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Patayan Anthropomorphic Figurines from an Orange County Site

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Southern Tradition anthropomorphic figurines found at the Banning-Norris site (CA-ORA-58) exhibit stylistic elements reflecting Hohokam and possibly Prescott influences. These Lower Colorado Buff Ware artifacts may have accompanied Mojave entrepreneurs involved in a textiles-for-shells commerce with the Gabrielino and the Chumash. The presence of 12 fired clay anthropomorphs at CA-ORA-58 suggests a trade route along the Santa Ana River leading directly to Newport Mesa. These specimens lend support to the hypothesis that CA-ORA-58 was the important coastal village of Genga.

TWO broad categories of Greater Southwestern prehistoric figurines, a Northern Tradition and a Southern Tradition (Morss 1954), have been employed to classify clay effigies found in southern California (e.g., Hedges 1973). Northern Tradition effigy manufacture centers on the northern Southwest (Morss 1954). The focus of the Southern Tradition is the Hohokam culture, but the division includes historically related forms produced by Patayan, Sinaguan, and Mogollon peoples (Morss 1954).

Twelve fired clay anthropomorphic figurines, belonging to the Southern Tradition, were found by a relic collector in the 1960s at CA-ORA-58, the Banning-Norris site in Costa Mesa (Fig. 1). The primary purpose of this study is to describe these specimens and discuss their cultural associations, temporal placement, and the possible agents and routes of trade for the exotic effigies. Set against the near absence of Late Prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines from elsewhere in Orange County, these dozen artifacts, as well as figurines of the Northern Tradition found at CA-ORA-58, have important implications for the political and economic role of the Banning-Norris site, as well as its identification with the historically recorded village of *Genga* (Koerper et al. 1996).

RECOVERY AND DISPOSITION

Sometime around 1964 or 1965, while surface collecting at the extreme north end of CA-ORA-58, Ken Fritz and Herrold Plante, past president and vice-president, respectively, of the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society, discovered a number of figurines from an area with an estimated diameter of 20 to 30 meters (H. Plante, personal communication 1994). Ten of the Southern Tradition specimens found by Plante ended up in the collection of Steve Almond, who had donated one figurine to the Bowers Museum of Cultural Art. This circumstance provided a paper trail leading to the other 11 fired clay anthropomorphs.

Plante retains no specimens, having donated two figurines (Figs. 2d and 2f) to the Bowers Museum. The second collector has since given four more of the fired clay artifacts (Figs. 2a-c, 2e) to the museum but is in possession of five others (Figs. 3a-c, 3e-f).

THE FIGURINES

The 12 anthropomorphic figurines (Figs. 2 and 3) exhibit body configurations (as opposed to head or leg configurations) that are quasi-cylindrical, that is, neither flat like the Southern Tradition Patayan figurines described by Hedges

