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Proposed Settlement Shifts during San Luis Rey Times: Northern San Diego County, California

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WITH few exceptions the surviving Luiseño of northern San Diego County are concentrated in several population centers along the flanks of the Agua Tibia and Palomar Mountain ranges (see Fig. 1 for principal Luiseño settlements). It has been proposed that the prehistoric antecedents of these people be designated San Luis Rey, and that the San Luis Rey cultural pattern be subdivided into two phases identified primarily by the presence or absence of pottery (Meighan 1954).

Based largely on ethnographic information (DuBois 1908; Sparkman 1908; True, Meighan, and Crew 1974; White 1963), various discussions of pre-mission Luiseño (San Luis Rey) settlements in the San Luis Rey River drainage of the Palomar Mountain area describe a settlement-subsistence pattern with permanent winter camps located along the lower flank of the mountain, and essentially permanent summer camps on the mountain proper. Food resources were collected as part of a seasonal round of subsistence activities that exploited a variety of plant and animal species starting along the lowland thermal belt in early spring, and working upslope over increasingly higher elevations through the late spring. At some point in time, determined by the availability of certain foods in the highland contexts, and in some instances at least, by decreasing water supplies

at the winter camp locations, the winter camps were abandoned and the entire able-bodied population moved upslope to predetermined summer camp locations. There is considerable reason to believe that in late prehistoric and perhaps early historic times, this pattern was well established and quite formal in its execution. That is to say, each group returned to the same summer camp every year, more or less at the same time, and probably under some formalized ceremonial direction.

The pattern developed by the San Luis Rey people (Luiseño) differed from that of northern California groups such as the Nomlaki or Hill Patwin who followed their food quest through an upland seasonal round similar to that of the Luiseño (Goldschmidt 1951: 408-421; Kroeber 1932: 295-296). Among

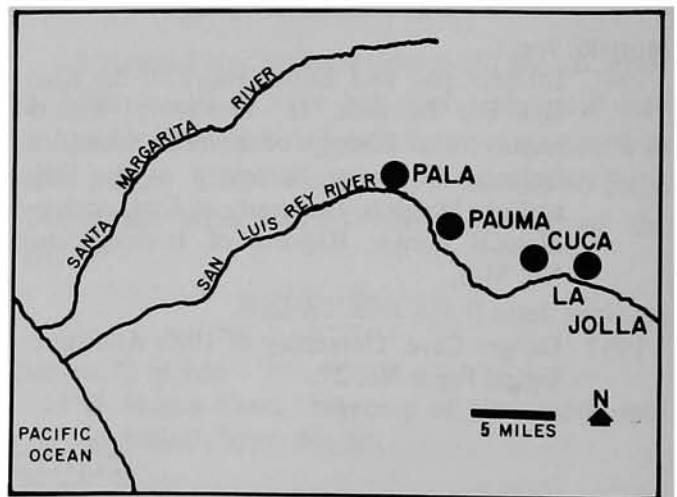


Fig. 1. Locations of present Luiseño settlements.

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the northern groups, locational strategies during summer and fall did *not* include permanent camps but depended instead on ephemeral sites and special-purpose stations—somewhat akin to those discussed by Beardsley (1956: 138-140) under the rubric of a “Central Based Wandering Pattern.” In contrast, summer camp sites for the San Luis Rey were particular and specific habitats for each family or kin group. The bipolar settlement pattern of the San Luis Rey was represented by relatively permanent and stable villages (both winter and summer), inhabited by several groups exploiting well-established territories and resources that were defended against trespass (we follow Flannery [1976: 164] in using “village as a generic term for any small permanent community”). The ecological and social system that produced this pattern will be the subject of a future paper.

THE PROPOSITIONS

While many specifics of the Luiseño (San Luis Rey) subsistence pattern have been lost, there is considerable evidence for its previous existence over a rather substantial period of time. We see this pattern as a probable result of a reasonably long process of adaptation during which several strategic changes took place in settlement location patterns and in procedures for collecting resources (see Fig. 2 for proposed time frame). Based on several clues in available ethnographic and ethnogeographic data, we would like to propose, as a speculative hypothesis, the following reconstruction:

A. After an initial period of occupancy about which little data as yet exist, the San Luis Rey people inhabited the general area along the western margins of the Agua Tibia-Palomar Mountain chain. Intermittent camps were established along the San Luis Rey River and its principal tributaries. Although presently the extent and exact nature of the San Luis Rey I settlements are unknown, it appears

that the more recent part of this pattern was characterized by an occupancy along the more important tributaries of the San Luis Rey River. This paper is concerned with those tributaries that drain into the San Luis Rey River from the Agua Tibia-Palomar Mountain block (see Fig. 3).

Following a period of time during which the San Luis Rey I occupancy was diffuse, scattered in nature, and characterized by considerable movement, we suggest that a trend developed toward the congregation of people along the major tributaries, with each tributary and its immediate environs occupied and exploited by a family-based kin group of some kind. Initially it is likely that there was some common resource use, and perhaps considerable inter-drainage movement. In time, however, the occupants of each drainage became increasingly proprietary, and generalized notions of territoriality developed with respect to more important resources. Eventually, the exploitation of resources in any given drainage extended upstream and upslope onto the adjacent mountain, where we propose territorial boundaries developed following the approximate margins of each watershed.

Resources in each territory were exploited on a seasonal basis, and in time an apparently traditional seasonal shift from lowland to upland camps became a regular feature of subsistence and settlement. This pattern had its basis in (1) the sequential ripening of vegetal resources starting in the thermal zones near the base of the mountain in early spring and extending upward in elevation into a mixed broadleaf-coniferous forest zone at elevations ranging from 4500 to 5500 feet; and (2) the high probability that for many of the winter camp locales water was increasingly scarce after the middle of spring in most years. Fig. 4 is a schematic representation showing a hypothetical distribution of San Luis Rey I camps along these tributaries and the probable territorial boun-

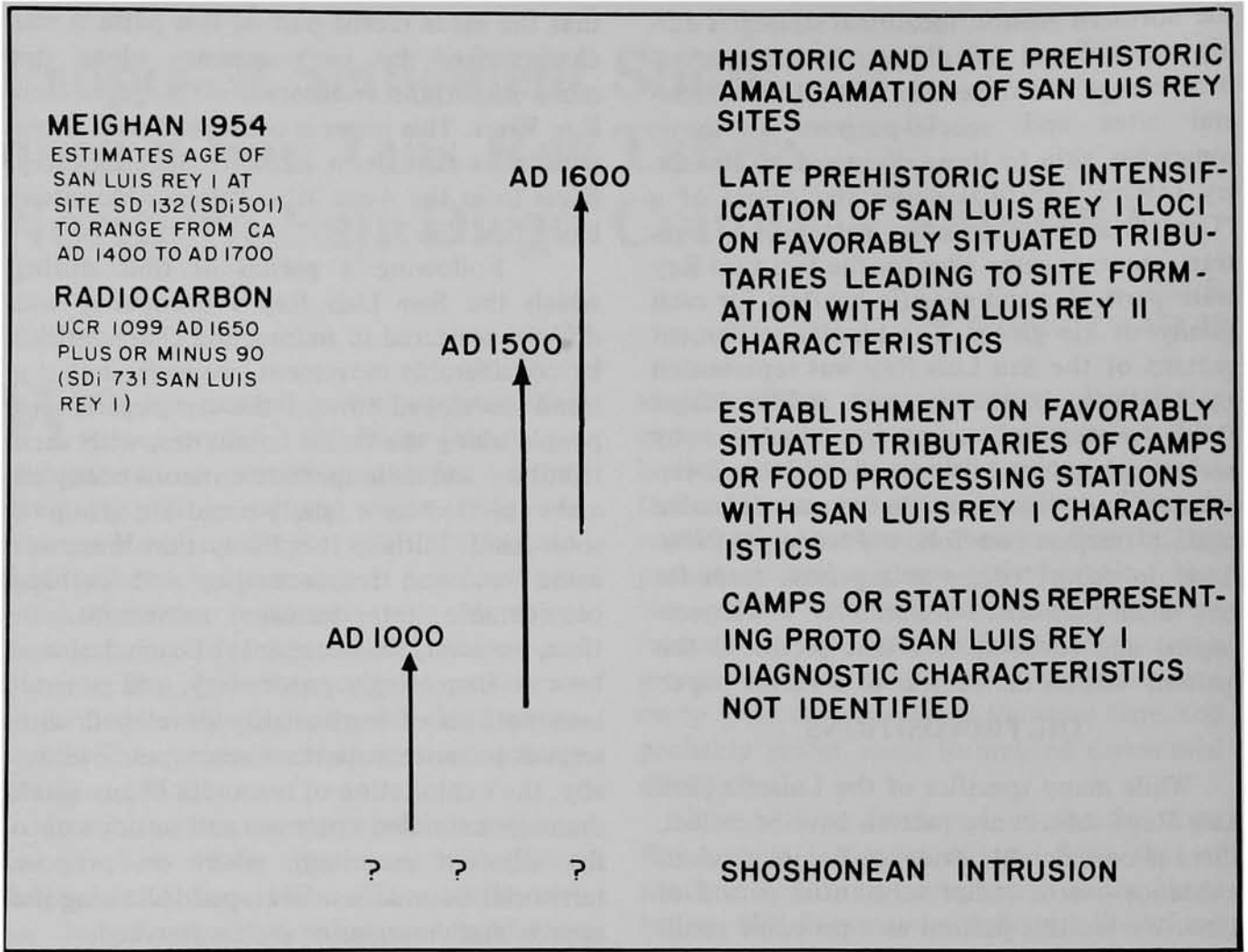


Fig. 2. Proposed chronology for San Luis Rey.

daries as proposed in this reconstruction.

