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An Addendum to Harrington's Northern Salinan Place Names

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Rivers and Jones (1993) reported the locations of 21 place names in the upper San Antonio Valley and adjacent coast of Monterey County, California, that were noted by Salinan speakers in John Peabody Harrington's field notes from 1922 to 1932. Surface reconnaissance and review of recently completed archaeological survey reports have led to the identification of 11 additional Salinan places in the upper San Antonio Valley and refinement in the location of three others. Archaeological sites in the vicinity of named places tentatively suggest that Salinan settlements are marked by clusters of small middens and bedrock mortars.

BETWEEN 1922 and 1932, John Peabody Harrington made a series of trips to the San Antonio Valley in southern Monterey County, California, to conduct ethnographic interviews with elderly Salinan speakers. Under the aegis of the Smithsonian Institute, Harrington recorded a great variety of information during these visits, including Salinan uses for local plants, myths, language, and place names (Harrington 1942; Mills 1985). Rivers and Jones (1993) reported on Harrington's Salinan place names for the upper San Antonio Valley and the adjacent Big Sur coast. For the coastal area, their research included extensive field survey and archaeological confirmation of many of the places described in Harrington's notes. Field survey in the interior, however, was more limited, and place name locations were established largely on the basis of Harrington's maps, which are notoriously confusing. Recent archaeological survey in the upper San Antonio Valley on lands within Fort Hunter Liggett Military Installation (Edwards and Eidsness

1994; Eidsness and Jackson 1994; Edwards 1995; Jones and Rivers 1997; Joslin 1997) and Los Padres National Forest (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 1994; Edwards et al. 1996) has led to the accrual of better field records for the interior.

In 1996 and 1997, the authors undertook a review of the newly available records, and conducted field surveys to ground truth Harrington's place names for the upper San Antonio Valley. Based on this field and archival review, it was possible to identify 11 additional Salinan places, refine the locations of three others, and locate historical archaeological sites associated with Harrington's Salinan consultants. These place names and sites are described herein and serve as an addendum to the Rivers and Jones (1993) article. We begin with a discussion of historic landmarks used to anchor Harrington's maps to the present-day landscape. This is followed by a summary of new information on 14 Salinan place names, a discussion of historic sites associated with Harrington's Salinan consul-

tants, and some preliminary comments on the distinctiveness of sites associated with Salinan speakers in the San Antonio Valley.

HARRINGTON'S SALINAN CONSULTANTS

The life histories of Harrington's Salinan consultants were summarized in detail by Rivers and Jones (1993). For clarity in this article, their names, along with the abbreviations Harrington used for them in his field notes, are once again listed:

Dave, Ad = Dave Mora (Antoniaño).

Mla. = Maria de Los Angeles Baylon Ocarpia Encinales (Miguelino). Married to Tito Encinales.

Mj., mm., Am., or Me. = Maria Jesusa Encinales (Spoke a mixture of the two dialects according to Mla.). Married to Dave Mora.

Felipe = Felipe Encinales (not a linguistic informant).

Tito = Tito Encinales (not a linguistic informant).
Fontes = Antonio Fontes (not a linguistic informant).

Harrington's commentary is distinguished by JPH.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS

The key to interpreting Harrington's maps is to identify the locations of historical and/or natural landmarks depicted on the maps, in order to use them as datum points for interpreting the present-day landscape. Several historical structures serve as reference marks for the maps drawn during trips through the San Antonio Valley. Of these, two are well-known local landmarks, while others, no longer standing, have been identified during archaeological surveys. On the maps from the Santa Lucia to Nacimiento trip of March 30, 1931, Harrington depicted Hearst's house (the well-known historic landmark today referred to as "the Hacienda," or CA-MNT-940H), Mission San Antonio (CA-MNT-100H), and a structure called "la Casa de Piedras" along Mission Creek (Fig. 1). La Casa de Piedras (the House of Stones) is no longer standing, but its remains were recorded as historic archaeological site CA-MNT-860/H in 1978 (Zahniser and Roberts 1980). The site is located along Upper

Milpitas Road (referred to as Indians Club Road by Harrington in reference to the short-lived attempt to run a commercial hunting and fishing club at The Indians), on the southern edge of a broad, grassy flat. A stone foundation marks the former location of the structure.