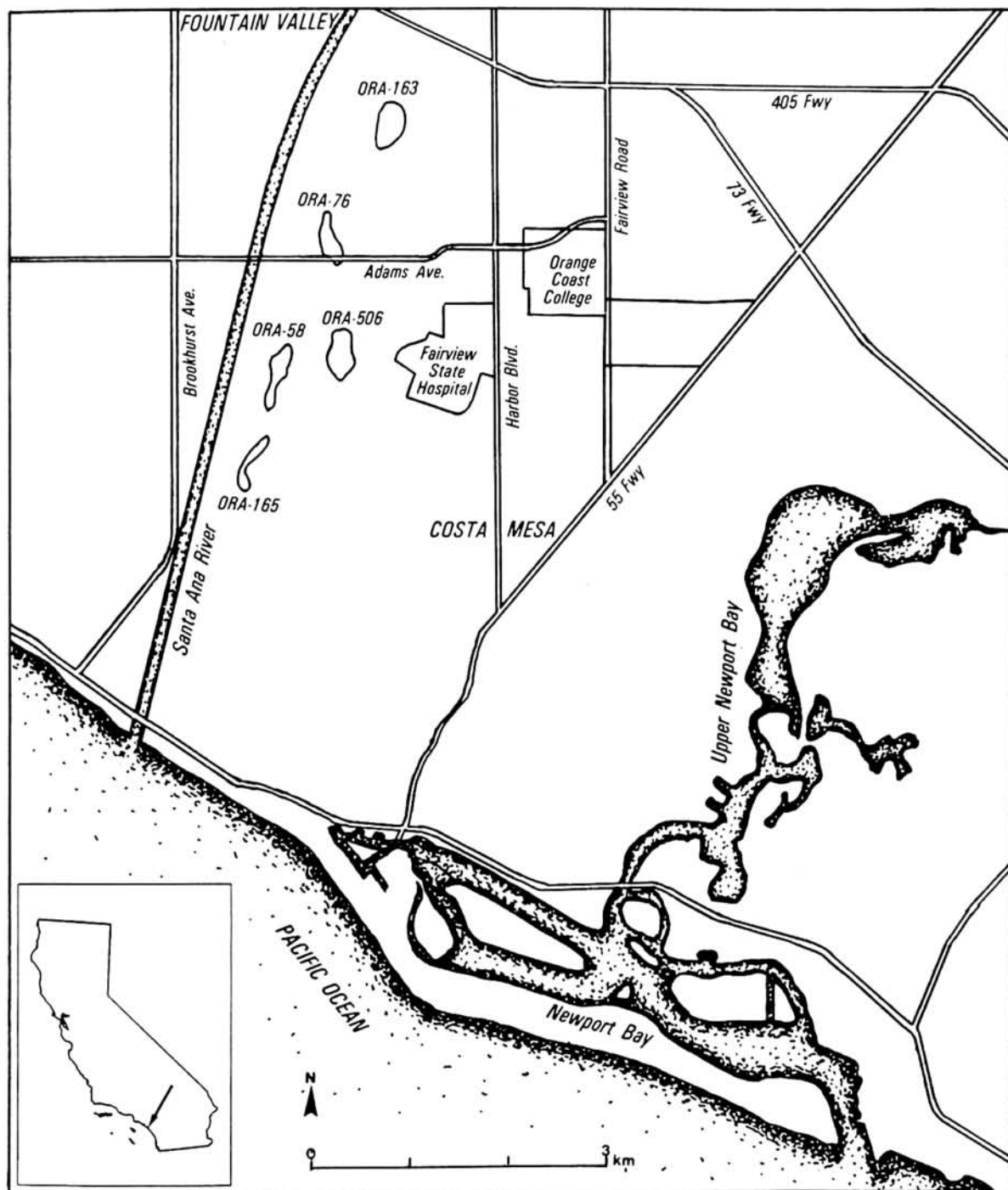


Fig. 1. Location of CA-ORA-58.

(1973) nor quite as cylindrical as the Northern Tradition figures described by McKinney and Knight (1973) and Dixon (1977). They bear no

resemblance either to the very early fired clay objects of CA-ORA-64 (Drover 1971, 1975; Drover et al. 1979) or to the crude ceramics