B. For unknown and probably various reasons, intermittently used camps on each of the principal tributaries were abandoned gradually as a single or primary local settlement or village developed—usually in what appears to have been the most advantageous location with respect to water supply (i.e., the location on each drainage where water would be available over the longest period for any given year and for the largest number of years out of any decade). These sites typically should be located at the head of the alluvial fan on each drainage where the stream emerges from its narrow canyon, but site locations can vary somewhat because of the presence of springs

associated with the Elsinore fault zone which bisects the area. We propose, without empirical basis, that the winter to summer camp seasonal round was increasingly formalized during this transition. Fig. 5 illustrates the proposed location of the primary village for each drainage, and Fig. 6 is a schematic showing the proposed seasonal round.

C. For some reason, probably in late prehistoric, but possibly in early historic times, the existing pattern of one settlement per drainage or tributary became untenable and a trend developed toward a consolidation of families (lineages or clans if preferred) into more complex settlements at several key locations throughout the area. Although this

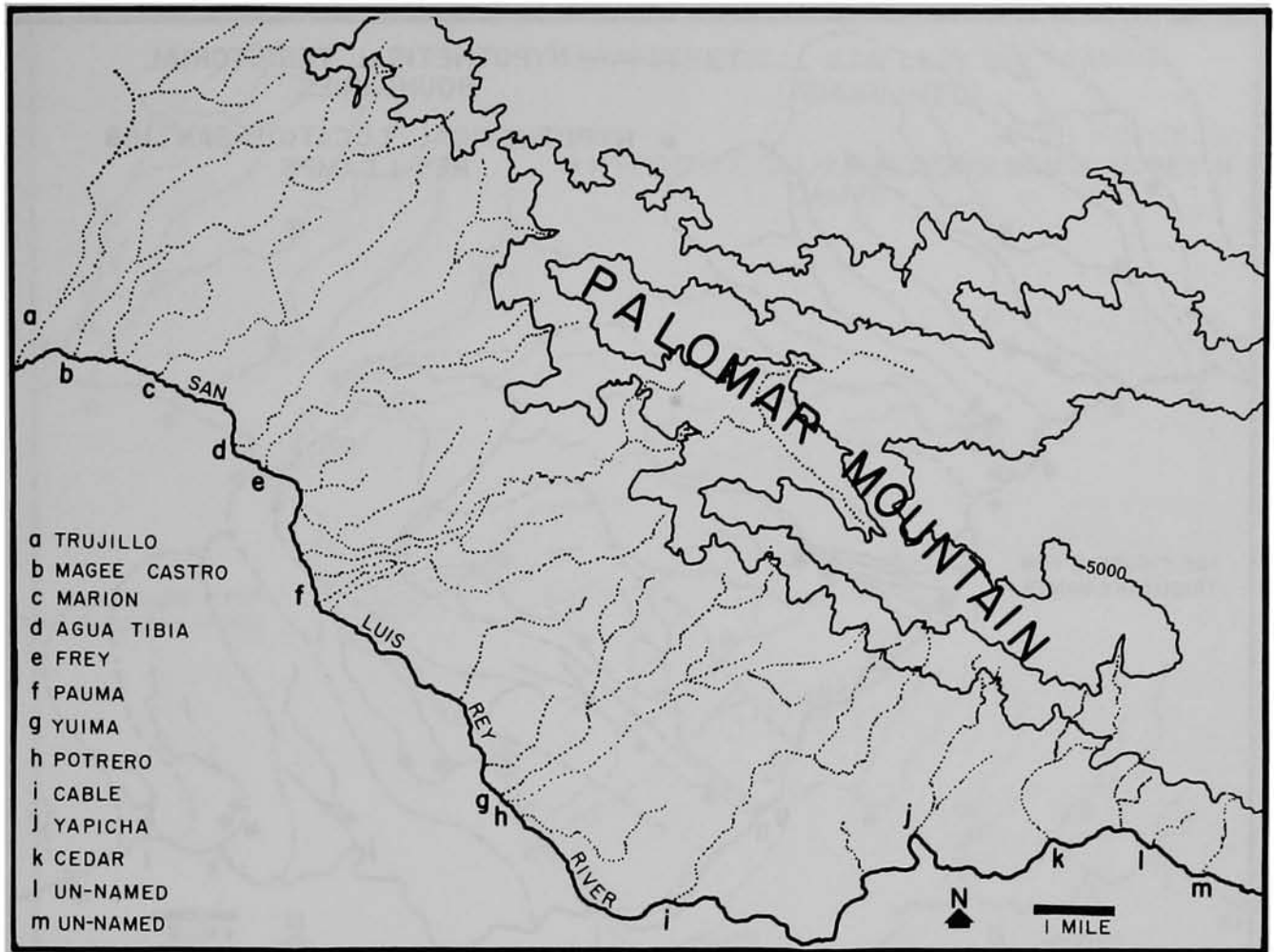


Fig. 3. Tributaries of San Luis Rey River involved in discussion.

“adjustment” was almost certainly a broad response to more than one influence (e.g., increased intergroup resource competition or European contact), changes in the available supply of water may well have been critical. It is possible that the proposed settlement shift took place during one of several recent periods of extended drought postulated for southern California (Fritts, Lofgren, and Gordon 1978; Fritts and Gordon 1980; Lynch 1931; Meko, Stockton, and Boggess 1980). We see this particular possibility in part because the consolidated village locations appear to be situated near the most reliable regional water supplies. At the same time, we realize that regardless of environmental constraints or consequences, the consolidation we

propose could only occur within a social matrix capable of sustaining the mosaic of productive, ritual, and social relationships inherent to “village” organization. Thus, although there was *now* a grouping of several kin groups at one locale, to a considerable degree each group retained its identity, its own previously used collecting areas, its own set of religious officials, and its own previously established summer camp on the mountain. Fig. 7 is a schematic showing the direction of the proposed consolidation. Fig. 8 illustrates the hypothetical relationships between local units within each larger settlement and the summer camps occupied by its constituent family units.

D. In later post-mission times we propose

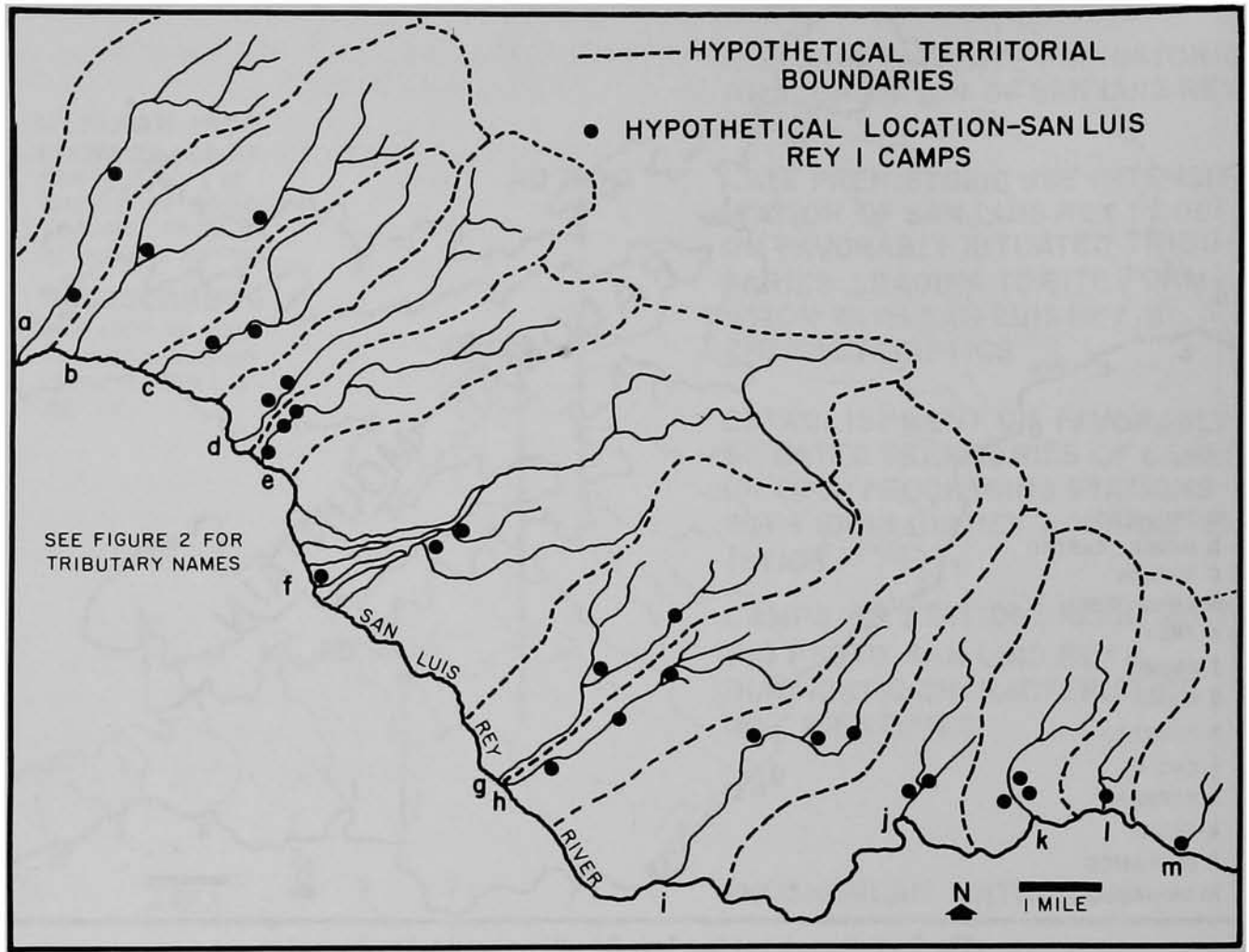


Fig. 4. Hypothetical representation of San Luis Rey I camps along the principal tributaries.

a further reduction in the number of viable surviving settlements. However, the definition of this latest pattern is confused by previous or concurrent population movements from localized villages to scattered homesteads following mission secularization. It may well be that the subsequent consolidation process was only partly brought about by subsistence-settlement factors. That is to say, some moves were actual physical adjustments of families or survivors of families, while others were simply the result of declared affiliations with particular settlements for socioreligious purposes.