For the area west of Tito's driveway, Harrington depicts a schoolhouse. This was the Milpitas School that operated from 1931 to 1936, which means it was standing when Harrington came through in 1932. Records from the San Antonio Valley Historical Society (Walton 1981) indicate that the school was located approximately three-quarters of a mile east of The Indians and north of Del Venturi Road. Its former location has not been confirmed on the ground, however. Another school, the Avila School, was located on the San Antonio River at the crossing of the road to Salsipuedes. It too was in operation between 1931 and 1937 (Walton 1981), and it appears on Harrington's maps from the trip to the coast. The school site was recently recorded as historic archaeological site CA-MNT-1886H (Fig. 1) by employees of Los Padres National Forest. Harrington also referred to an adobe at the foot of Tito's driveway (Harrington 1985; Rl.87, Fr.0755, Rl.88, Fr.0415). The footing of this adobe was recently recorded as part of archaeological site CA-MNT-769/H (Figs. 1 and 2).

Home Sites of Harrington's Salinan Consultants

Harrington's place name trips through the San Antonio Valley generally began at the home of either Tito Encinales or Dave Mora, and the locations of these home sites are critical to accurate interpretation of the notes. The Mora Ranch was recorded as historic archaeological site CA-MNT-956H in 1979, but its association with Dave Mora was not clear until it was re-recorded in 1991 for the Fort Hunter Liggett Historic Preservation Plan (Eidsness and Jackson 1994). At that time, it was described as a scatter of recent historic trash, bricks from a structure, and exotic trees. It is located on the north bank of the Nacimiento River, just off Nacimiento-Ferguson Road (Fig. 1). Riv-

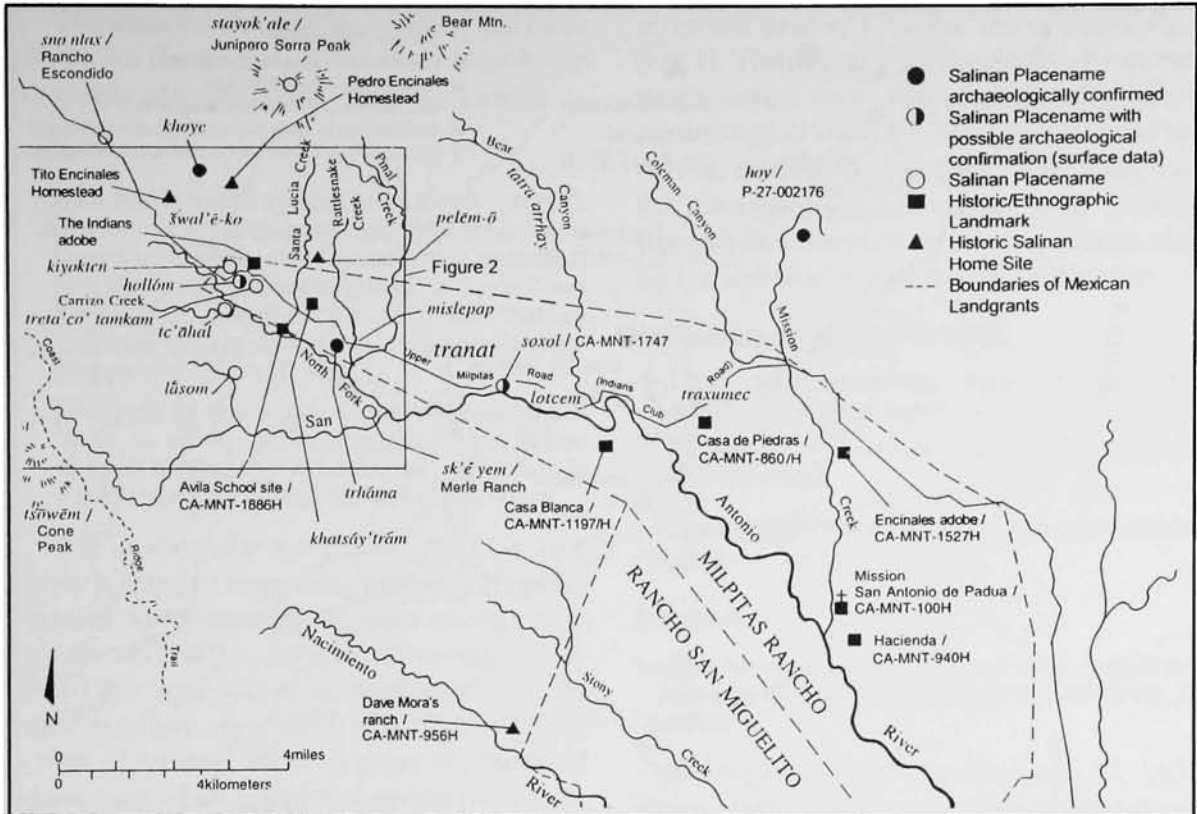


Fig. 1. Salinan place names, archaeological sites, and historic landmarks in the upper San Antonio Valley (adapted from Rivers and Jones (1993:152).

ers and Jones (1993:152) incorrectly depicted it on the south side of the river.