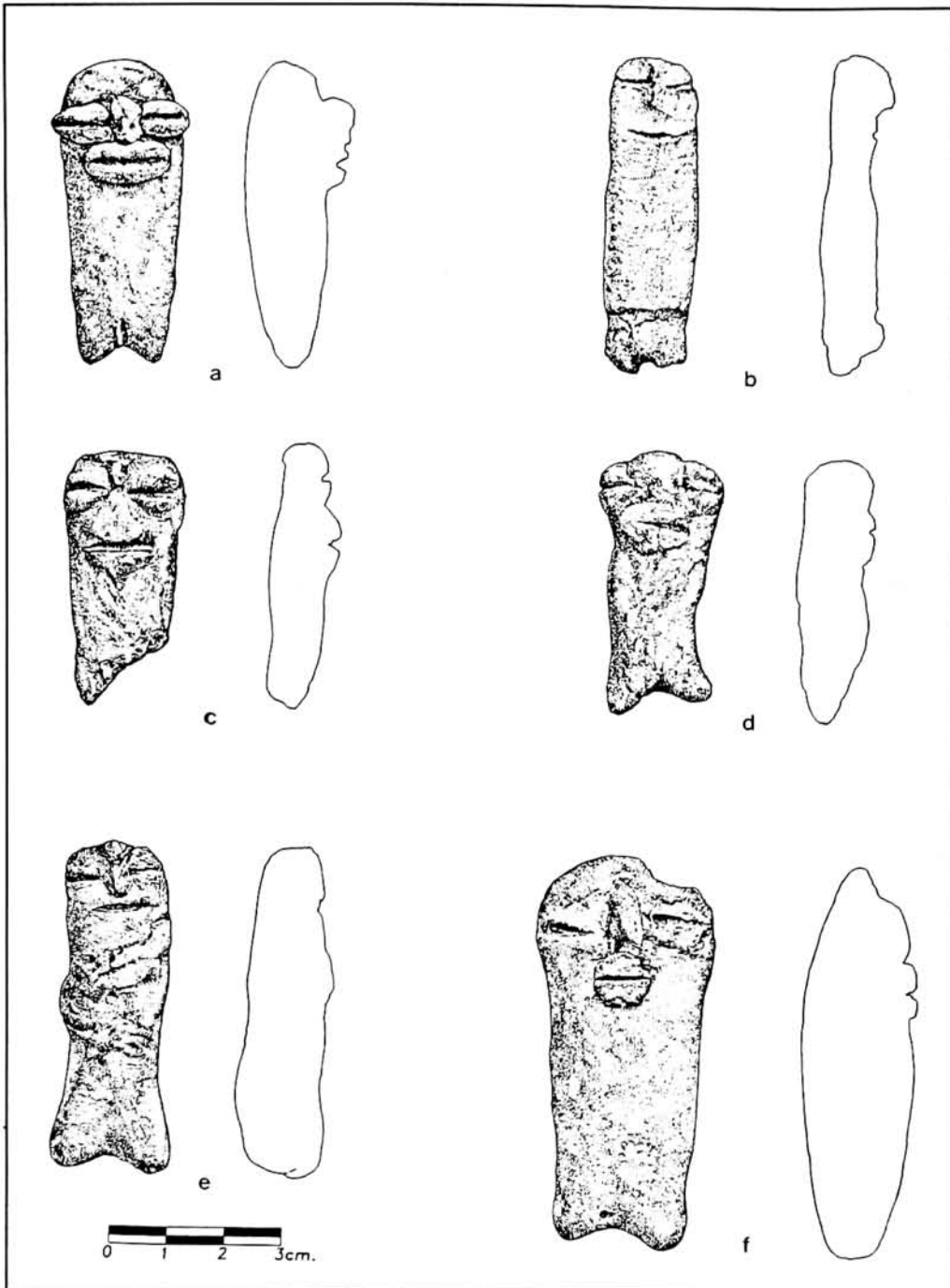


Fig. 2. Fired clay figurines from CA-ORA-58, Specimens 2a through 2f.

found at the Little Harbor site on Catalina Island (Drover 1978). They are altogether different from the fired clay objects described from La

Casa de Rancho Los Cerritos in Long Beach (Evans 1969).