Although many aspects of the above propositions are not lacking in empirical basis, the sequence of events described here is a

fabrication of convenience. Its purpose is twofold: (1) the sequence enables us to discuss several aspects of the Luiseño-San Luis Rey settlement system for which we do have a few data; and (2) the sequence provides a framework, however much in error, that will, we hope, revive some interest and stimulate research aimed at the eventual in-depth evaluation of these and related propositions relevant to the San Luis Rey subsistence-settlement pattern.

To test a series of hypotheses derived from the proposed reconstruction would require an impressive investment of time and resources, and would call for many sensitive and systematic archaeological investigations. A large body of chronological data would

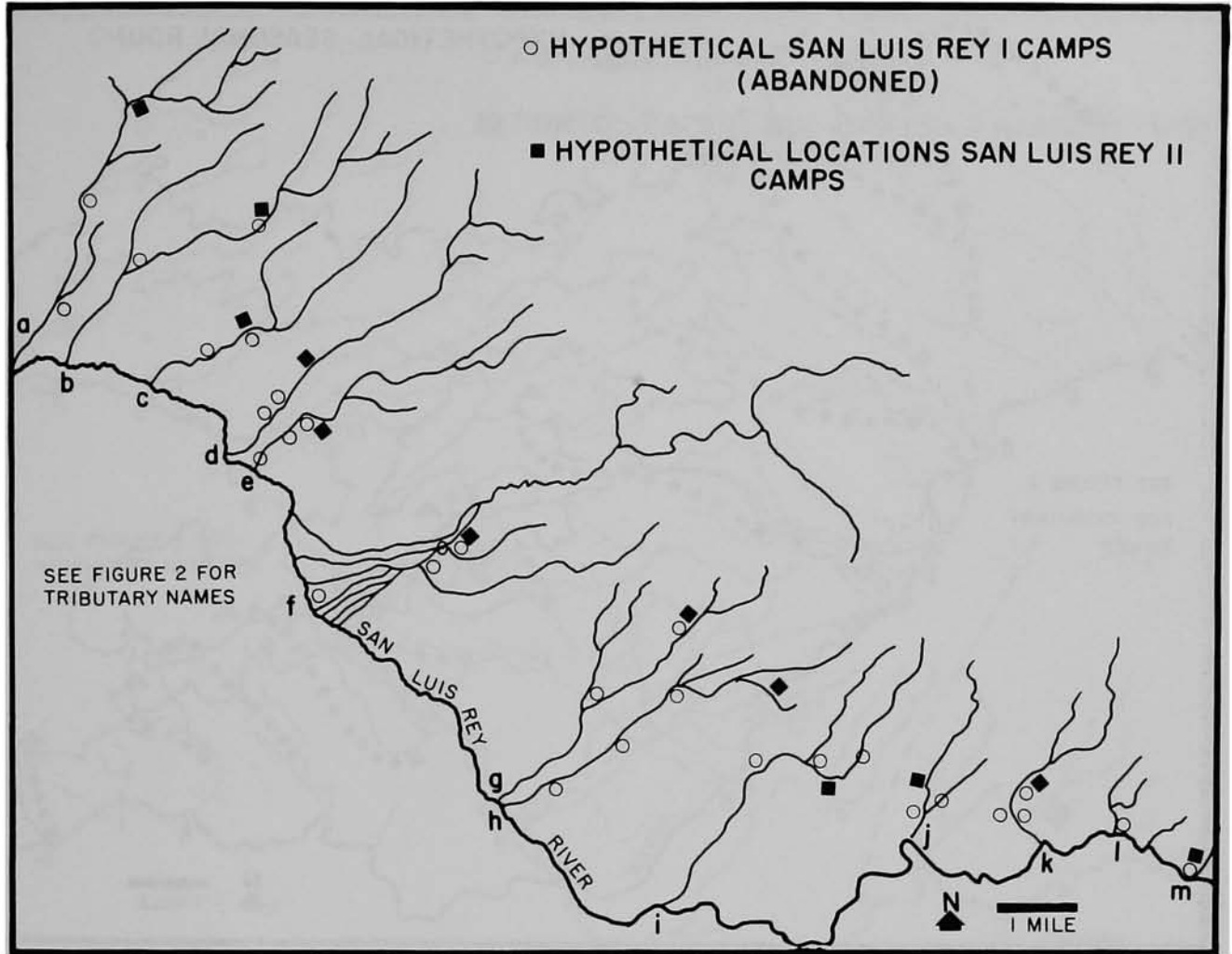


Fig. 5. Hypothetical San Luis Rey II site locations and abandoned San Luis Rey I camps.

have to be accumulated for every category of site in the system, and many subsistence details not presently known would have to be acquired. Whether or not it would be possible to accomplish these objectives using presently available techniques is uncertain. Given that a number of critical locations have already been destroyed, that several more are at present politically sensitive and unavailable for investigation, and that over the past two decades southern California archaeology has progressed at less than an impressive pace, it would appear to us that any meaningful hypothesis testing of sufficient scope is unlikely in the immediate future. It is, rather, more likely that in the near future archaeo-

logical studies of San Luis Rey land-use patterns will have to be done on some kind of limited goal, piecemeal basis. With these realizations in mind, the following less than perfect data are presented in *partial support* of our general proposition.¹

THE DATA

Our first proposition suggests that the San Luis Rey I people in the stated area of interest tended to settle on or to exploit resources along the principal tributaries of the San Luis Rey River. Archaeological evidence for this pattern exists in a number of tributary campsite situations characterized by shallow bedrock mortars, minimal evidence of

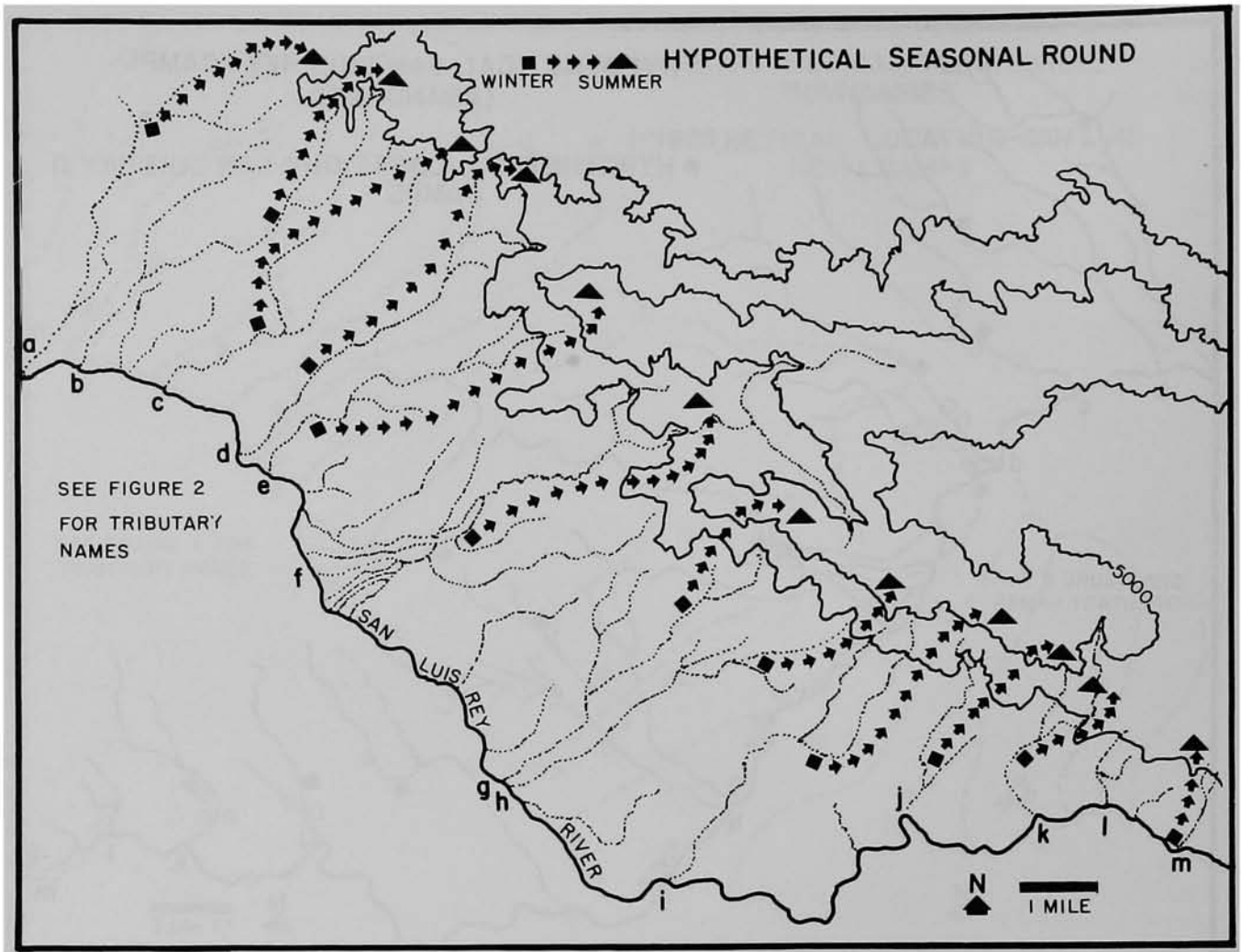


Fig. 6. Hypothetical seasonal round from winter camp areas to proposed summer camps on mountain.

midden (usually), scarce artifacts (characteristic of the San Luis Rey pattern *as it has been defined to date* [Meighan 1954; True and Waugh 1981; True, Meighan, and Crew 1974]), and a dearth of pottery.