The home of Tito and his wife, Maria de los Angeles Bailon Ocarpia Encinales, was visited repeatedly by Harrington, and the turn-off to their home from Del Venturi Road (Harrington's Indian Club Road) is shown on nearly all of Harrington's San Antonio Valley maps. It is fairly clear that Tito and Maria were living on what is now a private inholding (the Chase Ranch) within the Los Padres National Forest, just north of the former boundary of the Milpitas Rancho (Figs. 1 and 2). The road into this parcel corresponds with the road depicted on Harrington's maps.

A homestead established by Pedro Encinales ca. 1910 was recorded in 1975 on the Los Padres National Forest (Fleming 1976), as historic archaeological site CA-MNT-816H (Fig. 1). The site

was described at that time as a surface scatter of historic metal and wood, including Model T parts, bedsprings, and milled lumber.

Another homestead is attributed to Tito Encinales in the vicinity of *swalekom*, northwest of The Indians. Harrington's consultants stated that *swalekom* was where "Tito had a little ranch . . ." (Harrington 1985:R1.88, Fr.0458). Recorded in 1975 as archaeological site CA-MNT-772H (Fig. 1), the homestead is represented by remains of a corral, cast-iron stove parts, other metal artifacts, and a patch of domesticated cactus (*Opuntia* sp.). For some reason, by 1932, Tito had left this ranch and was living as a tenant in a cabin on what is now the Chase Ranch.

PLACE NAMES

The following Salinan place names for the upper San Antonio Valley are either newly identified, or

