Much of the range consists of steep slopes, knife-like ridgelines, and narrow canyon bottoms, with the majority of these lands exceeding the angle of repose, thereby making them difficult to access and subject to only very specialized kinds of uses in precontact and contemporary times. These mountains are, in other words, much more rugged than their elevations alone might suggest. This circumstance, furthermore, emphasizes the importance of the Carrizo Plain itself as a corridor for human movement, a place for human occupation, and an exploitable zone.

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One aspect of local geology, and a minor exception to the above generalities, is relevant to the archeological record on the Carrizo Plain and thus warrants mention. This is the Vaqueros Sandstone formation, exposures of which are common on the northeastern front of the Caliente Range. This formation is slightly more indurated than other sedimentary units in the region, one result of which is the existence of vertical cliff faces, caves, caveates and rockshelters, and natural monoliths. This formation provided the context for the numerous and well-known pictograph sites in the CPNM, which constitute the Carrizo Plain Rock Art Discontiguous National Register District. Furthermore, the Vaqueros Sandstone formation supports more gradual foothills and slopes above the Carrizo Plain bottom, thereby creating a broader and more ecologically diverse transition between the open flats and the mountain ridges. This transitional foothill zone was most favorable for precontact human occupation and, because of this fact, contains the highest densities of archeological sites. It is this foothill transition area that contains the proposed NHL district (Photo 2; Maps 2 - 5).

Previous Archeological Work: Rock Art

Most previous archeological work on the Carrizo Plain, understandably, has focused upon its spectacular concentration of pictograph sites, in part because these sites are so significant and in part due to the fact that relatively little archeological work of any kind has been completed in this portion of interior California. Although this circumstance is beginning to change (e.g., see Scott 2002; W&S Consultants 2003, 2004; Whitley et al. 2007), the history of archeological research here emphasizes rock art. Befitting the size, significance, and aesthetic appeal of Carrizo rock art, there is a record of publications and research on these sites that is more than a century in length, making it one of the best studied rock art regions in the far western United States. The earliest known photographs of Painted Rock (Photo 4), the most famous site in the district, were taken by R.A. Holmes in 1876 (reproduced in Angel 1910). But perhaps the first significant publication on the district rock art, from the perspective of modern studies and interests, was provided by Lorenzo Yates in 1896 in an early discussion of Painted Rock. In addition to a consideration of the nature of the pigment used to make the paintings, Yates also took a series of large format pictures of this site that have proven invaluable for subsequent reconstructions of the main panel which, in the decades after his visit, deteriorated and was vandalized (Photo 5). At some point around this same time, a trench was excavated into the deposit at Painted Rock by Von Petersdorf, but no information exists on his findings, the exact location of the excavation, or the whereabouts of the artifact collection (Hyder et al. 1986). A series of his 1895 photos of the site, including one showing its use as a sheep corral, have been reproduced in Angel (1910).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Painted Rock was widely renowned, a fact best demonstrated by the publication of Myron Angel's (1910) romantic novel *The Painted Rock: A Legend*, which was inspired by the site. Angel was a well-known regional historian and author, having published a series of county histories in the 1880s and 1890s, but his writings on Painted Rock are somewhat fanciful. Unfortunately, the fiction he introduced about the site has become embedded in local recollections and, in some cases, is now recounted as fact, complicating the analysis of local oral history.

Professional anthropological interest in the rock art of the district is first apparent in Alfred L. Kroeber's (1925) landmark study *The Handbook of the Indians of California*, where he used photos from Painted Rock to illustrate his general discussion of the state's rock art. Even in 1925, the Carrizo pictographs were recognized as among the best examples of this art from Native California and the far west. Shortly thereafter, Julian Steward (1929) included descriptions and additional photos of the site in the first compendium of California rock art. Formal archeological recording and documentation of the CPNM's rock art did not, however, occur until 1950, when three archeology students (Arnold Pilling, Donald Lathrap and Franklin Fenenga) from the University of California, Berkeley, visited the Carrizo area.

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[REDACTED] Lathrap (1950), shortly thereafter, published a report on the Washburn Ranch rock art (which he called the “Agua Caliente pictographs”) based on his sketches of Locus 1, the main panel at the site made during this visit (Photo 6). He also documented the collection of a small number of surface artifacts from the midden area, which are housed at the U.C. Berkeley Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

Intensive study of the CPNM’s rock art occurred during the early 1960s when the artist Campbell Grant, aided by Jack Cawley, began visiting and photographing the sites. Grant was specifically interested in the Chumash, the tribal group who occupied this portion of California during both modern and precontact times. He used his photographs partly to paint reconstructions of the motifs and panels that were published in his classic study of Chumash culture and rock art, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash* (Grant 1965). Grant also recorded the other rock art sites in the Selby cluster. His motif illustrations from these sites have been used for artwork in subsequent publications, including *The Eye of the Flute* (Hudson et al. 1977). In 1962 the Saucito site (CA-SLO-336) was also recorded for the first time (Photo 7), with motifs from the site illustrated in Grant (1965). Heizer and Clewlow (1973) included subsequent descriptions of the Carrizo sites in their California overview based on Grant and earlier sources, as did Wellman (1979) in his rock art compendium for all of North America.

From the perspective of contemporary documentation techniques, modern studies of the CPNM sites were initiated by Georgia Lee in 1980. At that time she and a crew of assistants spent two weeks at Painted Rock and the Selby sites, taking photographs and making detailed drawings of each panel and motif (Lee 1984, 1985). Subsequently, she completed similar documentation at Washburn Ranch (Lee 1991), including a survey of surrounding sites (CA-SLO-101 and -102). William Hyder and Mark Oliver also completed an intensive slide-photo documentation of these sites as part of these projects. More recently, complete documentation projects and condition assessments have been completed at the Saucito Ranch (Whitley, Loubser and Simon 2008) and Painted Rock sites (Loubser and Simon 2011). All rock art panels at both of these sites were mapped, digitally photographed, and then traced to scale using enhanced digital imagery. This revealed detail and complexity in the rock art that had never previously been recognized, including motifs that are not visible to the “naked eye,” and superimposed painting sequences that illustrate changing artistic styles over time (Whitley, Simon and Loubser 2007). It also demonstrated that, despite some areas of visible vandalism at Painted Rock, the large majority of the panels at this site are intact, maintain integrity, and constitute an unparalleled record of precontact Native American art and ritual practices.

Previous Archeological Work: Remainder of the Archeological Record

As noted above, general (i.e., non-rock art) archeological studies of the CPNM are less common. One important exception is an intensive site survey of the 400 acres area constituting the central locale around Painted Rock, which was directed by John R. Johnson (1985). This resulted in the identification, recording and transit mapping of all types of sites and site components within this cluster of known pictograph localities, including previously unrecognized midden deposits, surface scatters and bedrock mortars. It also involved a limited amount of artifact surface collecting at some of the sites, with the recovered collection archived at the Department of Anthropology, University California, Santa Barbara.

More recently, both Class III (purposive; W&S Consultants 2003; Whitley 2007) and Class II (sample; W&S Consultants 2004) surveys have been conducted within the CPNM, the latter of which consisted of a stratified random study intended to relate site densities and types to environmental zones. Total survey coverage for the three studies was about 14,500 acres, or roughly 6% of the CPNM as a whole. In broadest terms, the CPNM can be characterized as having very low archeological site density, with one exception. This is the Carrizo front

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of the Caliente Range—the Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District—where the vast majority of the precontact sites have been recorded. Notably, this is the area that also contains the well-known Carrizo pictograph sites, including Painted Rock, Saucito and Washburn Ranch (Sulphur Springs), among others. A preliminary analysis of the Carrizo survey results has been presented by Whitley et al. (2007; see Section 8).

Sites and Site Complexes in the District

The proposed NHL district includes 100 contributing properties, all of which are precontact/aboriginal sites. Noncontributing properties within the district are limited to eight sites, primarily historical/European-American sites (ranches and homesteads) that, while they may be significant under another context, have no cultural, chronological, or functional relationship to the proposed district (discussed below). The contributing sites are best conceptualized as falling within eight site complexes (that is, geographically distinct clusters of sites) along with a smaller number of intervening and outlying sites. The site complexes (listed south to north) and their constituent clerically-designated sites are as follows:

██████████ CA-SLO-2263, -2264, -2268, -2269, -2270, -2305, -2306, -2307, -2308, -2309, -2310, -2311 and -2312, and C06-13 and C06-15;

██████████ CA-SLO-2259, -2260, -2261, -2262, -2265, -2266, -2267, -2290, -2291, -2313, -2314 and -2315, and CO6-5a, CO6-5b and CO6-6;

██████████ CA-SLO-2235, -2236, -2237, -2238 and -2323;

██████████ CA-SLO-100; -101, -102, -103, -1522, -1523, -1524, -1526, -1732, -2322 and -2324 and CO-6-1, CO6-2, CO6-3 and CO6-4;

██████████ CA-SLO-2257, -2239, -2240, -2325, -2326 and the Annie Site;

██████████ CA-SLO-105, -1105, -1106, -1107, -2251, -2252, -2253, -2254, -2255, and -2319;

██████████ CA-SLO-79, -1097, -1098, -1099, -1100, -1101, -1102, -1103, -1104, -1108, -1109, -1110 and -1261 and CO6-17 and CO6-18.

██████████ CA-SLO-336, -2248, -2249, -2250, -2297, -2298, -2299, -2300, -2301, -2302 and -2303.

In addition to these complexes, slightly intervening or outlying sites includes CA-SLO-882, -1004, -2234, -2241, -2242, -2243, -2256 and -2304.

These sites include rock art in the form of pictographs (rock paintings), cupules (small ground cups), and occasional petroglyphs (pecked motifs); habitations ranging from large villages to smaller campsites; plant processing stations, typically consisting of bedrock mortars (Photo 11); cairns (Photo 12), lithic scatters; and stone quarries. Many of the sites (especially the villages) include combinations of these different features as site components. Pictographs are present at 18 sites, ten of which also include habitation remains. Four sites are recorded as isolated cupule (small cup-shaped depressions ground into rock surfaces) boulders, but cupules are also present in many habitations (Photo 13). Habitation deposits lacking pictographs numbered 48 or, when

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combined with those containing painted art, 66 sites. This represents 66% of the total number of sites within the district, speaking to the density of precontact human inhabitation of this area.