Although portions of several key tributaries have yet to be completely surveyed in any systematic fashion, and parts of other drainages were seriously disturbed prior to significant survey efforts, we believe there is reasonably convincing archaeological evidence of this basic settlement pattern. The best known and most systematically examined data to date come from the area along lower Frey Creek (see True and Waugh 1981), but a similar pattern or distribution of San Luis

Rey I sites almost certainly exists on the adjacent Agua Tibia Creek.

Two or three San Luis Rey I *possibilities* exist for Pauma Creek. The evidence for such occupancy there, however, was destroyed in the flood of 1916; moreover, the remaining San Luis Rey I sites are probably masked with an overlay of San Luis Rey II material. Portions of the Yuima and Potrero creek drainages were surveyed prior to significant clearing, and enough evidence has been recovered to document a San Luis Rey I presence more or less following the pattern proposed for Frey and Agua Tibia creeks. A similar pattern is suggested for Cable Creek, although the distribution of sites here is probably

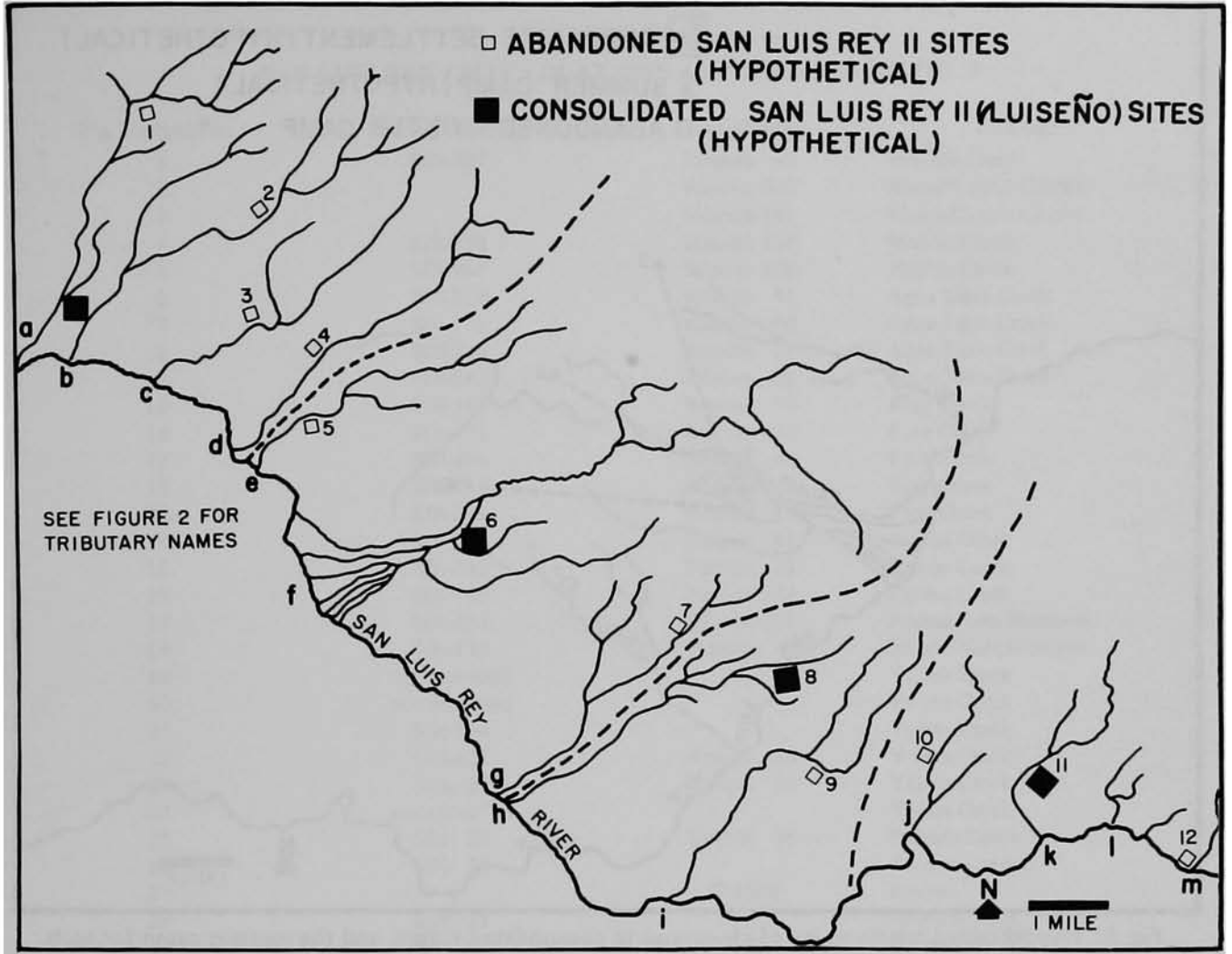


Fig. 7. Hypothetical consolidated villages and abandoned San Luis Rey II sites.

confused by the presence of springs associated with the Elsinore fault, and the entire drainage has not yet been surveyed in any systematic way.

Trujillo, Magee, and Castro creeks (in the Pala area) have not been adequately surveyed. Several sites are known for the area which may be San Luis Rey I, but for the time being these are best seen as possibilities. Marion Creek appears to have minimal evidence for a significant San Luis Rey occupancy. Yapicha and Cedar creeks in the La Jolla area have only been surveyed piecemeal, and the status of San Luis Rey I there is mostly unknown. For the area upstream on the San Luis Rey

River (from Cedar Creek to Lake Henshaw), several small sites have been recorded that are *probably* San Luis Rey I, but at the present time insufficient data are available to be certain of an affiliation. Fig. 3 shows the location of the named creeks. Fig. 9 shows the location of San Luis Rey I sites along these drainages. Table 1 provides site numbers corresponding to the map locations.

It should be stressed that the above description of a San Luis Rey I settlement pattern is based on a still incomplete definition of that complex. Significant variations probably occurred *within* this generalized pattern and certainly changes which have not

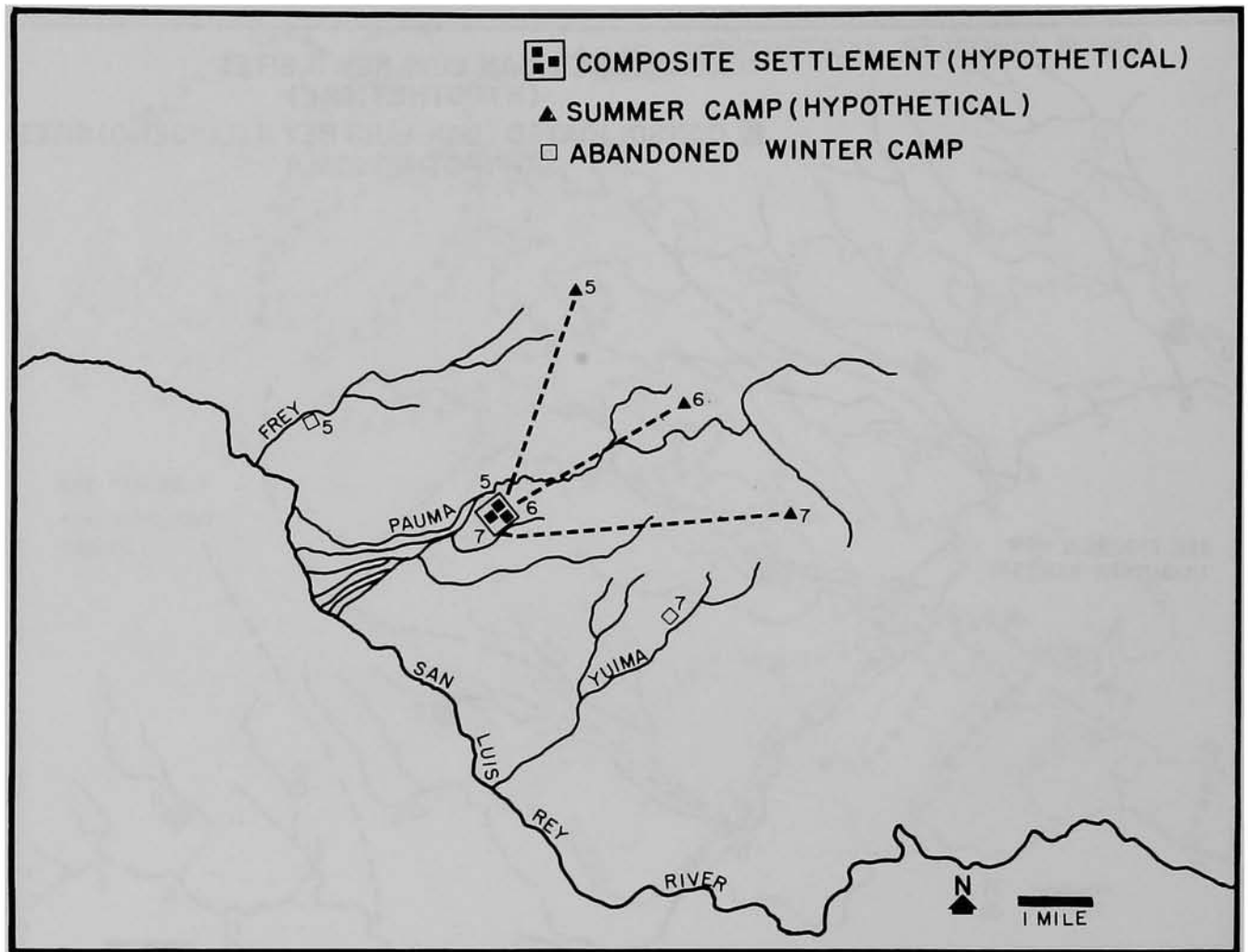


Fig. 8. Hypothesized relationships of kin groups in consolidated village, and the summer camp for each.

yet been recognized. Chronological information is, of course, sorely needed.