The 12 CA-ORA-58 specimens share a bifur-

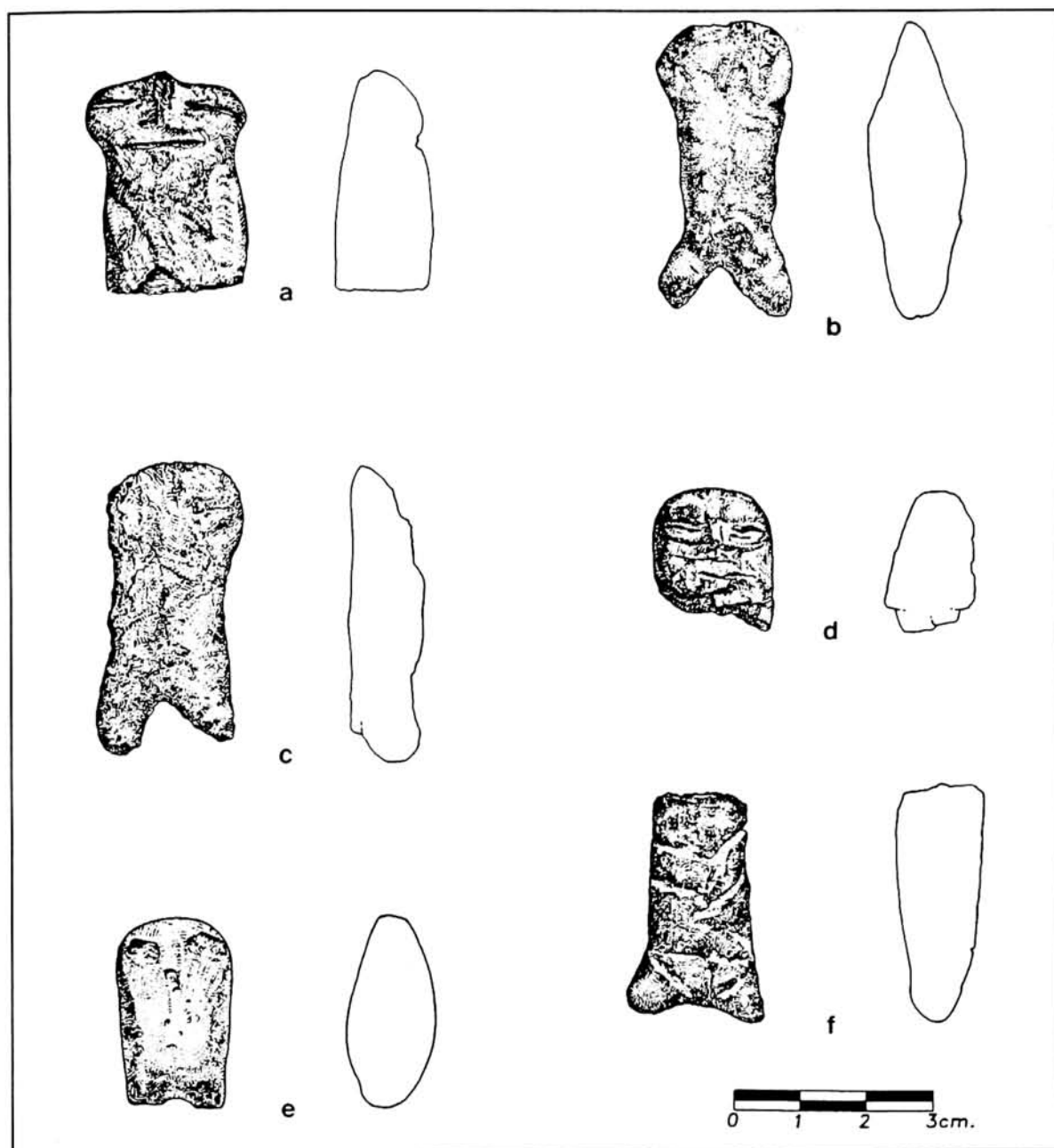


Fig. 3. Fired clay figurines from CA-ORA-58, Specimens 3a through 3f.

cated base, presumably representing legs, in every case where some evidence of the base element survives (10 specimens). A head is extant for 11 of the artifacts. In some cases, noses, eyes, and mouths are appliquéd elements, and in others they are molded very simply by indenting

fingernail or thumbnail impressions into the wet clay or, it would appear, by pinching the paste between the thumb and index finger. The backs of the objects are comparatively nondescript, but four of the pieces show evidence of arms. Only one specimen exhibits some temper. Evidence

of paint is lacking for any object. Some figures can be identified as female or possibly female, only one as a male. Shared formal characteristics within this grouping suggest that most of the figurines have a common origin.

Eleven specimens (Figs. 2 and 3a-e) are buff-colored and have little to no nonplastic inclusions. These, then, appear to have been manufactured of alluvial, low iron clay. A single figurine (Fig. 3f) is significantly darker than the others and contains temper, facts consistent with Peninsular Range clays which have relatively higher iron content.

The buff-brown dichotomy, or light-dark dichotomy, as well as differences regarding nonplastic inclusions, helps distinguish Lower Colorado Buff Ware from Tizon Brown Ware. As Lyneis (1988:149) explained:

Clays produced by the weathering of granitic rocks have substantial iron content resulting from the disintegration of dark accessory minerals that accompany their quartz and feldspars. Unless the iron is removed in the natural cycle by leaching . . . or is separated from clays in the process of transportation prior to sedimentation, the clay will not generally fire to the light colors that we conceptualize as "buff."

Further, the clays used in the manufacture of Lower Colorado Buff Ware "are deposited in very still-water environments after considerable long-distance transport and sorting in slow-moving waters" (Lyneis 1988:149). This renders them free, or virtually so, of natural temper.

Nonmetric descriptions of each specimen are outlined below. Table 1 contains metric descriptions and other measurements.

Specimen No. 1

Specimen No. 1 (Fig. 2a) is a complete, pinkish-grey anthropomorph with appliquéd eyes, nose, and mouth. The facial characteristics are remarkable for their high relief. The relief is not only frontally pronounced but also extends laterally as the eyes project noticeably

left and right beyond the maximum width of the underlying head. The surface of the body is only slightly lumpy. Between the two rudimentary legs, a vulvar element makes it obvious that a female is represented. Opposite the vulvar element on the back side is a small hole running straight up into the artifact. The hole is not drilled, but rather a stick was inserted into the wet clay before firing. The hole is so placed as to suggest an anus. There are no other distinguishing characteristics on the back side of this figurine.