Table 1 lists the contributing sites, their principal characteristics and their assumed ages (where known or inferred); Table 2 provides their UTM coordinates. The Class II inventory, which was designed as a statistical sample of the CPNM in its entirety, provides the most representative indication of the district's resources. Seventy-four percent of the dated habitation sites found during this study fell within the Middle Period (4000 – 800 BP; 2050 BCE – 1150 CE) and only 18% in the Late Horizon (800 – 200 BP; 1150 CE – 1750 CE; discussed below). Note that during the latest Class III study, which was designed purposively to survey specific areas within the CPNM, two sites were recorded that, while rare, are especially important in terms of the precontact history of this portion of California. Site CO6-17 is a Paleoindian campsite with fluted points that is believed to date to approximately 10,000 BP (8050 BCE), whereas C06-13 is an Early Archaic site inferred to date to roughly 8000 – 5000 BP (6050 - 3050 BCE). These two sites illustrate the fact that the full-range of human occupation is present within the district, therefore, the period of significance for the district includes the Paleoindian period and extends through the late period (10,000 BP – 200 BP; 8050 BCE – 1750 CE). The complete tabulation of sites listed in Table 1 substantiates the Class II statistical figures for the CPNM as a whole and the NHL district specifically, yielding temporal estimates of roughly 80% Middle Period and 20% Late Period occupations.

The most famous of the district sites is Painted Rock, CA-SLO-79, also known as Piedra Pintada or Corral Rock. Located on an isolated outcrop, this is the largest pictograph site in California and, potentially, in the far western United States (in terms of numbers and complexity of motifs), with paintings in red, black and white covering the inside and outside of this horseshoe-shaped sandstone prominence (see Photo 1 & 4). While these paintings alone are impressive enough, the site also contains petroglyphs (rock engravings), cupules, bedrock mortars, and a massive midden (i.e., habitation) deposit that covers the inside and skirts the outside of the amphitheater-shaped outcrop.

Painted Rocks' famous pictographs are distributed in three loci. The first and largest of these consists of 22 panels located within the inside of the amphitheater (Photo 14). Paintings here include polychrome dancing human figures, turtles, rattlesnakes, possible seals, and myriad geometric designs, such as concentric circles, "mandalas," zigzags, sets of parallel lines, grids, and meanders. The superimposition of one motif over another—a clue to relative chronology used to develop the three phase temporal sequence outlined below—is common, as the images seem to pile one atop the other with only minimal regard for earlier paintings and thus composition in any normal sense. Natural features on the panel faces, such as cracks and small declivities, however, are sometimes intentionally used to constrain motif placement. For example, spiderweb-like patterns are carefully placed within a small hollow in the rock (Photo 8), or a long running line travels from one crack to the next, then disappears until the next crack along the same imaginary trajectory where it reappears, and heads to the subsequent crack again to disappear and reappear, as if weaving in and out of the rock face. Examples such as these show that composition, to the original artists, was a question of context and placement on the rock face rather than a spatial relationship to other paintings.

The second locus is found [REDACTED] Paintings here, in contrast to Locus 1, are constrained to three small panels, each of which seems to be a composition in its own right. Again, geometric patterns such as zigzags and mandalas and simple stick-figure humans predominate. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The third and final locus consists of 18 panels arrayed in various small rockshelters, declivities, and cliff faces [REDACTED]

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Included among these indigenous paintings is a Spanish coat-of-arms petroglyph inscribed with “Escudo de Navarra, España,” attesting to an early European presence at and interest in the site.

In addition to the rock art, surface evidence at Painted Rock indicates that the area served as a large village. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Surface evidence at the site indicates that it contains both Middle Period and Late Horizon occupation, representing roughly 4000 years of occupation and use.

As implied above, Painted Rock is simply one component of a cluster of sites, with 12 additional sites [REDACTED] [REDACTED] These include four that have both rock art and habitation debris components; three sites with pictographs along with plant processing stations; two sites that are purely lithic scatters; and three devoted exclusively to plant processing. The result is a site complex that contains a complete record of precontact activities and behaviors, not simply a single site representing one narrow aspect of precontact lifeways.

Painted Rock is extremely large with a dramatic setting that, itself, appears to have been an important part of the site’s symbolism (Lee and Hyder 1993; Whitley 1996, 1998a). But a counterpoint to the large scale and grandeur of Painted Rock is provided by the Washburn Ranch site (CA-SLO-[REDACTED]) This is a small, crevasse-like rockshelter with a much more limited number of pictographs, yet it contains one of the most beautiful and best preserved polychrome panels in North America (Photo 6). Most obvious here are two black, red and white painted turtles. Like those at Painted Rock and other sites in the district, these are stylized representations of the Pacific Pond turtle (*Clemmys marmorata*). This species figured prominently in the ritual paraphernalia of the Chumash, the historic inhabitants of this region, with its carapace used for the construction of rattles (Whitley 1994a, 2000a). The species no longer exists on the Carrizo Plain although it was likely present during the wetter Middle Period, providing one line of support for a possible Middle Period age for this art. Also present are a series of rattlesnakes, human figures, and a variety of geometric designs. Like many of the other rock art sites in the district, the archeological remains at Washburn Ranch are not limited to this rockshelter and its art. A short distance from the main pictograph locale is site CA-SLO-1732, with a midden deposit and the remnants of a precontact/historic cemetery, excavated by amateur archeologists in 1963. This is matched by a massive series of additional village deposits that stretch for almost 1.4 miles directly downstream from the main rock art panel. These include habitation debris in the form of midden deposits, cupules used in rituals, bedrock mortars and, in two locations, smaller pictograph sites. Although the ground surface covering these sites was farmed during the twentieth century, the archeological deposits themselves are typically buried by a mantle of overburden, protecting them from harm, and further supporting a primarily Middle Period age for the deposits.

A third example of the variety of rock art in the Carrizo Plain district, and its relationship to the rest of the archeological record, is provided by the Saucito Ranch site (CA-SLO-336). This site, again, is a counterpoint to the intimate scale and vivid colors seen at Washburn Ranch. The paintings at Saucito are primarily found in two loci, the first of which is a large open cliff-face (Photo 7) overlooking, at some distance, a large midden

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deposit. Motifs here are primarily although not exclusively monochrome, in red, but a number of red and black, or red, white and black polychromes are also present. In this case the daily exposure of the motifs to the sun has resulted in differential fading with red and white preserving well but less resistant black fading to varying degrees. As at the previous sites, polychrome turtle paintings stand out, as do numerous fantastical bipedal images (Photos 9 and 10)—perhaps humans or human-like spirits, but not human paintings in any normal sense of the term—and a variety of mainly circular geometric patterns such as mandalas, starbursts, and other designs. Again showing the variety of the imagery, setting and scale present in the district is the second locus at Saucito, a cluster of small paintings [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A motif from the second locus, widely referred to as “the Blessing” (Photo 15), is deservedly renowned as one of the best examples of the simple yet elegant artistry that characterizes the most appealing of the California rock art sites. As at the other sites, a very large and extensive midden deposit surrounds the two Saucito rock art loci, extending outwards onto the flats below, further demonstrating that the tradition of rock painting was closely tied to other aspects of precontact village life. In addition an ochre quarry is located within this complex, almost certainly related to the painting of pictographs here and, probably, other sites within the district.

Not all the site complexes within the district contain rock art, with two complexes lacking painted art but otherwise containing large concentrations of habitation debris and other types of archeological remains (including cupules). Perhaps the most impressive of these is found at [REDACTED]. Sixteen sites have been recorded in this complex, with five of them clustering near the mouth of this canyon. These five sites represent an archeological deposit that covers more than half a square kilometer area, or about 112 football fields. Site CA-SLO-2269 provides a good example of the sites in this complex (Photo 16). It consists of a very large buried village, dating to the Middle Period (and thus chronologically associated with the complexes containing pictograph sites). The site is estimated to be about 1.3 km southwest-northeast by about 250 meters northwest-southeast, with the limits of the site in fact simply representing minor drainages that serve to distinguish it from other recorded sites on surrounding landforms.

Precontact remains at the site consist of a very low-density scatter of natural cobbles, debitage, and other quarry/workshop remains in (roughly) the southwest-third of the site, an area that appears to have been plowed and contains a filaree and grass cover. The remainder of the site is characterized by a moderate stand of juniper and thus appears undisturbed. The approximate central-third of the site contains a dense habitation area and possible plant processing zone, while the northeast-third again appears to consist of a quarry/workshop associated with exposed quartzite cobbles. Visible artifacts concentrate dramatically along the brow of the eastern arroyo across the entirety of the site, where the edge of the subsurface archeological deposit is exposed and eroded; occasional artifacts are also exposed in rodent burrow backdirt piles across the site. Based on micro-topography, the archeological deposit at this site appears to be buried at a depth of about 30 - 50 cm. The buried deposit is in a paleosol, or ancient soil, supporting the Middle Period age estimate for the site.

Some artifact classes noted on the ground surface were literally too numerous to tabulate precisely during visual survey, but ballpark estimates provide a reasonable idea of the magnitude of precontact archeological remains at this location. These would be very roughly 100 hammerstones; about half that many manos (hand-held grinding stones); a dozen scraper planes (probably used for pulping plants); and a similar number of fire-affected rock concentrations, which represent intact hearths eroding out of the ground surface. Included among the groundstone, as noted above, are a number of “handstones” or miniature manos. These are typically associated with earlier rather than later dating sites in the Chumash region (Johnson 1980). Fragments of six different bowls/mortars and one chert biface fragment have also been noted on the site. This last artifact is most likely a basal remnant of a Middle Period atlatl point. Lithic debitage included quartzite, chert, rhyolite, and basalt examples of primary, secondary, and tertiary flakes, and angular shatter.

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The sum of the evidence points to the presence of an extremely large Middle Period village site, especially when it is recognized that CA-SLO-2269 is only one of a series of similar archeological phenomena at this location. While it logically follows that the locationally-clustered sites within each of the eight identified complexes were themselves inter-related as part of a individual behavioral units, how these different complexes related to each other is not clear. Given their overall proximity, within a relatively restricted area and spatial isolation, they logically formed part of an ethnolinguistic and political unit, however; perhaps as a *tribelet*, a land-owning group linked by their shared territory and descent from a common ancestor, as was common in Native California during the ethnographic period (Kroeber 1925) and is described below.

The combination of rock art sites of different size, complexity and symbolic content in association with a range of habitation, plant processing, and stone tool production sites and remains is indicative of the almost unique yet complete record of precontact lifeways represented by this district. And while the rock art present in this district can easily be seen as the distinguishing characteristic of it—one which sets this district apart as truly unusual and important relative to other concentrations of archeological sites—it must be emphasized that the rock art in combination with the complete range of precontact sites is equally notable. As the distribution of these sites, site types, and site components makes clear, the creation of rock art in this region was closely tied to village life. All rock art sites and loci are either in or relatively close-to village deposits, even though there is a difference between rock art panels that are visible and exposed (“public sites”) versus those that are more hidden and difficult to see (“private sites”)—perhaps suggesting different ceremonial origins or functions for this art (Hudson and Lee 1984). But regardless of original function or meaning, it is clear that this rock art was part of an integrated series of activities and lifeways, all of which are represented by the mix of sites in the district.