The proposed *transition* from a series of intermittently occupied or utilized San Luis Rey camps to a single more or less stable San Luis Rey village for each tributary is not clearly visible in the archaeology. The end product of this adjustment can usually be seen, however, in the presence of a San Luis Rey II settlement on most of the principal drainages. Because of the absence of pottery at the campsite locations described above, it appears that these camps were abandoned during the settlement transition, or used only on an occasional basis for short periods of time. Significant use of these locales *after* the

introduction of pottery almost certainly would have resulted in the addition of more than an occasional sherd to site assemblages.

In short, we suggest that the proposed camps situated along the principal drainages in this area (Fig. 9) were not used significantly after the introduction of pottery, and that occupancy after this time was limited to, for all practical purposes, a principal San Luis Rey II village area on each major tributary. The possibility has been considered, of course, that the campsite loci identified here as San Luis Rey I represent more recent task-specific collecting and processing stations functioning as satellites for the primary San Luis Rey II village. In our opinion, however,

Table 1
SAN LUIS REY I SITE LOCATIONS AS INDICATED ON FIG. 9

Fig. Designation	County Number	Field Number	Drainage
1	SDi-792	Rincon 49	Trujillo Creek
2		Rincon 502	Magee-Castro Creeks
3		Rincon 501	Magee-Castro Creeks
4	SDi-738	Rincon 131	Marion Creek
5	SDi-766	Rincon 202	Marion Creek
6	SDi-720	Rincon 41	Agua Tibia Creek
7	SDi-739	Rincon 40	Agua Tibia Creek
8	SDi-740	Rincon 39	Agua Tibia Creek
9	SDi-243	Rincon 38	Agua Tibia Creek
10	SDi-247	Rincon 17	Frey Creek
11	SDi-731	Rincon 73	Frey Creek
12	SDi-266	Rincon 16	Frey Creek
13	SDi-714	Rincon 15	Frey Creek
13a	SDi-246	Rincon 19	Frey Creek
14	SDi-506	Rincon 61	Pauma Creek
15	SDi-245	Rincon 21	Pauma Creek
16	SDi-735	Rincon 124	Pauma Creek
17	SDi-523	Rincon 101	Pauma-Nate Harrison
18	SDi-533	Palomar 4	Pauma-Nate Harrison
19	not recorded		Yuima Creek
20	not recorded		Yuima Creek
21	SDi-244		Yuima Creek
22	SDi-622	Rincon 36	Yuima Creek
23	SDi- 27	Rincon 85	Yuima Creek
24	not recorded		Yuima Creek
25	SDi- 23	Rincon 35	Potrero Creek
26	SDi- 20		Potrero Creek
27		W-1569	Potrero ¹
28	SDi-621		Potrero Creek
29		W-1567	Potrero Creek ²
30	SDi-315	Rincon 136	Cable Creek
31	not recorded		Cable Creek
32	not recorded		Cable Creek
33	not recorded		Cable Creek
34	SDi-521	Rincon 75	Cable Creek
35	not recorded		Cable Creek
36	SDi-515	Rincon 55	Cable Creek
37	SDi-619	Rincon 56	Cable Creek
38	SDi-516	Rincon 76	Yapicha Creek
39	SDi-623	Rincon 6	Yapicha Creek
40	not recorded		La Jolla (Cedar) Creek
41	not recorded		La Jolla (Cedar) Creek
42	not recorded		La Jolla (Cedar) Creek
43	SDi- 25		Potrero ³

Notes:

1. Site W-1569 here includes loci 1568, 1569, 1570 and 1571 as described by Eckhardt (1978).
2. Site W-1567 includes loci 1566, 1567, 1625, and 1626 as recorded by Eckhardt (1978). This represents the San Diego Museum of Man numbering system. It is likely that SDi-19 (Rincon 34, not shown on Fig. 9) is basically a San Luis Rey I site with a minimal San Luis Rey II overlay.
3. SDi-25 consists of several loci. The primary site here is San Luis Rey II (Ahuya) but several subsidiary camps may have been San Luis Rey I.

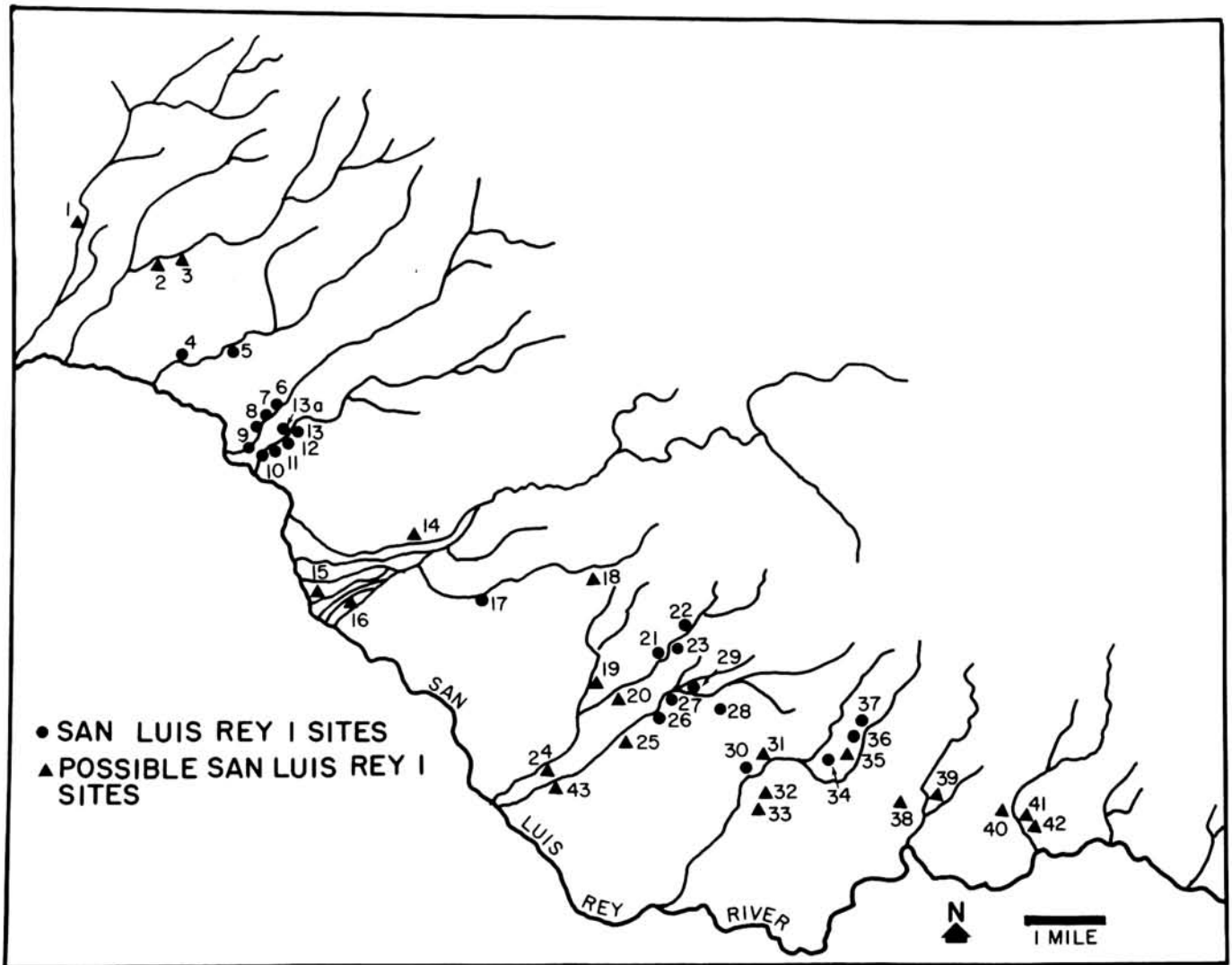


Fig. 9. Locations of San Luis Rey I sites along principal tributaries of the San Luis Rey River.

available data do not now support such an interpretation. We recognize the need for fine-grained chronological data on this situation and note the possibility that when such data become available, our position may well have to be modified. Fig. 10 illustrates the location of the archaeologically documented San Luis Rey II camps for each of the important tributaries. Table 2 provides numbers for the San Luis Rey II sites shown on Fig. 10.

Documentation for the next proposed settlement shift or adjustment is seen in (1) scattered and occasional ethnographic and ethnohistoric clues that suggest the exist-

ence of functioning communities in locations no longer occupied (see Sparkman 1908: 191-192; Strong 1929: 279-281; White 1963: 108-110); and (2) the presence of major San Luis Rey II archaeological sites that are no longer considered an active part of the surviving Luiseño settlement system. The people occupying those locations were probably autonomous, family-based, socioreligious units prior to the mission era and, in a few cases, retained some degree of regional or locational identification even after they no longer played a functional role in traditional subsistence and settlement.