Specimen No. 2

The second specimen (Fig. 2b) is a nearly complete, reddish-yellow anthropomorph. The distal ends of the legs are missing. The nose was fashioned by pinching the wet clay from the right and left sides of the face, probably with thumb and index finger, leaving depressions into which a thumbnail or fingernail was pressed to indicate eyes. The mouth was similarly fashioned. A nub, undoubtedly representing male genitalia, is not an appliquéd element, but like the nose was built up from underlying clay. A transverse line runs frontally directly above the phallus, giving the appearance of a belt. This line does not continue across the back, which is only slightly lumpy. The front is also slightly uneven, but with a smoother finish. A rough depression between the legs at the rear of the figurine may be an anus.

Specimen No. 3

The left leg and a corresponding trunk piece of this reddish-yellow anthropomorph (Fig. 2c) are missing. The nose, eyes, and mouth are probably appliquéd elements, but they are molded to the face in such a way as to conceal this mode of manufacture. There is also the suggestion that facial elements were created by the artisan tooling away the wet paste from around the facial features. Either way, the eye holes and mouth opening are the result of a

Table 1
DESCRIPTION OF CA-ORA-58 FIRED CLAY ANTHROPOMORPHS

Specimen	Length (mm.)	Width (mm.)	Thickness (mm.)	Weight (g.)	Hardness ^a	Color ^b	Nonplastic Inclusions	Fig. No.
1	52.4	23.6	18.3	18.6	4	5YR, 6/2	absent	2a
2	54.9	17.1	10.3	9.7	3	5YR, 6/6	absent	2b
3	44.3	21.2	11.9	9.0	3	5YR, 6/6	virtually absent	2c
4	45.4	22.1	12.0	9.9	3	5YR, 7/6	absent	2d
5	57.6	21.5	13.2	14.4	3	5YR, 6/6	virtually absent	2e
6	67.5	31.1	19.3	37.1	3	5YR, 6/4; 5YR, 5/3	absent	2f
7	32.4	23.5	14.2	10.6	3	5YR, 6/4	absent	3a
8	44.2	20.8	14.3	10.9	2	5YR, 6/4	virtually absent	3b
9	44.4	20.8	11.8	9.7	3	2.5YR, 6/4	virtually absent	3c
10	22.2	18.4	13.0	4.8	3	5YR, 6/4	virtually absent	3d
11	28.8	17.2	12.8	6.8	4	5YR, 6/6	virtually absent	3e
12	33.9	20.6	12.0	8.4	4	2.5YR, 5/4	present, angular	3f

^a Moh's Scale.

^b Munsell Soil Color Charts; Hue, Value/Chroma.

hard, linear object—a fingernail, thumbnail, or stick—being pressed into the clay. As with four other specimens in the group, the superior end of the nose begins noticeably above the eyes. This specimen is somewhat crudely manufactured, with some roughness on the front and moderate lumpiness characterizing the back.

Specimen No. 4

This reddish-yellow figurine (Fig. 2d) is not complete. On the face, the upper half of the left eye is missing. A very small part of the right arm is gone, but an appliquéd left arm is missing, having come off cleanly, leaving only a smooth depression where it had been appended to the torso. The nose, eyes, and mouth are appliquéd elements, well molded to the face. Three lines at the bifurcated legs form a pudendum, conferring female status. Opposite, at the rear, is an oval depression, again suggesting an anus.

Otherwise, the back surface is comparatively nondescript, its surface only slightly lumpy.

Specimen No. 5

The front of this reddish-yellow figurine (Fig. 2e) is complete and characterized by elements in very low relief. The eyes, nose, and two arms barely protrude from the underlying surface. A thumbnail, fingernail, or other hard object has produced slits, either indented or incised, across appliquéd eyes. The nose appears to be appliquéd but is integrated smoothly into the face. The mouth is a simple indented or incised line. Right and left arms are appliquéd, beginning from the sides of the body, and are enhanced with indented or incised lines. No sexual or other elements appear near the legs. The surfaces of the body are only slightly lumpy. A single sherd has broken away from the back, scarring about 75% of that surface.