District Cohesiveness

Based on recent surveys within the CPNM, the Carrizo Plain Archeological District sites represent a distinct geographical cluster falling within a specific environmental zone.

Surveyed areas to the north, south, and west of this concentration of sites are effectively devoid of precontact sites, and the nearest sites to the east are over 6.5 km distant. Both circumstances point to the significance of the district as a truly meaningful manifestation of a precontact social and political unit, not simply an artificial construct resulting from administrative boundaries, sampling or other factors.

Moreover, the sites are temporally and functionally related. Ninety-two percent of the habitation sites have been dated to the Middle Period (circa 4000 - 800 years BP; 2050 BCE - 1150 CE) or Late Horizon (\geq 800 years BP; 1150 CE), with the vast majority falling in the first of these two temporal phases. The Late Horizon sites, in fact, appear to represent the remnant population from the once larger Middle Period occupation. But perhaps most importantly, the concentration of pictograph sites associated with villages is both unique in south-central California, and quite distinctive.

This cluster of pictographs sites is geographically isolated, first, in the sense that there are no recorded painted rock art sites that occur within at least 20 kilometers of the cluster of sites on the Carrizo Plain. Second, the emphasis on paintings of Pacific Pond Turtles in the district sites also sets them apart iconographically from other Chumash region sites. While the Carrizo sites necessarily share many stylistic attributes and motif forms

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with other Chumash region sites, the emphasis on this particular image signals a localized variation of the larger Chumash belief system, ritual practices, and ceremonial art, as does the relative rarity of motifs that are common in other parts of the Chumash realm (such as insects, frogs and birds). Third, the inferred Middle Period age of all or most of the Chumash pictographs has no known parallel in other parts of the Chumash region, or in other regions in the far western United States, with most of the painted art elsewhere believed to date to the Late Horizon.

Not all of the Carrizo pictographs are thought to be Chumash and Middle Period in age, nor (as indicated above) are all of the habitation sites the same age. The district in this sense does not represent simply a static slice-in-precontact-time, in which all of the proximate sites are the same kind and age. Instead, it represents a record of a dynamic, changing precontact past. As discussed below, the district instead illustrates a population collapse that apparently occurred at the end of the Middle Period, the part that ritual art played in social life during this period, as well as the appearance of intrusive Yokuts tribal uses of the rock art sites during the Late Horizon. The Carrizo Plain Archeological District is distinct partly because it provides such a complete, well-preserved record of a cultural system adapting—or, perhaps, failing to adequately adapt—to changing conditions over time.

Integrity of the District Sites

The sites in the district display varying degrees of preservation and integrity, although their condition, overall, is quite good. With only a few exceptions, the midden deposits are all intact and undisturbed, partly because many of them are partially buried. Intact hearths and house-pit floors, for example, are visible in arroyo cuts in a number of the sites, demonstrating the stratigraphic integrity of the deposits. In the few cases where artifact looting or early archeological excavations have occurred, the large majority of the site deposits are still untouched, thus preserving the archeological information contained therein. Surface components of sites are also generally intact, despite a history of farming, with systematic mapping and surface collecting completed at some locations (see Johnson 1985). Surface artifacts such as projectile points and stone bowls were observed on sites during surveys in 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2007, while evidence of intact precontact ritual offerings was found at two of the sites. Both kinds of discoveries point to the excellent condition of these components of the sites.

Rock art preservation varies and has been affected by natural weathering processes, decay and vandalism. Much of the main panel at Painted Rock was, very unfortunately, defaced during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as can be documented by a comparison of photos taken before 1900 (when this panel was pristine), before 1925 and after approximately 1935 (see Angel 1910; Kroeber 1925; Grant 1965). This vandalism included graffiti as well as the use of certain of the motifs for rifle targets, resulting in large spalled-off sections on the main panel. In fact, Painted Rock has long been recognized by the NHL Program as nationally significant, but with questionable integrity. In the 1963 NHL study, *Early Indian Farmers and Villages and Communities*, Painted Rock was identified as nationally significant, but not considered for designation at that time because of the graffiti (Themes II and III; NHL Program 1963). The Getty Conservation Institute conducted a graffiti removal and clean-up project at the site in 1991 (Thorn 1991), however, that has greatly diminished the visual impact of this aspect of previous vandalism. Moreover, a recently completed documentation and condition assessment (Loubser and Simon 2011) has demonstrated that the large majority of the painted panels at the site maintain their integrity, and thus the site is included in the district today.

Natural fading and spalling have also occurred on some of the rock art panels at this and other sites, as a result of naturally-incident sunlight, water seepage, wind erosion, dust accumulation, and natural chemical salt

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migrations through the rock faces. These are processes that are determined by localized conditions and can be difficult, if not nearly impossible, to control. Three factors are important to emphasize with respect to the condition of the paintings. First, the creation of the motifs does not in most cases appear to have resulted from a single incident in time, particularly at the larger and more elaborate sites such as Painted Rock and Saucito. Motifs were, instead, painted over a lengthy period, perhaps spanning millennia between the first and last paintings at a given location. Thus the ongoing natural processes of weathering and decay currently visible at the sites were, to some degree, part of the condition of the panels even during the precontact past. Integrity, in this sense, must be understood as a relative concept that, here, pertains only to the status of the sites, panels, and motifs at the very last moment of their indigenous use. Evidence for the decay of certain motifs on a panel cannot then be taken as a certain indicator of a loss of integrity but instead may simply reflect the status of a well-preserved panel with reference to its last period of precontact or historical-indigenous use.

Second, it is thus not surprising that great differences exist in the condition of different motifs and panels, even at the same site. While these reflect different localized conditions, age, and, in some cases, exposures to weathering and/or vandalism, the more important point is that numerous individual panels and motifs fully retain integrity and continue to serve as exemplars of the work of master artists. While the main panel at Painted Rock, as noted above, has been heavily vandalized (Photo 5), it is surrounded by many smaller panels that are remarkable in their preservation and artistry (Photo 14). Third, this last fact points to the conclusion that the research potential of these sites—their ability to help us better understand the precontact past—remains extremely high, even in cases involving faded or vandalized panels. In some circumstances the integrity of sites themselves has been diminished but the aesthetic qualities and research potential of specific motifs and panels are unaffected. In general terms then, the rock art in the district remains visually and aesthetically dramatic while the research potential of its sites, and what these may tell us about the past, has barely been tapped. Likewise, the village and other site types are in extraordinary condition overall and contain a wealth of detailed information valuable for numerous research problems.

Noncontributing Properties

Eight noncontributing properties/sites fall within the boundaries of the district (Table 3). With one exception, these are all historic (European-American) in origin, mostly ranches and homesteads. These sites, while perhaps significant under another context, have no cultural, chronological, or thematic relationship to the district, and hence are considered noncontributing sites. The one exception is precontact site CA-SLO-1525, which was recorded within the boundaries of the larger Washburn Ranch headquarters historic site (CA-SLO-1546H). It has not been possible to relocate CA-SLO-1525, and the area where it was originally recorded has been heavily disturbed. It is believed to no longer exist but in any case it lacks integrity and is also considered a noncontributing site.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
 Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National
 Register Criteria:

A B C X D X

Criteria Considerations
 (Exceptions):

A B C D E F G

NHL Criteria:

5, 6

NHL Theme(s):

I. Peopling Places
 3. Migration from outside and within
 4. Community and neighborhood
 5. Ethnic homelands
 III. Expressing Cultural Values
 2. Visual and performing arts
 6. Popular and traditional culture

Areas of Significance:

ARCHEOLOGY - Prehistoric
 ARCHEOLOGY - Historic/Aboriginal
 ART
 ETHNIC HISTORY – Native American
 RELIGION
 PHILOSOPHY
 COMMUNICATIONS
 SOCIAL HISTORY

Period(s) of Significance:

10000 - 200 BP (8050 BCE – 1750 CE)

Significant Dates:

N/A

Significant Person(s):

N/A

Cultural Affiliation:

Chumash, Yokuts, and Salinan Indians

Architect/Builder:

N/A

Applicable Theme Study:

Early Indian Farmers and Village Communities (1963)

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Significance of District, Criteria Justification, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance**SUMMARY**

The Carrizo Plain Archeological District represents a unique concentration of precontact sites, art, and artifacts, the outstanding significance of which has been recognized for almost a century by anthropologists, archeologists, artists, and novelists. The property is nominated under NHL Criteria 5 and 6 under the NHL thematic framework themes of Peopling Places and Expressing Cultural Values. Including a major expression of precontact Chumash pictographs, the district contains information pertinent to a wide variety of scientific topics. But this art also represents a detailed illustration of the precontact cultural values of the district's inhabitants, including religious beliefs, the social expression of these beliefs in ritual, a shared iconographic corpus illustrating long-lasting social communication, and aesthetic and stylistic percepts and concerns. Although specific details concerning these cultural values certainly differed from those found in other precontact Native American groups, at a general level the Carrizo sites can be said to illustrate a worldview and belief system that was shared by many North American precontact hunter-gatherer groups. Challenging the view that the past always represents a progressive linear trajectory, the district sites also record the precontact demographic expansion that apparently characterized much of the western United States at the start of the Mid-Holocene Optimum (circa 4000 BP; 2050 BCE), along with a population collapse a few millennia later, during the so-called Medieval Climatic Anomaly (circa 1200 – 800 BP; 750 CE – 1150 CE). Various North American precontact cultures reacted to changing environmental conditions in slightly different fashions, including varying demographic responses. Nonetheless, the Carrizo district sites represent a demographic pattern that was common across wide portions of the western states. The district is exemplary of the true ebb and flow of our national demographic past. Instead of inexorable progress and development over time, the Carrizo district represents an object lesson in the unpredictability of nature and how it may impact human life.

Ethnographic Context

The Carrizo Plain region lies within the ethnographic territory of the Chumash linguistic group (Kroeber 1925), along a boundary with the Yokuts to the east and near to territory occupied by the Salinan tribe, to the north. The Chumash were Hokan-speaking people who occupied the area from Topanga Canyon in Los Angeles County northwest to approximately San Carpojo Creek in San Luis Obispo County. Their territory extended from the Channel Islands and coastal strip inland to the crest of the Temblor Ranges, thereby including the Carrizo Plain but not quite including any of the San Joaquin Valley floor, further to the east. Because of their location in an area of early Spanish missionization, Chumash culture and lifeways were disrupted historically. As a result, our knowledge of these traditional lifeways is limited. Based on fragmentary records, the knowledge of contemporary Chumash descendants, and various means of inferential and analogical studies, however, significant information about their way of life can be reconstructed.