For the purposes of this paper, it is not

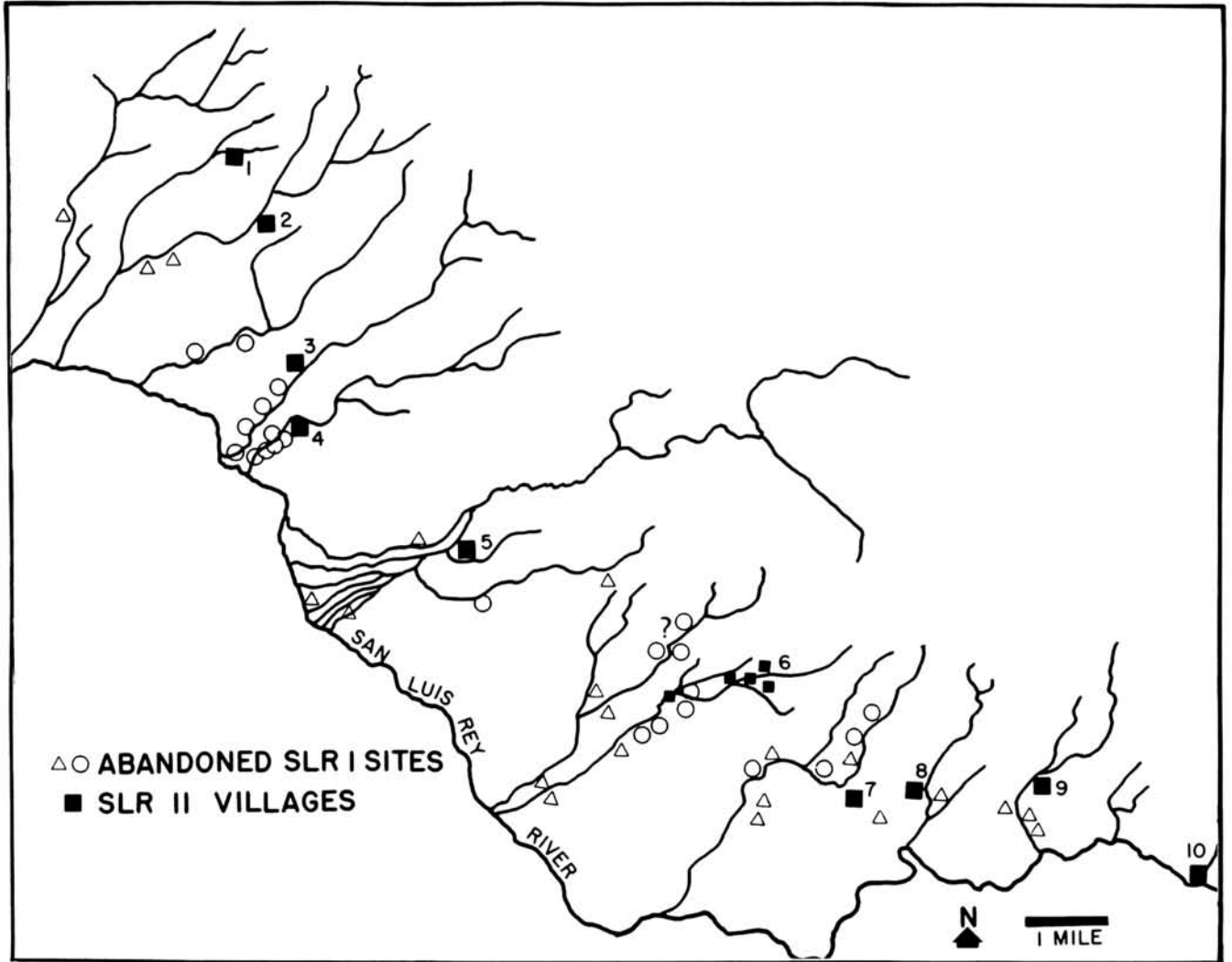


Fig. 10. Locations of San Luis Rey II sites on principal tributaries and approximate locations of abandoned San Luis Rey I sites.

possible (or necessary) to discuss all of the complexities and sociocultural ramifications inherent in the transformation from a prehistoric collecting subsistence base to a semi-wage-oriented, reservation existence. It should suffice to mention the several more obvious instances where group consolidation has seemingly taken place during more recent historic times. Because of the existence of a reservation-oriented settlement pattern and mission-induced, scattered residential distribution, the more recent aggregations or consolidations as often as not were socioreligious in nature rather than settlement adjustments involving

movement to new locations or the abandonment of extant living sites.

For example, it seems clear from the available literature and ethnography that the Pauma settlement as it presently exists, as well as in the recent past, consists of several recognized families. Formerly, these family-based entities functioned as autonomous socioreligious groups each with its own *Not*^h and panopoly of ceremonial assistants. The extent to which Luiseño families have belonged to "parties" or voluntary (non-kin based) religious-ritual groups is considered by some ethnographers (Gifford 1918; Strong 1929;

Table 2
SAN LUIS REY II SITE LOCATIONS AS INDICATED ON FIG. 10¹

Fig. Designation	County Number	Field Number	Drainage
1	SDi-625	Rincon 3	Magee Creek
2	SDi-794	Rincon 127	Castro Creek
3	SDi-721	Rincon 42	Agua Tibia Creek
4	SDi-715	Rincon 18	Frey Creek
5	SDi-616	Rincon 4	Pauma Creek
6	SDi- 19	Rincon 34	Potrero Creek
	SDi-620	Rincon 10	Potrero Creek
	Cuca SDi-615	Rincon 9	Potrero Creek
	SDi-520	Rincon 105	Potrero Creek
	SDi-242	Rincon 2	Potrero Creek
7	SDi-308	Rincon 77	Cable Creek
8	SDi-268	Rincon 67	Yapicha Creek
9	SDi-790	Rincon 104	La Jolla Creek
			(San Luis Rey River)
10		Rincon 110	Unnamed Creek

Note:

1. No San Luis Rey II village is known for Marion Creek, No San Luis Rey II village has been recorded for Yuima Creek, but a significant portion of this drainage has not been surveyed, and most of it was heavily damaged by bulldozers during the late 1940s.

White 1963) to reflect a transformation of former clan or male-lineage organizations brought about primarily by the stress and dislocation of the post-mission period.

Ethnographic evidence (Strong 1929:287; White 1963:18) indicates that in earlier times the Pauma families constituted three clans. If the process we propose here is valid, each of these clans originated or represented one of three tributaries in the immediate area. One clan coming from Frey Creek (Sulpa), one from Pauma, and the other from Yuima. The exact process may have been more complex, but there is certainly reason to consider the basic idea of consolidation, and some reason to group these three tributaries. The move from Sulpa to Pauma is suggested in the ethnographic literature, and there is minimal reason to question this phase of the process (see White 1963:110). Although not as clearly indicated in print, if at all, it is accepted locally (according to Luiseño consultant Max Peters), that the Yuima "belongs to Pauma." Locationally this makes sense, even more so if one considers that the summer camp at Silver

Crest on Palomar (SDi-530, *Pa-ku-ka*) was a Yuima camp.

Because of its physical proximity to the present Pauma village it would seem sensible to consider the possibility that the people previously living at Agua Tibia (SDi-721) also merged with the Pauma settlement in some way. So far as is known, however, there is no evidence for such a merger and some reason to believe otherwise. It is probably important here to differentiate the original San Luis Rey II occupancy on the Agua Tibia drainage (SDi-721) from the more recent historical occupancy of the Agua Tibia Ranch area by the well-known Luiseño leader, M. Cota.

In addition to a lack of direct evidence supporting a Pauma-Agua Tibia merger, there is some evidence against it in the ethnographic accounts. For example, the named location on Morgan Hill (*Pala-cum-po-ki*) was identified by Max Peters as a "place at the head of the Gomez Trail where the Pala people came to gather acorns." The same general location was identified as *Pauma-cum-po-ki* by the same consultant at the same time. When ques-

tioned about this apparent contradiction, it was agreed by Mr. Peters that the Pala-Pauma territorial boundary fell somewhere in the vicinity and that there was some dispute from time to time as to its exact location. Mr. Peters explained that in the old days "to cross the line was to have an arrow follow you."

Given these circumstances and the general geography of the region, it would make sense to include the Agua Tibia drainage in the consolidated Pala territory and the Frey Creek drainage in the consolidated Pauma territory. A Pauma summer camp on the Frey Creek side of the boundary was pointed out by Mr. Peters but was not visited because it was at the time overgrown with heavy brush. It would seem logical, therefore, that any survivors of the original San Luis Rey II village at Agua Tibia would almost certainly have merged with the Pala settlement.

The village of Molpa, which may have functioned as the principal San Luis Rey II settlement on Cable Creek, was abandoned sometime during the early 19th century. According to Luiseño consultants, its occupants merged with the nearby village of Cuca.

Although the nature and possibility of mergers of San Luis Rey II sites on Potrero-Plaisted Creek with Cuca remain unresolved as of this writing, the likelihood of such mergers is considered good. No effort has been made yet to document the proposed process for this locale, and it is certain that some aspects of any consolidation would have been obscured by the break-up of the Cuca settlement following the Cuca land grant. A careful sorting of movements by individual families and specific inquiries relative to several locales believed to have been part of the larger Cuca settlement may well clarify this part of the proposed adjustments. These inquiries are planned as part of our ongoing research in the area. For now, the best that can be said is that some consolidation of camps on Potrero

Creek probably took place in early historic or late prehistoric times, and that there is convincing evidence for a consolidation of Molpa and Cuca sometime during the early part of the 19th century. White (1963:133) cites Meighan as the source of a terminal date of somewhere between 1780 and 1820 for the demise of Molpa as a functioning community. This dating is, in part, based on the recovery from the site surface of a small sample of glass trade beads (2) which are believed to predate 1830 in several southern California mission contexts (True, Meighan, and Crew 1974:68). The presence of only a handful of historic artifacts at Molpa, and the fact that some of these may well postdate the original site occupation, supports a fairly early historic date for its abandonment.

Considering its size and complexity, Molpa itself probably represents the end product of some previous merging of San Luis Rey II clans or lineages. This possibility will be explored as part of our planned inquiries relative to the Potrero Creek-Cuca consolidations. A similar situation prevails for the general settlement area around La Jolla. At the present time, although mentioned frequently in the literature, there is no formally recognized settlement at Yapicha (the social, political, and cultural focus of the La Jolla locale). The ethnographic literature does, however, clearly show that in recent historic times Yapicha was identified as a separate cultural entity with its own settlement, *North*, and summer camp area on the mountain (Sparkman 1908:192, Strong 1929:279). It may be, in fact, that Yapicha was a more important settlement than La Jolla. Regardless of the particulars, however, it is the case that Yapicha as a formal settlement no longer exists, and for practical purposes it has been absorbed into the larger La Jolla community. It is possible that this adjustment was in some way related to the formation of the reservation, although there is no reason why the

families at Yapicha could not have maintained independent ceremonial status within the bounds of the reservation under the official government designation "La Jolla." Nevertheless, it appears that this status was not retained and the Yapicha population did not continue to function as a community. This was probably due in large part to post-mission disruption.