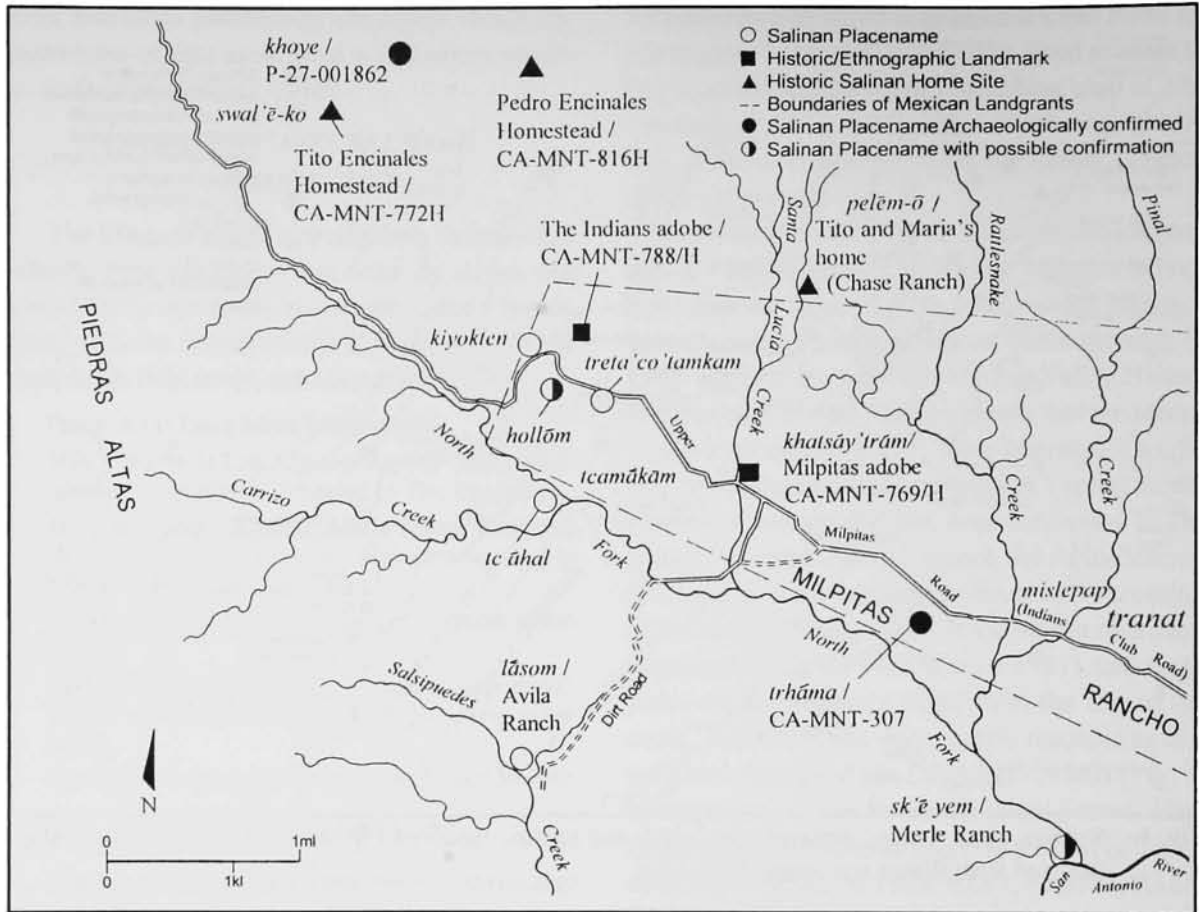


Fig. 2. Salinan place names in the vicinity of The Indians at the headwaters of the San Antonio River.

additional data are now available that were not reported in 1993. Under each name are passages from the Harrington (1985) notes that refer to it, as well as a discussion of its location.

sk'ē'yem (sk'e'yem; ski'yam)

Mj.: *sk'ē'yem*, Rancho Hidalgo [Harrington 1985: Rl.87, Fr.0768].

JPH, traveling with Mla. and Dave: Rancho Hidalgo = *sk'e'yem* [Harrington 1985:Rl.88, Fr.0431].

Dave, Tito: *sk'ola'yic* [bee rock], then *trh'ama'*, big rock. Then *sk'i'yam*, place name of Hidalgo's place, a ranch of free Indians *antes* [in the past]. No etymology. Not on Indian Club Road, but on Hidalgo Road [Harrington 1985:Rl.88, Fr.0458].

Recent archaeological surveys on the Merle Ranch (formerly the Hidalgo Ranch) by Edwards

et al. (1996) and Edwards and Smith (1994) revealed a profusion of bedrock mortar outcrops in the immediate vicinity of the ranch (Figs. 1 and 2). A large midden with associated bedrock mortar features (CA-MNT-1834) and a midden/rockshelter with pictographs (CA-MNT-1835) were recorded one kilometer to the north on land held by Los Padres National Forest (Edwards et al. 1996). No excavations have been conducted at either of these sites, and no definitive contact-era artifacts were found on the site surfaces, so association between these sites and this name is provisional.

mislepap

This vicinity and creek = *mislepap* [near road to Rancho Hidalgo] (Harrington 1985:Rl.88, Fr.0431-map).

This name was not identified by Rivers and Jones (1993), but Harrington's maps clearly identify it in the vicinity of Rattlesnake Creek (Figs. 1 and 2).

tranat

Now Maria recalls another place name: (*tranat*). Primero *soqol*, then *tranat* (a plant name; this is the place where the sterility mortar is), then *trqama* (the big rock where they guardan calezas [keep wagons]). . . . *tranat* is a flowering plant that has the flower yellow, eat the seed, make pinole (Harrington 1985:RI.84, Fr.0321).

Mla. says all this place and including childbirth rocks is called *tranat*. Maria's [Maria Jesusa Mora's] mother told her childbirth rock place is *tranat* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0431-map).

The location of *tranat* (Figs. 1 and 2) is most clearly located on maps from February 27, 1932, when Harrington recorded odometer readings from the intersection of Tito Encinales' driveway and Indians Club Road (Upper Milpitas Road). *Tranat* was a broad area, correlated with the distribution of a plant of the same name. It apparently extended between *soqol* (see below) and *trqama* (see Rivers and Jones 1993:168).

lotcem

Potrero del cacha [?] = El potrero *lotcem* [near Bear Canyon] (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0452-map).

With the aid of odometer readings, *lotcem* can be ascribed to a wide, oak-covered river terrace near Bear Canyon (Fig. 1). On the edge of this terrace is CA-MNT-1858, an archaeological site with two discrete middens and a bedrock mortar outcrop, but association of the site with the name remains tentative in the absence of subsurface data.

soxol (soqol)

[See *tranat*, above].