The Chumash followed a hunting-gathering-fishing subsistence pattern that, on the coast, incorporated a heavy reliance on maritime resources, including pelagic and littoral fishes, and shellfish. Indeed, the bountiful sea resources that they exploited may have been a key factor in their evolutionary success (Landberg 1965). At the time of the arrival of the Spanish, the Chumash had reached levels of population density, and complexities in social organization, unequalled worldwide by other non-farming groups (Moratto 1984:118). These included permanent coastal villages along the Santa Barbara Channel area containing as many as 1000 inhabitants (Brown 1967), as well as a hierarchical sociopolitical organization consisting of at least two major chiefdoms (Whitley and Beaudry 1991). Based on recent reconstructions using mission registers, the Chumash appear to have been a matrilineal, and perhaps matrilineal, clan-based society (Johnson 1988).

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Horne (1981:72) has summarized evidence suggesting that the Ineseño Chumash dialect was spoken in the Carrizo Plain proper. Little, however, has been recorded about the Chumash occupation of this region, which was bordered by the territory of the Yokuts-speaking Tulamni (or Toulumne) on the eastern side of the Temblor Range, suggesting to Horne that historically the Carrizo may have been a little-used area. In accord with this suggestion, few Chumash place-names were recorded on the Carrizo Plain by the Spanish (Johnson 1985:11-14; Milliken and Johnson 2003).

Milliken and Johnson (2003) have suggested however that the Northern Chumash and Salinan terms *Gmimu* and *Sicpats*, respectively, may have applied to this region, and both potentially may be glossed in English as “carrizo” (i.e., *carrisa*, Spanish for ‘reed-grass’), providing an indigenous origin for the regional name. Probably the best known village name recorded in the mission documents pertaining to the Carrizo Plain is *K’o’owshup* (or *Coochup*), meaning either “there in the earth” or perhaps “water earth” (a possible reference to Soda Lake in the valley bottom, which seasonally dries-out and then fills with water). Johnson (personal communication, 2003) has identified 14 named individuals in mission registers who were born at this village, but its location is uncertain. Based on the presence of historical shell beads found near Washburn Ranch, at site CA-SLO-1732, Milliken and Johnson (2003) suggest that this may be the location of *K’o’owshup*.

Ethnographic information indicates that the adjacent southern San Joaquin Valley area was occupied by the Tulamni Yokuts (Kroeber 1925) who, in many respects, followed lifeways similar to the Chumash. Like most Yokuts groups, the Tulamni were organized as a recognized and distinct tribelet. The tribelet was headed by a chief who was assisted by a variety of assistants. A shaman also existed who served as religious officer but the shaman did not have any direct political authority in a strict sense. Like other Yokuts groups, subsistence emphasized the acorn-bearing oak, with the addition of a wide variety of other plants, fish, and game, many derived from Buena Vista Lake, which formed the center of their domain.

The Salinan, who occupied territory to the north of the Carrizo Plain extending to the coast in the Salinas region, and perhaps the northern portions of the plain itself, followed similar lifeways. The so-called Migueleño Salinan inhabited the southeastern range of Salinan territory and thus probably lived closest to the Carrizo Plain, if not on it. Their focus of occupation was the village of *Cholam*, on Cholamne Creek, roughly 50 miles north of the CPNM.

The ethnographic evidence indicates that at the time of European American contact the Carrizo Plain was a peripheral, sparsely inhabited portion of the otherwise populous Chumash territory. This circumstance correlates with observations about the western side of the nearby San Joaquin Valley concerning the distribution of Yokuts tribes, made by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1925:476). In his classic 1925 summary of Native California, Kroeber characterized this region as a veritable cultural desert, noting that the contemporary concentration of population on the eastern side of the valley was even more marked during the ethnographic past.

What makes these ethnographic observations and inferences interesting is their dramatic contrast with the archeological record. As discussed in more detail below, the proposed Carrizo NHL district is world renowned for its concentration of pictograph sites, but it also contains an equally impressive series of precontact villages, almost none of which appear to date to the ethnographic period (W&S Consultants 2003, 2004; Whitley 2007; Whitley et al. 2007). The obvious conclusion from these facts is that major changes occurred on the Carrizo Plain at some point between the precontact period and the more recent ethnographic past. It is the potential to explain these changes, and their implications for human-environment relations as well as the development of the Chumash chiefdom, that make the Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District so important, not just to an

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understanding of regional precontact period history, but to the nature of the human career in the largest and most complete sense.

Precontact and Paleoclimatic Context

Immediately prior to European-American impacts and changes, vegetation within this region varied depending upon topography, aspect, slope, and available water. Much of this region was then covered by chaparral and scrub, especially the more mountainous zones, with foothill areas also containing grasslands and juniper and scrub oak woodlands (Photo 3), whereas the Soda Lake margin as well as springs along the foothills would have supported riparian environments. Most of the flats of the Plain itself, however, were characterized by a Valley Grassland ecosystem, dominated by perennial bunch grasses such as Purple Needlegrass (*Stipa pulchra*) along with annual grasses and herbs (Schoenherr 1992). All of this changed in the historic period when the valley bottom and foothills were used for agriculture and grazing. Agriculture, in particular, was quite intensive and there is evidence for as much as two feet of topsoil loss along some of the older field margins. With the creation of the CPNM, this area is returning to its original condition, but vegetation in many of the previously farmed areas continues to be dominated by filaree and introduced grasses. Yet, overall, the Carrizo remains a plain of dry soil, sun baked-rock outcrops, and low hard-scrabble vegetation. Indeed, the region receives an average of only nine inches (23 cm) of rain per year, almost all of which falls between October and March (Rhodes et al. 1998). The Carrizo Plain certainly is no desert. But it is easy to see that it would not take much change for it to become one.

This circumstance was well expressed by the author Mary Austin (1868-1934) in her famous 1903 book, *The Land of Little Rain*. This short volume of stories and environmental essays is popularly associated with the Owens Valley, where Austin lived when her book was published. But many of its chapters in fact describe the southern San Joaquin Valley/Carrizo Plain region, where she had been raised. One of these, "Water Trails of the Ceriso," is a thinly disguised description of the Carrizo, as she saw it as a teen-ager:

"By the end of the dry season the water trails of the Ceriso are worn to a white ribbon in the leaning grass, spread out faint and fanwise toward the homes of gopher and ground rat and squirrel. But however faint to man-sight, they are sufficiently plain to the furred and feathered folk who travel them. Getting down to the eye level of rat and squirrel kind, one perceives what might easily be wide and winding roads to us if they occurred in thick plantations of trees three times the height of a man. It needs but a slender thread of barrenness to make a mouse trail in the forest of sod. To the little people the water trails are as country roads, with scents as signboards." (Austin 1974:17)

Despite occasional years of heavy rain, and the seasonal variations characteristic of a Mediterranean climate with its precipitation limited to infrequent winter storms, the Carrizo Plain is truly a 'land of little rain,' marked as much by the absence of water as by its sporadic presence.

But the paleoclimatic conditions and related vegetational patterns present at the time of European-American contact (circa 1780) are not representative of the environmental circumstances during earlier periods of the precontact past. Indeed, the dry conditions experienced historically and to this day differ, in some cases markedly, from those in the past. Not surprisingly, precontact human adaptation to the environment reflects many of these paleoclimatic and environmental shifts.

Precontact occupation of this region is believed to have begun during Late Pleistocene (Ice Age) times (circa 10,000 BP; 8050 BCE), during the so-called Paleoindian period (Moratto 1984). This is indicated by occasional discoveries of diagnostic fluted spear points across south-central California as a whole. Pleistocene sites and

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artifact finds sometimes occur, especially, in association with pluvial lakes: large, interior-draining basins associated with the melting of the Pleistocene glaciers. Soda Lake, in the valley bottom of the Carrizo Plain, is a good example of one of these early lake environments, indicating that, in previous times, a much lush, lacustrine environment existed in the valley. A Paleoindian campsite with fluted point fragments has been found in the CPNM (Whitley 2006), and is included in the district. In this case, however, the site is located away from the lake margins in the Caliente Range foothills, demonstrating that Paleoindian adaptation to the environment (and site locations) were variable.

The transition from the Pleistocene to the modern environment involved a series of environmental perturbations, each of which affected precontact population and settlement. The Ice Age itself ended with a drought followed, in the early Holocene (or Modern) Period (10,000 - 7000 BP; 8050 – 5050 BCE), by increasingly favorable conditions. This terminated with the mid-Holocene Altithermal paleoclimatic period (7000 - 4000 BP; 5050 – 2050 BCE), which was a hot and arid phase. There is little evidence for consistent, systematic or substantial use of this inland region until the end of the Altithermal (Whitley 2000a), at which point the Middle Period (4000 - 800 BP; 2050 BCE – 1150 CE) began. During the Middle Period a major increase in population and expansion into new areas occurred across the far west, including into the adjacent Cuyama Valley (Horne 1981). This demographic process has been called the “post-Altithermal expansion” (Whitley 2000a) and this process played an important role in the demographic prehistory of the Carrizo. Although there is evidence of earlier occupation and use of the region, substantial inhabitation of the CPNM first occurred during this Middle Period (Whitley et al. 2007). This consisted of the establishment of a series of seasonal villages, in many different environmental zones and settings.

Studies of the sediments in Soda Lake provide a detailed understanding of paleoclimate during and subsequent to this post-Altithermal population expansion (Eigenbrode et al. 1999). The water level of Soda Lake began to rise prior to about 3400 BP (1450 BCE) due to an increase in precipitation following the Altithermal, during the so-called Mid-Holocene Optimum, with a high stand reached between about 2900 - 2600 BP (950 – 650 BCE), and another at approximately 2250 BP (300 BCE). The environment then dried-out somewhat with low lake levels existing to about 1500 BP (450 CE). The lake rose again, reaching another peak at about 1350 BP (1160 CE), only to drop to its lowest level in a drought that lasted from 1200 to 800 BP (750 – 1150 CE). This last date represents the end of the Middle Period and the start of the Late Horizon (800 - 200 BP; 1150 – 1750 CE), thus indicating that the transition from the Middle Period to the Late Horizon occurred at the end of a significant drought. This approximately 400 year long period of worldwide environmental disruption is known as the Medieval Climatic Anomaly.