For the area along the San Luis Rey River upstream from Cedar Creek, there is minimal information available other than the knowledge that several locations were occupied in prehistoric times. Luiseño consultants have identified a named village, *Yu-il-ka*, at the junction of Lusardi Canyon and the San Luis Rey River. The archaeological evidence here suggests a reasonably intensive use into San Luis Rey times. The site in question (Rincon 110) has produced artifacts from surface collections, and a single test excavation indicated a deposit nearly one meter in depth (D. L. True, field notes). The fact that ethnographic information only includes the name of the village and geneological data or familial identification tends to support the supposition that the community was no longer viable when the La Jolla Reservation was created.

DISCUSSION

We have hypothesized a series of settlement shifts during the San Luis Rey occupation of the western slopes of the Palomar-Agua Tibia mountain block. Our interest is focused on three possibly important changes in the local settlement pattern. We think these shifts took place over some considerable period of time and that, in some instances, there may have been repeated abandonments and reoccupations of sites or portions of sites in response to multiple influences, both environmental and cultural.

The first apparent important shift, was the change from seemingly temporary, intermittently occupied camps to what appear to

have been sedentary settlements (one settlement for each primary drainage). This change probably took place in late San Luis Rey I or early San Luis Rey II times, but it is unclear how those characteristics attributed to San Luis Rey II (e.g., introduction of pottery), were involved in the shift. We think it is interesting and probably significant that the known San Luis Rey II camps are situated in those locations that seem to be most efficient with respect to water supply. This may reflect a response to a shift in the local precipitational regime, or it may simply be the result of an adaptive process in which normal vagaries of the local water supply were considered along with several other subsistence and social factors.

Our second concern or interest is with the apparent consolidation of some of these same San Luis Rey II villages into larger, more complex settlements. The timing of these mergings or consolidations is unclear in most instances, and they probably represent an ongoing process that took place over several centuries. Too little archaeology has been done in the critical areas to contribute meaningfully to the dating of these consolidations, but it is clear, based on scraps of ethnographic information, that some merging took place before and after the historic mission era. It is usually difficult to separate pre-mission-era adjustments from more recent ones because of the breaking down of the basic settlement pattern following the introduction of doorway gardening and farming activities by the mission establishment. It should be noted that according to Luiseño tradition, fusion or fission of clans and family groups was considered as an accepted or normal occurrence in times of economic or social stress (Harrington n.d.; Strong 1929:281). The dislocation and disruption resulting from missionization, however, undoubtedly exacerbated this process.

Perhaps the best evidence for a fairly early date for some of the proposed adjustments is

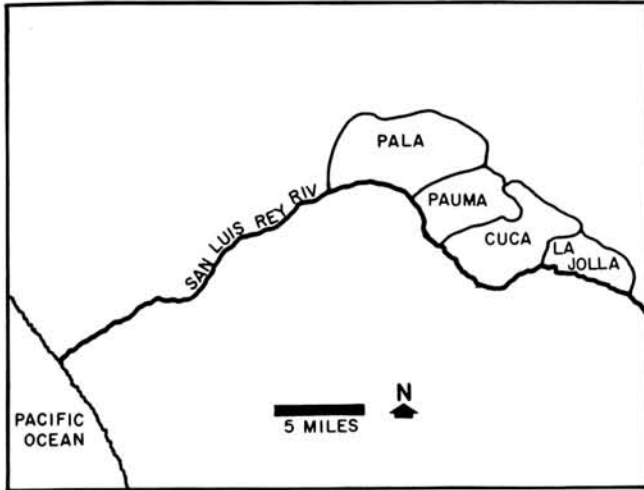


Fig. 11. Territorial subdivisions proposed by White (1963).

the lack of ethnographic specifics relating to such mergings. It would seem reasonable to expect that if the "standard" settlement and subsistence pattern in historic times had been that each major tributary represented (supported) an autonomous community with its own territory, *Not^h*, and hierarchy of officials as we propose, such a pattern would have been described or mentioned in the early ethnographies. Sparkman and DuBois were both working in the first decade of the present century with consultants whose memories (direct or indirect) should have extended into the mission era. It is probably significant that the pattern is *not* mentioned, and that the native consultants (here and in several later contexts) seemingly categorized the larger Luiseño space into four territorial units rather than ten or twelve. Fig. 11 indicates the territorial subdivision proposed by White (1963:90) based on his data. The four-way subdivision (excluding Pechanga) is confirmed by the named areas listed for Palomar Mountain by Sparkman (1908:192) who reported that the acorn-gathering territory of the Pala people was called *Shoau*; the Pauma collecting area was called *Wavam*; the Cuca collecting area was known as *Pavla*; and the Yapicha territory on the mountain was called *Shaut-ushma*. It is important to understand that

these are not references to specific camps or village locations, but to collecting territories. The designation of Yapicha instead of La Jolla may indicate the relative importance of the two settlements at the time, or simply may reflect the bias of Sparkman's consultants. In any case, it is clear that by Sparkman's time, and presumably somewhat earlier, his consultants already saw the mountain territories in terms of the four described areas. No mention is made of collecting territories identified with smaller units or with individual tributaries.

It is likewise probably significant that Sparkman lists seven mountain sites as "Old Village site on Palomar" (1908:192) without specifying any particular affiliation. It is likely that such affiliation was known in some cases, but not considered important at the time. This observation is based in part on information suggesting specific familial identification with at least one mountain camp. *Chaculi* has been described by one consultant as the summer camp of his family.

If the consolidation of the 10-12 basic San Luis Rey II sites into four Luiseño settlement units took place after the mission era, then it seems probable that some mention of the earlier pattern would have been made in the early ethnographies and that more detail relative to the previous pattern would have been described. (Fig. 12 shows the location of the archaeologically identified San Luis Rey II sites and the corresponding summer camps. Table 3 provides site numbers for the San Luis Rey II winter villages and summer camps as shown in Fig. 12.)

The third shift or adjustment that we propose is relatively recent and is certainly an ongoing byproduct of missionization. This latter adjustment is much more complex than the earlier shifts, since it includes re-adjustments of sociocultural affiliations (e.g., formation of parties), merging of settlements, dispersal of settlement units due to historical

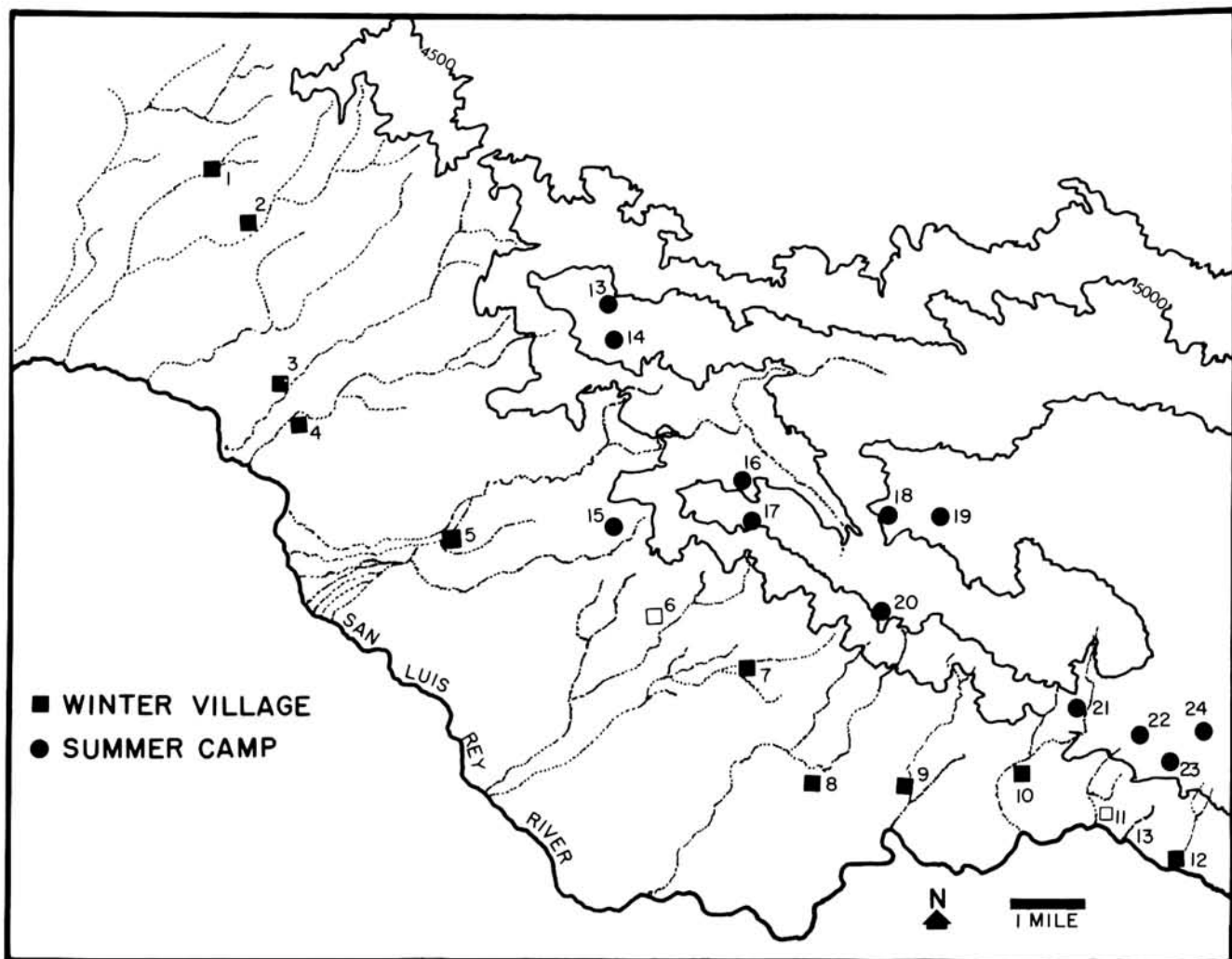


Fig. 12. Locations of archaeologically identified San Luis Rey II sites and their proposed corresponding summer camps.

factors (displacement of the Cuca people following the Cuca Grant, replacement of subsistence practices, etc.). For the most part, all that can be said in this regard is that such adjustments did take place and constituted a complex process the specifics of which are best dealt with in other contexts.