Charcos [pools of standing water] in arroyo here = *soxol* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0431-map). Creek has pools = *soxol* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0452-map).

Odometer readings recorded during the place name trip of February 27, 1932, indicate that this

place was situated 1.9 miles west of Bear Canyon (Fig. 1). This portion of the San Antonio River commonly retains water throughout the dry season. Archaeological site CA-MNT-1747, recorded here in 1994, consists of a small (70 x 15 m.) midden and four associated bedrock mortar outcrops. In the absence of subsurface data and historic artifacts, association with this place name remains tentative.

tatraatrhay (trehwaawotrahay)

Dave, *trehwaawotrahay*, Bear's Canyon. Mla doesn't know (Harrington 1985:RI.87, Fr.0764).

tatraatrhay, Bear Canyon (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0452-map).

Bear Canyon retains its name to the present day (Fig. 1).

traxumec

This beautiful plain here is *traxumec*; used to be a Casa de piedras here (Harrington 1985:RI 88, Fr. 0432).

Harrington's map from February 27, 1932, clearly depicts *traxumec* between Mission Creek and the San Antonio River (Fig. 1). A small midden and bedrock mortar complex occurs adjacent to the remains of the *Casa de Piedras* as part of archaeological site CA-MNT-860/H. Merriam (1968:80) listed the village of *Tes-so-spek*, four miles northwest of Mission San Antonio. This village was originally transcribed from the Mission San Antonio registers by H. W. Henshaw. The location of *traxumec* identified by Harrington's consultants is precisely four miles northwest of the mission.

khatsaytram

Mla, Dave: *khatsay 'tram* = old original milpitas.

Harrington's informants repeatedly referred to *khatsaytram* (Figs. 1 and 2) as the original Milpitas (Harrington 1985:RI.87, Fr.0755, RI.88, Fr.0415). Rivers and Jones (1993:168) associated *khatsaytram* with an adobe at The Indians (CA-MNT-788H), since *khat saj* means milpitas in Salinan and *tram* means house. It was thought that this place was part of the Indians Ranch complex established

by members of the Encinal family in the northwest corner of the Milpitas Rancho in the late 1800s.

Recent discovery of a large adobe footing (CA-MNT-769/H) at the location identified as *khatsaytram* by Harrington's informants suggests that the correct interpretation is that *khatsaytram* was the location of an adobe home occupied by early inhabitants of the Milpitas Rancho. A map prepared in 1873 as part of the court proceedings over the disputed ownership of the Milpitas Rancho shows this as the location of "Rafael's adobe," quite separate from "Eusebio's adobe" at The Indians. A small midden is present here as well. Archaeological features recorded as CA-MNT-1045 (a stone circle), and CA-MNT-1046 (a small, square, stone footing) are apparently remnants of outbuildings associated with the main structure at CA-MNT-769/H.

swal'éko (cwa'lékam; swa'tekam; cwálekam; cwa'lécam; swalékam)

Ad: *swal'éko*: Place name by Santa Lucia. An old man named Pedro used to cultivate there. This place is at the head of the Arroyo Seco, but it is not the Arroyo Seco (Harrington 1985:RI.84, Fr.0278).

Dave, Tito: *swalékam*, where Tito had a little ranch and belongs to Indian Club now. The echo rock is 1/2 mile north of *swalékam* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0458).

Tito Encinales' homestead site was recorded in the 1970s as historic archaeological site CA-MNT-772H and the general area seems to have been referred to as *swal'éko* (Figs. 1 and 2). The location is slightly modified from that reported by Rivers and Jones (1993:152).

tcamakám (tc'amakám; tf'amakam; tcamákam; tc'amákám)

Am: *tf'a ma kam* is a place name, a name of the *llano* (flat or meadow) near the school. The school is *entre medio* (halfway between) *khats'áj* and *tf'emákam*, (*khats'áj*) being *mas paca* (closer) and *tf'emákam mas palla* (further). It is many years that Maria has not pronounced this place name (Harrington 1985:RI.84, Fr.0314).

Am: [Maria adds, before reaching bee rock]. But *tc'am a kám*, place name on this side of San Anto-

nio Creek, where Snowbergs lived at one time. *lok'c* is across the creek from *tc'amakám* (Harrington 1985:RI.87, Fr.0738).