Since the start of the Late Horizon (800 BP; 1150 CE), the lake has experienced seasonal inundations and minor changes, including a wetter period around 320 BP (1630 CE) (Eigenbrode et al. 1997). During particularly wet years, portions of the lake bottom retain a small amount of water all year long, but on the whole the lake has not returned to the highest levels it achieved before 2000 BP (50 BCE). The implication of this paleoclimatic sequence is straightforward: climatic conditions as indicated by lake levels (and therefore rainfall) were particularly favorable during most of the Middle Period, from roughly 4000 to 2000 BP (2050 – 50 BCE). They deteriorated somewhat subsequently and then improved again after 1350 BP (600 CE). But a significant drought occurred which effectively ended the Middle Period and, while conditions have improved in the last 800 years, the lake has not reached the same levels it attained earlier. During the last 2000 years the Carrizo Plain region, in other words, has experienced an overall deterioration in environmental conditions. The Late Horizon, in particular, appears to have been significantly less favorable for human habitation than the previous Middle Period.

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With this transition to this less favorable Late Horizon, at 1150 CE, we can correlate local prehistory with Chumash society as described (even if in abbreviated form) by early chroniclers and missionaries. This is not to suggest that this society was in any way static, for the transition to the Late Horizon was marked by the evolution and eventual dominance of a sophisticated maritime economy on the coast. Further, the rise in Chumash social complexity that occurred at this time was associated with the development of craft specialization, involving the use of standardized micro-drills to mass produce shell beads on Santa Cruz Island (Arnold 1987). Still, Chumash society has widely been viewed as reaching its demographic and political apogees during this period, including the existence of permanent coastal villages with populations in excess of 1000 people (despite the absence of farming), and the appearance of large, hierarchically organized chiefdoms. These factors have led to a “coastal perspective” on the Chumash past, with the evolution of this society tied exclusively to coastal resources and events.

This progressive view of history involved a gradual development over the millennia of large, sedentary populations on the coast and nearby Channel Islands, reaching sizes otherwise not obtained by hunter-gatherer peoples. But left unexplained from this coastal perspective is the dense concentration of rock art found within the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological District, and the village sites associated with them. Surely this unparalleled concentration of religious art had some implications for the evolution of Chumash society, despite its distance from the coast and the seeming center of the major evolutionary events. What role, if any, did this concentration of art play in the development and appearance of the complex Chumash society that was present on the coast during historical times?

Archeological Context: Interpretations of Carrizo Rock Art

One outcome of this detailed accumulation of knowledge is widespread recognition in recent archeological research of the exceptional importance of Carrizo Plain rock art sites. For example, questions of chronological placement, cultural affiliation, and style have been addressed by Hyder et al. (1986), Lee and Hyder (1991) and Whitley (2000a), while symbolic interpretation has been considered by Lee (1977), Hudson and Underhay (1978), Hudson and Lee (1984), Lee and Hyder (1993) and Whitley (1996, 1998a, 2000a), among others.

This research has resulted in widespread consensus concerning the origins of Carrizo rock art, with almost all archeologists agreeing that it is religious in nature and that it was made by shamans and/or connected to shamanistic beliefs and practices (e.g., Kroeber 1925; Grant 1965; Applegate 1975; Blackburn 1975a, 1977; Hudson and Lee 1984; Lee 1991; Whitley 1992, 1998a). Moreover, contemporary Native Americans continue to recognize the religious importance of these sites. Different suggestions have been offered, however, concerning the nature of these shamanistic beliefs and practices, although these distinctions are not mutually exclusive in all cases. Hudson (Hudson and Underhay 1978; Hudson and Lee 1984), for example, identified certain motifs from Carrizo sites as depictions of astronomical phenomena. Among others, Hudson cites designs with concentric circle patterns as possible examples of solstice motifs. Lee (1977, 1979, 1991), in contrast, has suggested that some of the art may portray mythic actors and events, and has compared the graphic imagery to Chumash oral traditions (e.g., Blackburn 1975b).

General consensus also holds that at least some of the art depicts the visionary hallucinations of shamans (Blackburn 1977; Hudson and Lee 1984; Lee 1991; Whitley 1996, 2000a), resulting from their trance experiences that were undertaken to enter the supernatural or sacred realm. This interpretation is partly based on direct ethnographic evidence that Chumash shamans created rock art (Applegate 1975; Blackburn 1975a), and partly on independent neuropsychological studies of the effects of visionary experiences on an individual's mental imagery. Based on the neuropsychological evidence, the forms or shapes of geometric motifs are argued to resemble light patterns (Photo 8), called “phosphenes” or “entoptics,” which are commonly generated within

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the mind during trance (Blackburn 1977; Whitley 1994a, 2005). This links the Carrizo sites to rock art traditions in other parts of the world and suggests that these sites may have implications for the origins of art worldwide (e.g., Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1996; Lewis-Williams 2002).

Whitley (1996, 1998a, 2000a, 2000b) has amplified this shamanistic interpretation based on ethnographic analogy with the nearby and culturally-similar Yokuts, where the creation of rock art to illustrate the visionary imagery of the shaman's trance is particularly well-documented. This suggests that many of the geometric patterns seen in the rock art, including the common "mandala-like" forms, were spontaneously generated in the shaman's neurological system during a vision. Although the precise meaning of many of these geometric patterns may never be determined, in general terms they served as signs of the supernatural. Likewise, the palimpsest-like placement of one image on top of another and the absence of any seeming concern for "normal" compositional characteristics (such as a regular ground-line) can be understood in terms of the ways that trance imagery functions, particularly its lack of the kinds of spatial orientation and visual organization that occur in normal vision.

Equally important, shamans' hallucinatory experiences had bodily and auditory effects that greatly influenced shamanic symbolism—both the symbolism of their rituals and the graphic imagery of their art. Depictions of human-like figures with long extended heads (seen at certain Carrizo sites), for example, can be argued to reflect the common hallucination of bodily elongation (Photo 9), which shamans sometimes experienced during their trance states. This implies that many of the human or human-like figures are depictions of shamans themselves, a conclusion supported by Yokuts ethnographic accounts (Whitley 1994b).

Chronological placement of the proposed Carrizo Archeological District pictograph sites is still provisional, owing to technical difficulties in and relatively high costs for directly dating pictographs. Earlier assessments of pictograph age at these and other Chumash sites were predicated on the belief that the painted sandstone was itself too erosion-prone to survive for any great length of time, thereby restricting the potential age of the sites to roughly the last 2000 years, or less (e.g., Whitley 1996). A better understanding of the nature of weathering processes on rock surfaces (e.g., Dorn 1998) demonstrates, however, that the geological context of the art may not be quite so limiting. So-called natural "case-hardening" of the surface layers of sandstone, or the development of various kinds of natural mineral coatings, can result in rock surfaces even on soft rocks like sandstone that are relatively resistant to erosion. Moreover, an experimental radiocarbon date has been obtained on a pictograph from the Carneros Rocks in the nearby Temblor Range; this is approximately 1500 BP (450 CE) (Lee 1991). Both circumstances point to the fact that this rock art may be older than once thought. Indeed, there is now reasonable evidence supporting a Middle Period origin for many, but not all, of the Carrizo paintings. This includes site associations, motif depictions, condition, and the implications of an internal (relative) chronology (Whitley et al. 2007).

First, the pictograph panels are typically found as components of Middle Period villages rather than Late Horizon sites, and this seems more than merely coincidental. Second, the motifs include a significant number of depictions believed to represent the Pacific Pond turtle (*Clemmys marmorata*; see Photo 10). This is the only indigenous water turtle in California yet the Carrizo Plain is currently beyond its range because of the absence of perennial streams. Although alternative explanations could be offered, the emphasis on this aquatic species in the art intuitively supports its creation during wetter (i.e., Middle Period) times, when this chelonian likely inhabited the area. Third, rock art condition also supports a generally older, rather than younger, age. Many of the sites and site panels are heavily weathered; essentially all are coated with mineral skins. While the speed of natural weathering and degradation and the growth of mineral skins can obviously vary substantially, these consistent conditions again support relative antiquity rather than youthfulness.

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A provisional internal chronology based on an analysis of motif superimpositions at Painted Rock, Saucito and Washburn Ranch, fourth, amplifies an understanding of the age of the pictographs (Whitley 2005; Whitley et al. 2007). This identifies three phases in the art:

- Early: Small, dispersed, inconspicuous Chumash-style motifs;
- Middle: Large, conspicuous nucleated Chumash-style motifs;
- Late: Medium, conspicuous, dispersed Yokuts-style motifs.

The earliest (or, in the superimpositional sequence, the lowest) motifs are relatively small Chumash-style paintings that are placed in inconspicuous locations. Very visible, almost compositional-like concentrations of large Chumash-style motifs are painted over these. Finally, on top of everything else are medium-sized but again conspicuous paintings that are most characteristic of Yokuts pictograph sites, which are typically found in the central valley foothills and southern Sierra Nevada, to the east.

A few points are important to emphasize concerning this sequence. All of the art, from Early to Late, conforms to neuropsychological expectations that link its production to shamanistic visionary experiences (cf. Blackburn 1977; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988; Whitley 1992, 1994a, 2000a). We have every reason to infer, in other words, that the Early through Late phases all involved shamanistic rock art production.

Note further that the transition from the Early to Middle pictograph phases involves a change in motif emphasis and location, but not a change in the motifs used or the style employed, and thus not a cultural change in the sense of an ethnolinguistic group replacement. The transition from the Middle to the Late pictograph phases, in contrast, involved a shift from Chumash to Yokuts-style motifs, clarifying the argument by Lee and Hyder (1991) that some of the painted art on the Carrizo Plain may have been made by Yokuts and/or Salinan people who visited this otherwise-Chumash region. Importantly, the later style is commonly found outside the Carrizo Plain at Late Horizon and ethnographic Yokuts villages (Whitley 2000b), and therefore appears to largely post-date the Middle Period (post AD 1200). The Carrizo pictograph sequence, in other words, is capped by “intrusive,” Late Horizon Yokuts motifs, further supporting the plausibility that the two earlier pictograph phases date to the Middle Period. Yet the presence of this late Yokuts style rock art must be matched against another fact: the continued Chumash occupation of the Carrizo Plain into the Mission period. The implication here is that, while the Chumash continued to occupy the Carrizo, they had ceased the kinds of religious activities that previously had created the rock art, allowing for shamans from outside areas to conduct their visionary rituals at these sites (Whitley et al. 2006).