Specimen No. 6

This reddish-brown (front) to light reddish-brown (back) figurine (Fig. 2f) is distinctive in the grouping for its size and for the attention paid to smoothing and polishing its surfaces. It is complete save for a noticeable chip at the left top of the head. The nose and mouth are obviously appliquéd; the eyes are probably appliquéd but are expertly molded to the face. The eyes and mouth are indented or incised straight lines. Before firing, a stick was inserted into the front side of the figurine at the bifurcated base. The reverse side of this specimen lacks any distinctive elements.

Specimen No. 7

This light brown figurine (Fig. 3a) is missing a bottom half, and probably once had right and left arms that have popped off. The absence of roughened scars suggests that these were appliquéd arms. The nose is probably an appliquéd piece but is well molded to the face. The eyes and mouth are simple slits, rendered when a fingernail or thumbnail, stick, or some other hard object was used to indent or incise the wet clay. The torso is slightly to moderately lumpy. Some care in smoothing surfaces is evident. The back side is comparatively nondescript.

Specimen No. 8

Specimen No. 8 (Fig. 3b) is crudely molded with irregular surfaces. It is distinctive especially for the absence of facial features, except for a slit perhaps made by pinching the wet clay and indenting with a nail. This possible "eye" does not appear to have been an appliquéd element, but the area is highly degraded. This light reddish-brown figurine seems to have lacked arms but is basally bifurcated as in the majority of the grouping. One leg is slightly broken at the end while the other is rounded at the terminus. A tiny chip has broken off at the top of the head.

The head tapers dramatically in cross section from bottom to top.

Specimen No. 9

This light reddish-brown specimen (Fig. 3c) has lost about half of the upper obverse surface, and only the remnant of the left eye and a possible indication of a mouth (a slightly raised area) remain. The broken area exhibits a roughened scar much like exfoliated rock. Part of the back side and bottom of the left leg have broken off. There is no evidence of arms. At the junction of the legs, there is an impression made by a stick that was thrust into the wet clay before firing. The stick impression is evident on the shorter leg. Additionally, a raised area in the suggested pubic region appears to be appliquéd. The bottom part of this appliquéd is molded into the underlying clay, obscuring evidence of the fact that it is an applied element. There is the suggestion that a female form is being represented. All surfaces are pitted and rough; this is the most weathered anthropomorph of the grouping.

Specimen No. 10

Specimen No. 10 (Fig. 3d) is the light reddish-brown head of an anthropomorph, lacking a nose but with a slight impression where an appliquéd nose may have been. The mouth and nose are appliquéd elements of "coffee bean style." Front and back surfaces are rough and pitted.

Specimen No. 11

This anthropomorph (Fig. 3e) is reddish-yellow with what appears to be a very small fire cloud toward the bottom on the back side. Slight depressions (perhaps only 0.1 mm. deep) indicate the loss of appliquéd eyes and possibly a nose on a "head" that flares minimally away from a slightly downward tapering body. The legs are the stubbiest of all specimens having such appendages, and they are flat on their bot-

toms. This specimen is very symmetrical with smoothed and polished surfaces.

Specimen No. 12

Specimen No. 12 (Fig. 3f) is the most unusual of the 12 anthropomorphic figurines, but its bifurcated bottom provides an important stylistic link with the rest of the grouping. The front side is reddish-brown, but there are dark grey fire clouds (Munsell Hue 5YR, 3/1) on the back. This piece comes the closest of the anthropomorphs to having a cylindrical body, thus appearing—at least superficially—to be a hybrid born of Southern and Northern figurine traditions.

This specimen is unusual also for the evidence of abundant ($\approx 1\%$ by volume) nonplastic, angular inclusions in the paste. White quartz inclusions average about 0.25 mm. in diameter. Smaller dark inclusions are more numerous. Color and temper suggest a Tizon Brown Ware, which is characteristic of the Peninsular Ranges of southern California. No other anthropomorph could be ascribed to the Tizon category, but rather the other 11 figurines closely approximate the appearance of Lower Colorado Buff Ware (see Lyneis 1988). There is the possibility that Specimen No. 12 was manufactured locally.

The head has broken off of Specimen No. 12. Incised lines that are 1.0 to 1.5 mm. deep indicate arms, a pubic triangle, and a vagina. The lines representing arms extend from the sides of the specimen across the torso, extending diagonally downwards. A small, purposeful hole sits at the lower end of the vaginal line. The legs are somewhat pointed at their termini.