Dave: *tc'a makám*. From *tc'amák*, *canutillo* (kind of cane or reed?) . . .

JPH: Dave thinks there is lots of *canutillo* there, and that is why they put that name there (Harrington 1984:RI.87, Fr.0739).

Dave, Tito: *tcamakan*, a flat pasture towards (the) creek from where Tito's road leaves Indian Road. From *tcamak*, a kind of weeds with points that strip off when you pull. Weed is sharp like a file (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0459).

Ms., Tito: *tcamakám*, flat with several springs (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0580).

This flat with several springs was readily located east of CA-MNT-769/H (Fig. 2). There are no archaeological materials present, and it seems to be only a place on the landscape, associated with a particular type of plant.

treta'co' tamkam

Indians Road on way to original Milpitas. Green patch here, 30 feet across, 50 feet from road and 30 feet from arroyo = *treta'co tamkam* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0580).

This green patch was readily identified using Harrington's map (Figs. 1 and 2). There are no archaeological materials present.

kiyokten

Tito/Mj: This deep pezo (?) in creek bed just up s. of bridge = *kiyokten* (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0580).

Harrington's map places this just to the south of The Indians. Bedrock mortars are present in a rock outcrop at this location (Figs. 1 and 2).

khoye (khoy; koye)

Dave, Tito: Now coming this way from *snolax*, we come to *pacil*, a *llano*, nobody lives there. . . . Then *mas aca* [closer], is a big rock called *khoye*, echoe rock (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0457).

JPH traveling with Tito and Mj.: *khoy*, echoe rock (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0581).

JPH: *Portzuelo* (pass between hills) where took pictures of *khoye*, echoe cliff (Harrington 1985:RI.88, Fr.0593).

Rivers and Jones (1993:167) placed *khoye* northwest of The Indians adobe, but never actually identified it on the ground. With the aid of Harrington's maps and field reconnaissance, *khoye* was recently located in Los Padres National Forest on a small unnamed drainage that flows into Arroyo Seco (Figs. 1 and 2). The shape of a white/pale yellow sandstone cliff at this location conforms with Harrington's sketches. It also produces a resounding echo. It was recorded as P-27-001862.

hoy (*xui*, *huy*)

We drove nearly to King City from Tito's ranch, and then took the road up Pine Canyon and passed the former Franchoni's ranch and went to the very summit and down the other side, and parked the car, and walked about a mile and came to the *Hoy* --a ledge of rock at the top of the e. ladera [east slope] of the first big tributary that comes into the Hoy Canyon from the east (or south). The rock where the crow (the madadero [messenger] of *hoy*) stood watching people up and down the canyon is at the east end of the ledge (Harrington 1985: R1. 88, Frs.0462-0463).

According to Mason (1918:92-93), the *hoy* was a rock monster who was "the murderer of the people . . . used to kill them by throwing them over the hill where some little black birds would eat them." In 1931, Harrington photographed the *hoy* (see Rivers and Jones 1993:161). With the aid of this photograph, the distinctive rock formation was located just north of the boundary of Fort Hunter Liggett (Fig. 1) and was recorded as P-27-002176. It includes a long sandstone ledge (ca. 150 m. long and 10 to 15 m. high) (the *hoy*), and a small monolith at the northern end of the ledge (the crow or messenger of *hoy*) (Fig. 3).

DISCUSSION

Review of recently completed archaeological survey reports, as well as field reconnaissance undertaken in 1996 and 1997, allowed us to identify 11 Salinan places and refine the location of three others that Rivers and Jones (1993) could not accurately locate. Based on their proximity to historic landmarks and comparison with Harrington's

odometer readings, the locations depicted in Figures 1 and 2 can be considered reasonably accurate. Two of the placenames (*hoy* and *khoye*) referred to distinctive rock formations that were identified through comparison with Harrington's photographs and sketches. The remaining 12 place names refer mostly to general areas on the landscape. Two were associated with types of plants (*tranat* and *tcamakám*), four were linked to springs or deep holes in the San Antonio River (*soxol*, *kiyokten*, *treta'co' tamkam*, *tcamakám*), two were drainages named after animals (*mislepap* [Rattlesnake] creek and *tatraatrhay* [Bear] canyon), one was associated with a Spanish/Mexican era adobe (*khatsaytram*), and one was in the area of a consultant's homestead (*swal'éko*).