Previous studies of the Carrizo pictographs have provided substantial information about these specific sites and have contributed to an understanding of the origin, symbolism and meaning of this art. But missing from most of this previous research is any real integration of the pictograph sites with the larger “dirt” archeological record, that is the village sites, plant processing stations, lithic tool workshops and so on that normally comprise the majority of an archeological record. The simple fact is that the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District rock art represents the largest concentration of pictographs in Chumash territory, and this circumstance warrants explanation: why was so much rock art created in this specific Chumash region and why weren’t similar quantities created in adjacent areas, or widely across the Chumash realm? Since art is always created within a social context, it follows that the largest concentration of this art necessarily must have some implications for social conditions and processes, specifically that precontact social conditions on the Carrizo Plain somehow differed from those in other portions of the Chumash region where no concentrations of rock art of this size or complexity exist. Likewise, the apparent cessation in the creation of Chumash rock art requires explanation: why so much art during the earlier phases, and then a cessation in recent times? Clearly, the

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research potential of the Carrizo archeological record is very substantial and important, yet it is all but unexamined.

Archeological Context: Interpretation of Recent Archeological Work on Non-Rock Art Sites

Approximately two-thirds of the sites found during these recent surveys were dated using surface diagnostic artifacts and soil contexts (*ibid.*). Over half of all of the sites recorded were assigned to the Middle Period (4000 - 800 BP; 2050 BCE – 1150 CE) and only about 10% to the Late Horizon (post-800 BP; 1150 CE). Habitation sites, that is villages and camps, again comprised over half of the total; about three-fourths of these are assigned to the Middle Period and less than one-fifth to the Late Horizon. As is immediately clear, these data suggest a significant disparity between Middle Period and Late Horizon occupation of the Carrizo Plain; indeed, they suggest a dramatic reduction in occupation over time.

But counts of clerically-defined sites can be misleading, especially for population estimates. Following accepted archeological practice (*cf.* Yellen 1977; Hassan 1981), the acreage covered by these sites can be calculated as a more useful approximation of intensity of occupation (Whitley et al. 2007). When tabulated in this fashion, Middle Period habitations cover almost 200 acres within the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological District, whereas Late Horizon habitations account for less than 5 acres, yielding a 98% versus 2% difference in site size for these two time periods. This suggests a dramatic change in population from the Middle Period to the Late Horizon. Moreover, it is worth noting that these acreage figures represent roughly 2% of the total area of the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District. Given that much of this foothill zone is slope and ridgeline, it is likely that these archeological deposits cover somewhere in the vicinity of 5 – 10% of the flat ground in this zone. This is the largest and densest concentration of habitation remains, away from the coast and islands, in south-central California.

These precontact population changes can be estimated in absolute terms from the site deposit acreage figures (*ibid.*). The results are surrogate or ballpark estimates that, though far from precise, are useful as relative measures of population change over time. Deriving these surrogate figures requires, first, normalizing the acreage estimates in terms of the relative lengths of the two time periods. Computed in this fashion, this suggests that the Middle Period in the interior Carrizo Plain had roughly ten times the population of the Late Horizon. Absolute estimates for the change in population on the Carrizo can be computed, second, using historical mission records as an indicator of Late Horizon population size, and then working backwards. There are 14 individuals identified in the mission records from the Carrizo, with population for the CPNM area during the historical period estimated at 14 (most conservatively but least likely) to about 32 people (more likely; see Johnson 1988, 1999). This suggests that the Middle Period population in the CPNM area was roughly 140 to 320 people. This is about the population size of the Native Californian “tribelet:” the autonomous land-owning group that was the most common form of political organization during the ethnographic period (see Kroeber 1925), suggesting that a tribelet form of political organization may have existed, within the CPNM, during the Middle Period.

But regardless of the exact population figures, two conclusions are clear. The Middle Period to Late Horizon transition in the Carrizo Plain was marked by a dramatic population collapse; meanwhile the Chumash population along the coastal zone was steadily growing towards its highest levels. And, assuming that the Middle Period Carrizo population had been organized into a tribelet or some other type of political organization, this too apparently disappeared at this same time, while chiefdoms developed along the coast, resulting in the most complex form of socio-political organization achieved by Native Californian hunter-gatherers. What caused these changes, and how exactly they came about, are certainly questions critical to understanding Chumash prehistory. But they are also central to understanding larger problems of culture change over time,

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not the least of these is the influence of climatic change, and the resulting shifts in human-environment relationships, on the path of human progress and social evolution.

Despite the fact that detailed archeological investigations have not yet been conducted on the Carrizo Plain, one circumstance is clear with regard to these problems. This is the apparent correlation between the Carrizo collapse and the environmental disruptions caused by the Medieval Climatic Anomaly. The drought during this period is likely to have had its greatest impacts in interior regions, like the Carrizo, but it is also certain to have created adverse conditions along the coast. Why one region flourished during this period of environmental stress while the population in another region almost disappeared is unknown, but it is highly likely that the archeological record within the Carrizo Plain Archeological District holds evidence that can help unlock this mystery.

There is much then that the archeological record from the Carrizo Plain can tell us about events in the past, including how precontact populations responded differentially to environmental change. There may be a lesson in this for us today, if we are wise enough to understand it.

Criteria 5 and 6

The Carrizo Plain Archeological District contains 100 contributing sites. These include rock art panels and motifs, village midden deposits, cupule sites, surface lithic scatters, quarries, rock cairns, and bedrock mortar localities. Eighteen of the properties are pictograph sites; these represent the largest concentration of painted rock art in California, and probably the U.S. One of these pictograph sites, Painted Rock, is the single largest individual pictograph site in the country. Painted Rock and the other rock art sites in the district have accordingly been acknowledged as among the finest examples of North American rock art for almost 100 years, by scholars as diverse as Alfred L. Kroeber (1925), Arnold Pilling (n.d. [1950]), Campbell Grant (1965), Robert L. Hoover (1979), Georgia Lee (1979, 1991), John Johnson (1985), and David S. Whitley (1996, 2000a). The international significance of the Carrizo sites has been recognized by renowned European archeologists Emmanuel Anati (1995:300, fig. 245) and Jean Clottes (2002:125, fig. 7.7), both of whom have used photographs of Carrizo paintings to illustrate their books on world rock art. Early California anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, for example, wrote that "The most remarkable pictographs are those in Chumash country, beginning with the famous Corral [Painted] Rock in the Carrizo [sic] Plains, the largest and most notable group in the state" (1925:937-938). Rock art researcher Georgia Lee has described Painted Rock as "one of the most spectacular rock art sites in America" (1979:ix). Ethnohistorian John Johnson has similarly stated that "Painted Rock has a national reputation as one of the most important Native American rock art sites in the United States" (1985:iii).

Recognition of the significance of these sites had occurred by the beginning of the twentieth century, a fact best demonstrated by the publication of Myron Angel's (1910) romantic novel *The Painted Rock: A Legend*, which was inspired by the site. Angel was a well-known regional historian and author, having published a series of county histories in the 1880s and 1890s. Although his novel is entirely fanciful (including, among other things, Aztec maiden sacrifices on the Carrizo Plain), it nonetheless had a serious intent. His personal hand written inscription, in the copy of his book reproduced in the 1979 edition, states that "This book is to preserve and make known a great archaeological landmark of California."

Though Angel intentionally used fiction to promote the importance of and knowledge about Painted Rock, early recognition of its significance was also expressed by artists' attempts to record its painted motifs, an activity motivated by the paintings' obvious artistic merit. Angel (1910:ii) noted the turn-of-the-century activities of the Brumley girls, daughters of the original ranch owner, who he says "were ecstatic in their enthusiasms for the

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strange vastness of their surroundings and overawed by the mysterious Painted Rock so near at hand, engaged at once as guardian angels of a sacred trust, measuring the rock in every dimension as engineers; studying and sketching the paintings as artists, and preserving them for reproduction in the form given here.” While the Brumley recordings are unfortunately lost, their activities were continued by Douglas Allen in the 1920s and 1930s. His sketches, photos and notes have been used in recent studies of the site (Hyder et al. 1986) and are now preserved at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Artistic interest in the district’s rock art continued into the Depression when Lala Eve Rivol, a WPA artist working out of San Francisco, sketched motifs which she used in the WPA’s *Index of American Design*. Included among her drawings were illustrations from Washburn Ranch (CA-SLO-100). Lithographs from her work in the district were exhibited at the San Francisco Museum of Art in 1938 (Lee 1991), and were recently published (Freeman 1992).

As these references and incidents suggest, rock art has been the focus of attention within the district. This partly reflects the remarkable aesthetic value of the art itself, and is partly due to the art’s visibility, especially compared to the remainder of the archeological record. But it is also attributable to the (related) fact that, until the completion of the recent Class II and III inventories of the CPNM, little knowledge existed concerning the other aspects of the archeological record in this area.

The importance of this art impinges on a variety of criteria, topics, and concerns. First, the artistic merit of the sites and many of the motifs is simply inescapable. Though created by shaman-artists from a hunting and gathering culture that is far removed in most respects from our own, the aesthetic appeal and artistic expression of many of the Carrizo pictographs are still undiminished, despite the passage of hundreds, if not thousands, of years. The simple elegance of the painting at Locus 2 of Saucito Ranch, evocatively referred to now as “The Blessing” (Photo 15), for example, transcends time, place and culture, speaking to its status as a true masterpiece of art, as this concept is commonly defined. Similarly, the dramatic placement of the turtle paintings at Washburn Ranch, and the complex symbolism that they and this setting jointly encode, demonstrate a level of aesthetic integration of natural landscape, cultural symbolism, and human art that rivals on a very intimate scale that found at any other archeological site in the world. On a more practical level, the high artistic merit of the Carrizo district pictographs is demonstrated by their duplication, for artistic purposes, since at least the Ripol exhibition of lithographic copies of the motifs at the San Francisco Museum of Art in 1938. This recognition continues into contemporary times with their common use in book design and frequent replication for T-shirts, jewelry, and other forms of decorative arts.

That the district contains paintings that were made by master artist-shamans cannot be contested; that this art continues to inspire admiration, awe and fascination in our modern times is evident in the widespread public interest in these sites and their motifs, including the commercial exploitation of the designs for decorative purposes. Moreover, the various sites and the motifs that they contain are representative of both the best examples of this type of rock art—the South-Central Variant of the California Painted Tradition (Whitley 2000a)—as well as the range of variation that this tradition contains (Chumash and Yokuts style paintings). In this same vein, the district includes massive concentrations of polychrome pictographs, as seen at Painted Rock and Saucito, as well as much smaller and more personal expressions as illustrated, for example, by Washburn Ranch. It also includes concentrations of paintings that are intermediate in size (e.g., CA-SLO-1102), as well as single motifs, isolated from other kinds of archeological remains (e.g., CA-SLO-1101). And it includes paintings and panels associated with a range of other types of archeological remains, such as midden deposits, bedrock mortars and cupules.