It is anticipated that a careful examination of the available ethnohistoric data, in conjunction with focused ethnographic inquiries and archaeological data, will provide some additional detail on this aspect of the Luiseño settlement system.

While such a conjoined effort has delineated, at least in a preliminary fashion, the

relationship of Yapicha and La Jolla, and Molpa and Cuca, we can expect further results as in the case of the village of Ahuya. The location of that village has been incorrectly located by Harvey (1974:143-144), who depended upon a very generalized placement on Kroeber's map (1925: Plate 57). In attempting to expand upon information from early land surveys, Harvey suggests a location for Ahuya that more recent consultants, in fact, have identified as a summer camp belonging to the Cuca settlement. Although this site, located at 5200 feet above sea level, undoubtedly was described at some point in time as belonging to the Ahuya people, Ahuya proper

Table 3
SAN LUIS REY II WINTER VILLAGE AND SUMMER CAMP
LOCATIONS AS INDICATED IN FIG. 12

Fig. Designation	Village	Drainage	Summer Camp	Fig. Designation
1	SDi-625	Magee	none known ¹	—
2	SDi-794	Castro	none known	—
3	SDi-721	Agua Tibia	SDi-543	13
4	SDi-715	Frey	SDi-544	14
5	SDi-616	Pauma	SDi-593	16
			SDi-544 ²	
6		Yuima ³	SDi-217	17
7	SDi-242	Potrero	SDi-588	18
			SDi-557	
			SDi-558	
8	SDi-308	Cable	SDi-548	20
9	SDi-268	Yapicha	SDi-541	19
10	SDi-790	La Jolla (Cedar)	SDi-535	21
11		unnamed ⁴	SDi-539	22
12	SDi-	unnamed	SDi-536	24
13		unnamed ⁵	SDi-537	23

Notes:

1. This area has not been surveyed by us and to our knowledge no summer camp locations have been published.
2. The status of SDi-544 is not clear. It belongs to Pauma and appears to be a summer camp for a village not yet identified with the Pauma Drainage. This variation can be easily accommodated within our proposal and poses no problem.
3. No winter village is known for Yuima. This is attributed to minimal surveys in the area, and the fact that most of the lower drainage was heavily damaged prior to any systematic surveys in the area. The area has been occupied by Luiseno in recent historic times.
4. No named village is known for this locale. There is a small San Luis Rey II camp there, but it lacks the characteristics generally associated with a village. The area has been only partly surveyed.
5. Same as note 4 above.

is a winter village located a few hundred meters east and north of the present settlement of Rincon at an elevation of about 1000 feet (see Fig. 13). As such, it is described by Sparkman (1908:192) whom, perplexingly enough, Harvey (1974) cites: "Ahuya was an old village site above Rincon and the road to Potrero." According to Luiseño consultants, Ahuya was a refuge settlement occupied by people displaced from Cuca as a result of the Cuca Grant. Based on very incomplete archaeology and some ethnographic information, we propose that the location known presently as Ahuya was occupied more or less in the following sequence: (1) initially it was probably a San Luis Rey I camp; (2) it is possible that the area was occupied into San Luis Rey

II times, but was abandoned (probably prehistorically) as part of a consolidation that combined several small San Luis Rey II camps in the vicinity of the present Potrero; (3) when the Cuca Rancho Grant was made, part of the Cuca population was displaced (forced to move), and at least some of these people moved back to Ahuya; and (4) they stayed at this location for some time, but moved back up the hill *and* to the area presently occupied by the Rincon reservation in more recent times, leaving Ahuya abandoned at the time described by Harvey (1974:29).

Of the various bits and pieces of information mentioned above in conjunction with our several speculative hypotheses, the most

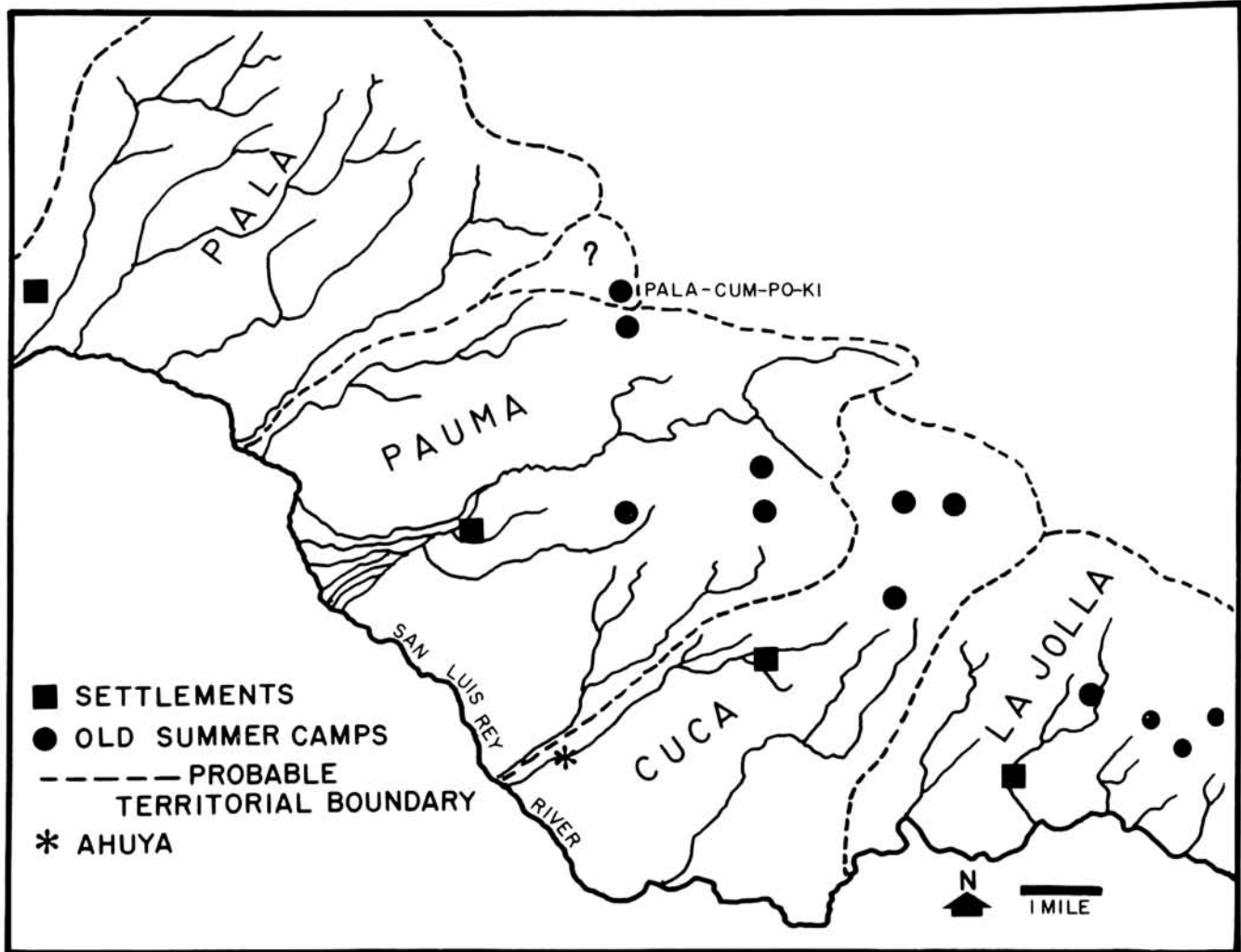


Fig. 13. Locations of principal modern settlements (as identified by White 1963) and approximate locations of summer camps affiliated with each settlement.

important is probably the proposal that the original San Luis Rey II pattern consisted of a series of villages located in each of several tributaries and that this pattern shifted through time to the more recent distribution consisting of four basic communities.

Although sociocultural factors *must* have been important (and we recognize the inherent complexity of the situation), it is considered possible that availability of water was a prime factor in at least some of the postulated adjustments in location. If what we are seeing is (was) a process of territorial or environmental adjustment, the locations of the principal San Luis Rey II camps are exactly where one would predict that they should be.

Whether or not this proposition can be delineated in greater detail or subjected to empirical testing with the means at hand, is uncertain at the present time. Ongoing excavations at key locations and continued investigation of the many possibilities here are part of our long-range program for the area, and it is reasonable to assume that additional discussions and data will be forthcoming.

NOTES

1. The archaeological data included here are, in part, the product of thirty years of survey and test excavation in the immediate area by one of us (DLT); of work documented in True, Meighan, and Crew (1974), and of ongoing investigations (True and Waugh 1981). The ethnographic data are derived in

part from field notes and investigations made by one of us (DLT) from 1950 to 1965. With respect to these ethnographic data, we would like to express our appreciation to Henry Rodriguez, R. Sobenish, Max Calak, Herman Calak, and Thurmond McCormick. Special appreciation is extended to Max Peters for his thoughtful contributions over a period of more than 20 years, without which this paper would not have been feasible. Given the many ways that he has contributed to our knowledge of the area, it is especially fitting that this paper be dedicated to his memory.

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