Archaeological sites were found in the vicinity of six of the place names: *sk'é'yem* (bedrock mortar outcrops, a large midden, and a midden/rock-shelter with pictographs), *lotcem* (two small middens with bedrock mortars on the flat with this name), *soxol* (a small midden with bedrock mortars), *traxumec* (a small midden with bedrock mortars), *khatsaytram* (a small midden), and *kiyokten* (bedrock mortars). However, links between the names and the archaeological features are tentative due to the absence of artifacts that could establish contact-era occupation. The profusion of materials in the vicinity of *sk'é'yem*, in particular, probably reflects the presence of sites and/or materials that predate the contact era (e.g., earlier occupational components). The other five places show a consistent, albeit tentative, association with small middens and bedrock mortars.

Excavation of similar middens in the coastal Salinan area (e.g., CA-MNT-1223 and CA-MNT-1236) produced diverse assemblages of tools and features reflecting residential occupation, probably by small family groups (Jones 1995). All of the small coastal sites also postdated A.D. 1250, and showed signs of occupation into the 1700s. Based on these coastal findings, the small middens seem most often to represent single-component Late Prehistoric Period residential sites.

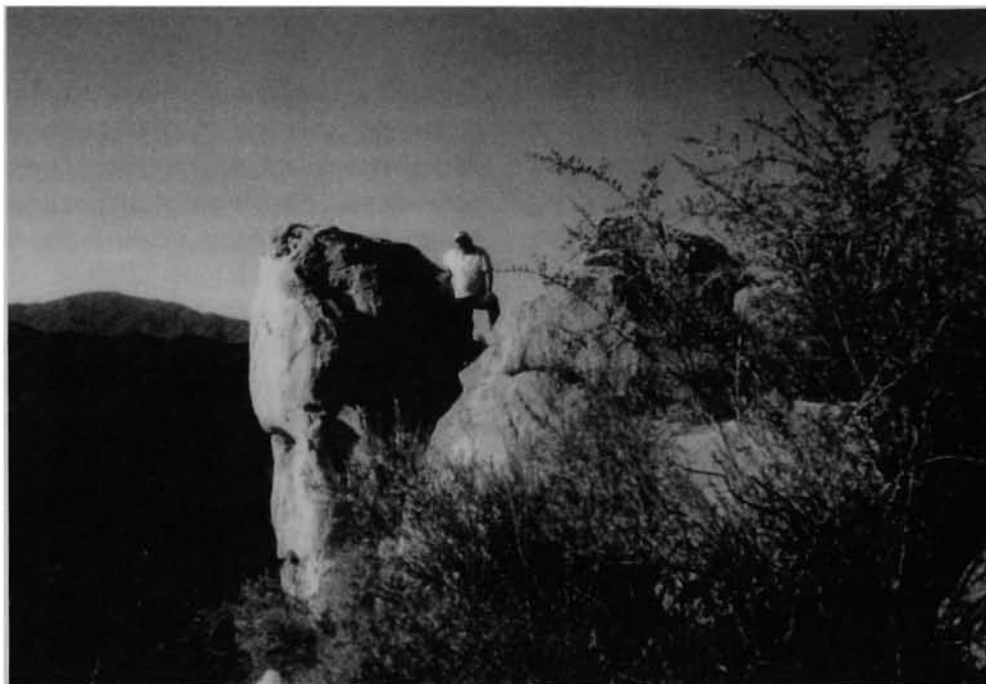


Fig. 3. Photograph of *hoy* looking to the northwest with Salinan descendent, Doug Alger. Compare with Rivers and Jones (1993:161). (Photograph by Terry L. Jones.)

As a working hypothesis, Salinan settlements—referred to as villages or rancherías by historians and archaeologists—may be reflected by clusters of these types of small deposits and features. The Salinan village called *Tes-so-spek* by Merriam (1968:80) and *traxumec* by Harrington's consultants, seems to exemplify this pattern. Harrington's consultants referred to *traxumec* as a beautiful plain, not as a specific site or settlement. The small midden and bedrock mortar complex adjacent to the remains of the *Casa de Piedras* is one of several similar sites at *traxumec*. Clusters of small middens and bedrock mortars may be typical of Salinan settlements, and while this is not a highly distinctive imprint, it differs from single, large midden deposits that are also present in the San Antonio and Nacimiento drainages, but are linked infrequently, if at all, with ethnohistoric names.

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