Second, the significance of the Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District is not restricted to artistic values alone, for the motifs and sites, taken individually or as a whole, have the highest potential for contributing to our understanding of the precontact and historical-ethnographic past in numerous different ways. This fact is

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partly reflected in the important role these sites have played in recent rock art research, where they have been crucial to our understanding of archaeoastronomy (e.g., Hudson and Underhay 1978; Hudson and Lee 1984), ethnic affiliations and cultural boundaries (e.g., Hyder et al 86; Lee and Hyder 1991), gender symbolism and ritual landscapes (e.g., Lee and Hyder 1993; Whitley 1998a, 2000a), as well as precontact symbolic systems and cognition more generally (e.g., Lee 1977; Whitley 1994a, 1996, 2000a). Very few other corpora of American pictographs sites can be said to have been the focus of this much research.

Yet the research potential of the district is itself not restricted to the topics and concerns that so far have been identified and discussed. All but unconsidered are the majority of the sites that have been documented in the district, not the least of which includes the large concentration of village sites, most of which date to the Middle Period (4000 – 800 BP; 2050 - 1150 CE). These can contribute to our understanding of the integration of rock art into precontact life more generally as well as provide information on many other aspects of prehistory that are otherwise unrelated to the rock art, per se. Demographic changes, subsistence practices, the development of social complexity, environmental adaptation, technology, resource exploitation and trade are some of the topics that are important in our understanding of the prehistory of this portion of south-central California, and that can be addressed by the various site complexes, individual sites, site components, and artifacts in this district.

Belief in the inevitability of progress and advancement has been central to our American ideology, for at least the last 200 years. The demographic expansion of European-Americans across the western states was explicitly predicated on the notion that growth and expansion were our destiny, and that they were unstoppable. Yet the current recognition of the potential for global warming and climate change calls these deeply rooted ideals into question. Is continued growth truly inevitable, or instead might environmental changes and limits restrict the size, affluence, and even nature of future American society? One way to assay this important question is to look to prehistory, to determine the possible effects of climate change on past societies. What impacts did climate change have on earlier cultures and civilizations, and what are the implications of these precontact circumstances for our own future?

One potential area of research where this problem can be addressed is the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District. While it incorporates the existing National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Carrizo Plain Rock Art Discontiguous District, the proposed NHL district represents a much more varied complex. In addition to its world-renowned precontact pictograph (rock painting) sites, the NHL district also includes a dense and effectively unparalleled concentration of precontact villages and other sites. Preliminary studies of these sites, their ages, and their distributions have already demonstrated the importance of this district to the understanding of the development of the Chumash chiefdom, the effect of dramatic climate change on human populations and societies, and the fact that societies are equally as capable of collapsing as they are of growing, over time, in size and complexity. Progress and development, in this sense, are fully capable of reversing, as the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological District NHL illustrates so well. Combining a Native American aesthetic legacy of true international significance, its pictograph sites, with a near-pristine “dirt” archeological record, consisting of villages and camps speak to some of the most important questions confronting contemporary archeology, if not American society as a whole. The result is a district that is archeologically unique and extremely important for what it can tell us about the past and, perhaps, what it implies about the future.

Correspondence to NHL Themes

The Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District contains a record of past inhabitation and social life that not only reflects, but also exemplifies, two NHL themes associated with the above NHL Criteria. The first of these is Peopling Places (Criterion 6). Initial studies in the district suggest that the precontact population experienced a significant period of growth during the Middle Period, a paleoclimatic phase known as the Mid-Holocene

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Optimum, during which the majority of the sites were first occupied and the rock art painted. But this population and its dynamic cultural system (including Chumash rock art painting) seemingly collapsed and almost disappeared during the transition between the Middle Period and the Late Horizon (1200 - 800 BP; 750 CE – 1150 CE). This last event apparently correlates with another important paleoclimatic period, the Medieval Climatic Anomaly, which represented a long stretch of drought and severe conditions. The expected result is an archeological record of demographic expansion tied to successful adaptation to improving environmental conditions and a subsequent failure to adapt to adverse circumstances, with an attendant population collapse. This record has the potential to provide information of the greatest value to the understanding the population during precontact history of western North America, especially with regard to correlations between broad, relatively rapid environmental changes, and changes in demography and culture.

The district also contains a very significant record of both precontact art and, because of the nature and origin of this art, precontact ceremony, both of which are related to a second NHL theme: Expressing Cultural Values (Criterion 5). This art is the dramatic, often polychromatic Carrizo pictographs, which occur at 18 of the contributing sites. Anthropological and Native American consensus holds that this art was made during religious ceremonies, specifically shamanic vision questing. It was apparently intended to represent the visionary experiences and perceptions of the supernatural world, obtained during these rituals. In this sense, then, it is a record of artistic and aesthetic mastery, an illustration of metaphysical beliefs, and a preserved behavioral road-map to how and where certain ceremonies were conducted. Moreover, given the documented changing nature of this art over time, it illustrates how ritual and art were used and manipulated during changing social circumstances. In all these senses, it is perhaps the most profound record of the cultural perceptions and values of the precontact inhabitants of the district in that it reflects not only the deepest and most heartfelt of their religious beliefs, but also a coherent stylistic and aesthetic canon.

The Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District is an exceptional archeological and heritage resource. It is important because of what it already has told us and what it may in the future tell us about the precontact and ethnographic past of the south-central California region. It stands out from many other significant archeological resources, first, because it provides a record of Middle Period population evolution and then collapse that is not elsewhere known and, second, because it documents the masterpieces of great shaman-artists whose works have otherwise been lost.

Comparative Context

There are surprisingly few NHL rock art sites and districts, although there are numerous rock art sites and districts listed in the NRHP. Rock art-related NHLs listed from the western states are limited to Pictograph Cave, Montana (a single site falling within the Great Plains cultural area), and the Coso Rock Art District, Inyo County, eastern California. The proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District is most similar to the Coso Rock Art District, as both districts have a diverse range of site types, including a significant number of rock art sites. Beyond this administrative similarity, and the fact that both are found in the modern state of California, the Carrizo and Coso districts are markedly different.

The Coso Rock Art District was designated in 1964. It was named Big and Little Petroglyphs NHL, to highlight the massive concentration of petroglyphs, or rock engravings, found at this location. The district was expanded and renamed in 1998 (Gilreath 1997, 1998). Our knowledge of the Coso art primarily comes from two sources. The first is a general overview published by Campbell Grant (1968) almost 40 years ago. Grant's information on the Coso sites has been substantially updated during the last two decades through intensive research published by David S. Whitley. This includes a doctoral dissertation (Whitley 1982a), a series of papers on dating and chronology (Dorn and Whitley 1983, 1984; Whitley and Dorn 1987, 1988; Whitley et al. 1999a,

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1999b), a number of interpretive analyses of the art (Whitley 1982b, 1987, 1992, 1994a, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a; Whitley et al. 1999b), articles on the relationship of the rock art to the archeological record more generally (Whitley 1994c, 1998c); and guides to the Coso sites for the general public (Whitley 1996, 1998d). The Coso petroglyphs are now arguably the best-studied rock art in America, providing a detailed baseline from which their comparability to the Carrizo pictographs can be assessed.

The Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District then can reasonably be said to differ from the Coso Rock Art District in every way, save that they are both districts with rock art sites located in California and, in both cases, contain art created by hunting and gathering peoples. Despite this last fact, the two districts occur in two distinct culture areas (e.g., as defined by Kroeber 1925). The Carrizo district falls within the California culture area and it has ethnographic ties to the Hokan-speaking Chumash. The Coso district, in contrast, falls within the Great Basin and is ethnographically linked to the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family (i.e., Shoshone and Paiute). One implication of this first distinction is environmental: the Carrizo sites today fall within an oak, chaparral and grass dominated portion of the California's coastal ranges, whereas the Coso sites lie in the much hotter and drier Mojave Desert, with plant life (such as it is) primarily composed of sage, creosote and Joshua Tree. Although both environments differed in various ways during the precontact period, this distinction means that their aboriginal and precontact inhabitants necessarily followed different adaptive strategies throughout the ethnographic and precontact pasts. For the ethnographic Chumash, this was an emphasis on the acorn-bearing oak as a primary staple. For the Shoshone and Paiute, this was the pinyon.

The second and most obvious difference between the two districts is evident in the rock art itself. In the Cosos this consists primarily of petroglyphs engraved on darkly rock varnished basalt boulders and cliffs. The number of petroglyphs present within the Cosos is astounding and likely exceeds 100,000, partly because the engraved art is present almost everywhere that exposed surfaces of non-vesicular basalt are found. There is, in this sense, no direct association between the rock art sites and other kinds of archeological sites, such as habitations, because the petroglyphs are, literally, everywhere on the landscape. Put another way, locational associations between the art and other kinds of archeological remains appear to be coincidental, not intentional, with only about one-third of the habitation sites also containing rock art, for example (Whitley et al. 1999b). This fact results from the origin of this art itself: during the ethnographic period (and likely into the precontact past), the Coso Range was used by Numic shamans coming from all over the Great Basin to conduct vision quests primarily in order to obtain a specialized kind of shamanic power: rain-making abilities. They created the rock art motifs at the conclusion of their visions, to portray the spirit helpers and supernatural events that they had just seen and experienced. The district is best understood as the product of Great Basin culture as a whole, not just the inhabitants of the Coso Range alone and the art is, for this reason, connected to a very wide region, rather than being specific to the Cosos, *per se*. The emphasis in the Coso art, moreover, is everywhere quite restrictive: over half of the motifs are bighorn sheep, the specialized spirit helper associated with rain-making power; entoptic designs (geometric light images experienced during an altered state of consciousness) are next most common; followed by human figures (about 12%), with smaller numbers of other kinds of designs (Whitley 1998c; Whitley et al. 1999b). Some of the images are quite large (e.g., with bighorn sheep larger than life-size), and almost all are placed in full view. The Coso art in this sense is almost everywhere quite public. And the Cosos served as a nexus for shamanic vision questing then because it was believed to be a region particularly strongly associated with rain-making power.

The Coso petroglyphs are, in this sense, "international" in nature, in that they were created by artists coming from long distances across the Great Basin; that is, from the north and east, but not from the direction of the Carrizo Plain and the California culture area, to the west. Researchers have, for this reason, noted strong stylistic similarities between the Coso art and petroglyphs even at the limits of the Numic realm, such as the Dinwoody region of northwestern Wyoming (Loendorf 1999), roughly a thousand miles northeast.

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The Carrizo Plain rock art, in contrast, is heavily predominated by pictographs or painted motifs, many of which are polychromatic, and all of which are drawn on buff-colored exposures of the Vaqueros Sandstone. Although the quantity of Carrizo pictograph sites and motifs is also remarkable, the painted motifs are in fact localized in a limited number (18) of sites, most of which themselves are closely tied to specific village sites and site complexes and they are, for this reason, more closely integrated with the remainder of the archeological record. The pictograph sites and painted motifs are much smaller and far less numerous, respectively, than the Coso petroglyphs, but they still represent one of the largest, if not the largest, concentration of painted rock art in the country.

Beyond the obvious difference in techniques between the two regions—petroglyphs versus pictographs—the art also differs in style, subject matter and, in many cases, placement. Entirely absent from the Carrizo, for example, are paintings of bighorn sheep, over 50,000 of which are estimated to be present in the Cosos. Indeed, the Carrizo pictographs lack any significant concern with quadrupedal mammals, with representational or naturalistic imagery largely restricted to humans, turtles, rattlesnakes and occasional bears. Yet even this tendency serves to separate the Carrizo paintings from other examples of Chumash art found in other parts of south-central California, and which commonly emphasizes birds, frogs, and insects.

This distinction again appears to reflect differences in the origin of this art. Based on ethnographic analogy and other evidence, Carrizo pictographs are believed to have been created primarily by locally-resident Chumash shamans, who owned the specific sites associated with their villages (Whitley 2000a). This art, in this sense, is a much more local product than the Coso engravings, thereby reflecting social life and processes in this immediate region, not cultural processes common over a wide range of the far west as a whole. Although this circumstance is now believed to have changed during the Late Horizon, with intrusive Yokuts shamans apparently sometimes using the otherwise abandoned Carrizo Chumash sites, the Carrizo Plain art can still be best understood as a far western, rather than international, phenomena, in contrast to the Coso petroglyphs.

Another contrasting characteristic of the rock art from these two districts is age. Over two decades of detailed chronometric and relative dating have been conducted in the Cosos, making it the best-dated rock art sequence in the country (Whitley et al. 1999a, 1999b). This demonstrates that the Coso petroglyphs were first created during the Terminal Pleistocene and that they continued to be made into the Historical/Ethnographic Period. (One Coso site, for example, is believed to have been created around 1920 CE, by a known rain-making shaman.) Furthermore, the production of the Coso petroglyphs is thought to have accelerated significantly during the last 1500 to 2000 years. The Carrizo pictographs, in contrast, are interpreted as dating primarily between 4000 years BP (2050 BCE) and the Historic Period, and they thus represent a significantly shorter period of production. They are also believed to have been made during three identifiable phases with the first two periods, involving the creation specifically of Chumash paintings, terminating about 800 years ago, and the final phase adding intrusive Yokuts pictographs. Chumash shamans, in this sense, ceased painting Carrizo sites almost at the same time that the creation of the Coso petroglyphs reached its apogee. Whereas the production of the Coso petroglyphs has then been cited as evidence for long-term continuity in religious beliefs and practices, the Carrizo evidence demonstrates that, alternatively, ceremonial activities and art can certainly change (if not disappear from a region) over time.

Perhaps the final significant distinction between the Carrizo and Coso districts is cohesiveness. To be sure, both districts are cohesive and distinct. But the Cosos represent one element in an “international” phenomena, if you will, and thus they cannot be fully understood without a much wider archeological and ethnographic context. But the Carrizo district, particularly during the Middle Period, appears to have been a complete social, political and demographic unit. Rock art sites are then a central component of the Carrizo district, but they are

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neither the numerically dominant kind of site nor the most significant type of archeological resource in the district. With respect to dominance, villages are much more common, but it is the combination of villages with the rock art (not either alone) that is both so unusual and nationally significant in the Carrizo Plain archeological record. It is then this high degree of cohesiveness, in the sense of a complete range of site types and the full representation of these site types within a discrete precontact socio-political unit, combined with the integrity of the sites themselves, that makes the proposed Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District such an unusual and valuable historical, archeological and artistic property, and sets it apart so markedly.

In addition to NHL districts, there are also a series of rock art NRHP districts that warrant comparison to the Carrizo. The closest of these is the Black Mountain Archeological District, San Bernardino County, California. This differs from the Carrizo for many of the same reasons as the Coso Rock Art NHL District. While Black Mountain too contains numerous rock art sites, these are petroglyphs, not pictographs, and the district falls within the Mojave Desert and thus the Great Basin, not Californian, ethnographic culture area, with the art then made by Numic rather than Chumash and Yokuts speakers. Similarly, the Torrey Lake Petroglyph NRHP District, Wyoming (Swenson and Chapman 1992), is also characterized by petroglyphs, was made by Numic speakers following the Great Basin cultural tradition, and lacks the kind of complete archeological record seen in the Carrizo. Petroglyph National Monument, outside of Albuquerque, N.M. provides another NRHP rock art district example. Again, its emphasis is petroglyphs though, in this case, petroglyphs made by the sedentary Puebloan farmers of the Southwestern cultural area practicing priestly religions rather than conducting shamanic rites and ceremonies.

All of these NHL and NRHP districts have certain similarities: all contain rock art made by precontact (and perhaps ethnographic) Native Americans. But Native American rock art was far from a unitary phenomenon. It varied in its origin, purpose, and form almost as much as Native American cultures themselves varied from one another. The Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District might then be said to represent one dimension of this range of variation, with the Coso Rock Art District and Petroglyph National Monument each representing other separate and distinguishable dimensions. Each district in this sense contributes to a detailed and nuanced understanding of our Native American heritage and legacy, thereby helping to dispel simplistic caricatures of the Native American past that, too often, have been promoted by our popular culture.

CONCLUSIONS

The Carrizo Plain Archeological District contains 100 nationally significant archeological sites that include rock art panels and motifs, village midden deposits, cupule sites, surface lithic scatters, quarries, rock cairns, and bedrock mortar localities. Eighteen of the properties are pictograph sites representing one of the largest concentration of painted rock art in the U.S. One of these pictograph sites, Painted Rock, is the single largest individual pictograph site in the country. Painted Rock and the other rock art sites in the district have accordingly been acknowledged as among the finest examples of North American rock art for almost 100 years, by scholars as diverse as Alfred L. Kroeber (1925), Arnold Pilling (n.d. [1950]), Campbell Grant (1965), Robert L. Hoover (1979), Georgia Lee (1979, 1991), John Johnson (1985), and David S. Whitley (1996, 2000a). The international significance of the Carrizo sites has been recognized by renowned European archeologists Emmanuel Anati (1995:300, fig. 245) and Jean Clottes (2002:125, fig. 7.7), both of whom have used photographs of Carrizo paintings to illustrate their books on world rock art. Understandably, rock art has been the focus of attention within the district. Under NHL Criterion 5, Expressing Cultural Values, this attention reflects the remarkable aesthetic value of the art itself, and is partly due to the art's visibility and outstanding integrity. The importance of this art impinges on a variety of criteria, topics, and concerns. The artistic merit of the sites and many of the motifs is simply inescapable. Though created by shaman-artists from a hunting and gathering culture that is far removed in most respects from our own, the aesthetic appeal and artistic expression

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of many of the Carrizo pictographs are still undiminished cross-culturally, despite the passage of hundreds if not thousands of years of time. That the district contains paintings that were made by master artist-shamans cannot be contested; that this art continues to inspire admiration, awe and fascination in our modern times is evident in the widespread public interest in these sites and their motifs, including the commercial exploitation of the designs for decorative purposes.

The significance of the Carrizo Plain Archeological NHL District is then not restricted to artistic values alone. Under NHL Criterion 6, Peopling Places, the motifs and sites taken individually or as a whole have the highest potential for contributing to our understanding of the precontact and historical-ethnographic past, in numerous ways. This fact is partly reflected in the important role these sites have played in recent rock art research, where they have been crucial to our understanding of archaeoastronomy (e.g., Hudson and Underhay 1978; Hudson and Lee 1984), ethnic affiliations and cultural boundaries (e.g., Hyder et al 86; Lee and Hyder 1991), gender symbolism and ritual landscapes (e.g., Lee and Hyder 1993; Whitley 1998a, 2000a), as well as precontact symbolic systems and cognition more generally (e.g., Lee 1977; Whitley 1994a, 1996, 2000a). Very few other corpora of American pictographs sites can be said to have been the focus of this much nationally and internationally significant research.

Yet the research potential of the district is itself not restricted to the topics and concerns that so far have been identified and discussed. All but unresearched are the majority of the sites that have been documented in the district, not the least of which include the large concentration of village sites. These can contribute to our understanding of the integration of rock art into precontact life more generally as well as provide information on many other aspects of precontact history that are otherwise unrelated to the rock art, *per se*. Demographic changes, subsistence practices, the development of social complexity, environmental adaptation, technology, resource exploitation and trade are some of the topics that are important in our understanding of the prehistory of this portion of south-central California, and that can be addressed by the various site complexes, individual sites, site components and artifacts in this district. The result is a district that is archeologically unique and extremely important for what it can tell us about the past and, perhaps, what it implies about our collective future.

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Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register.

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark.

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

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Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State Agency
 Federal Agency
 Local Government
 University
 Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**Acreage of Property:** 12,578 acres**UTM References:** REDACTED**Verbal Boundary Description:** REDACTED**Boundary Justification:** REDACTED

The location of this property is restricted information under law:

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, section 304, 16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a)

Section 304

[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a) – Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources]

- (a) The head of a Federal agency or other public official receiving grant assistance pursuant to this Act, after consultation with the Secretary, shall withhold from disclosure to the public, information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource if the Secretary and the agency determine that disclosure may –
- (1) cause a significant invasion of privacy;
 - (2) risk harm to the historic resources; or
 - (3) impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners.

[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(b) – Access Determination]

- (b) When the head of a Federal agency or other public official has determined that information should be withheld from the public pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary, in consultation with such Federal agency head or official, shall determine who may have access to the information for the purpose of carrying out this Act.

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
June 11, 2014

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

MAPS, TABLES, PHOTOS

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

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Section 304

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A redacted version was included with the series, from the state and year for this property that was sent to the Federal Records Center and from there to the National Archives.

A full version was sent in the address restricted series to the Federal Records Center and from there to the National Archives.

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MAPS, TABLES, PHOTOS

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National Historic Landmarks**Property Name: CARRIZO ARCHEOLOGICAL DISTRICT**

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[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(b) – Access Determination]

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