DISCUSSION

Several immediate points of discussion arise from the remarkable fact of a concentration of anthropomorphic figurines at a single coastal midden (CA-ORA-58). To what ceramic traditions are they to be attributed, and specifically what ethnic group manufactured the artifacts,

when, and why? Assuming that no inhabitant of CA-ORA-58 trekked to the desert and returned to the coast with these artifacts (see Kroeber 1925:612; Ruby 1970:53), who then transported these exotics and along which trails? What is to be inferred from the observation that in Orange County to date only CA-ORA-58 has produced figurines of the kinds described above?

Cultural and Temporal Associations

Hedges (1973) noted that while effigies of the Southern Tradition of Southwestern figurines found in southernmost California and Baja California had received cursory mention in the literature (Treganza 1942:159; Heizer and Beardley 1943:204; Meighan 1959:31; True 1970:50-51), they had not yet been described formally, a necessary prerequisite for developing a typology. Hedges (1973) offered a preliminary typology based on his study of examples that he characterized as belonging to the "Peninsular Branch of the Patayan Stem of the Hakataya Root." Here we will abandon the term Hakataya, and will use instead the term Patayan (see McGuire and Schiffer 1982) to refer to Yuman groups from the Mojave and Colorado deserts into the San Diego coast. Hedges (1973) anticipated that a more definitive typology would depend especially upon descriptions of unexamined specimens known to exist in private collections.

Southern Tradition anthropomorphic figurines are recognized by their resemblances to Hohokam effigies which often feature coffee bean eyes while Northern Tradition figurines are generally cylindrical, occasionally with modeled breasts (see Morss 1954). On these and other criteria, 11 of the CA-ORA-58 effigies described above are easily attributable to the Southern Tradition, but the CA-ORA-58 collection fits none of the three types proposed by Hedges (1973) for the Peninsular Branch ceramics.

General characteristics of Hedges' (1973) Types I, II, and III include coffee bean eyes and prominent nose, a testament to a shared stylistic

ancestry for the Orange County examples and the Peninsular Branch types. However, punctate nostrils, punctate mouth, and lack of arms and legs are general Peninsular Branch characteristics not found on the CA-ORA-58 specimens. The three types of figurines described by Hedges (1973:8), including those of a Miscellaneous Hakataya (now Patayan) category, were from the area occupied historically by the Kumeyaay and Cahuilla, where Northern Tradition figurines were also noted at three locations.

In some specifics, there are similarities between Prescott figurines from central Arizona and the CA-ORA-58 anthropomorphs (see Gladwin et al. 1937:Plate ccvii, 108; Morss 1954:34-37). The terminus of Prescott figurines is "usually knobby or stump-legged without the long legs often found in Hohokam figurines" (Morss 1954:34). This attribute is present for every CA-ORA-58 anthropomorph described above that is not lacking a base. The head might flare out from the body in a manner similar especially to Specimens 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9, and the tops of the Prescott heads are rounded, a trait most notable on Specimens 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

Gladwin et al. (1937:240) pointed out that Prescott Branch figurines bear a striking resemblance to some Northern Periphery (e.g., Fremont) figurines. Gladwin et al. (1937:238-239) described the Prescott artifacts as being manufactured by a one-piece method with rod-like bodies, with little or no effort to mimic actual proportions. The upper end of the figure is pressed flat. Aside from the eyes, nose, and mouth, facial/head development is minimal; in general, ears, eyebrows, and facial modeling are lacking. Color decoration is also lacking, and the figures tend to be female. Noses tend to be beak-shaped, and eyes are represented by slits. These descriptions apply in varying degrees to the CA-ORA-58 collection.

An arguable issue is how far to apply the somewhat subjective term "rod-like" to the bodies of the dozen CA-ORA-58 specimens, and

only three of our specimens (2, 5, and 7) have slit eyes. Further, the CA-ORA-58 specimens with appliquéd parts cannot qualify as examples of one-piece artifacts.

Breasts are found on many Prescott figurines, but none of the CA-ORA-58 females has them. Noses are described as carelessly shaped on the Prescott pieces (Morss 1954:34), a description that would not characterize most or all of the CA-ORA-58 specimens with noses. Further, the characterization of the central Arizona artifacts as exhibiting friable, coarse-tempered fabric (Morss 1954:34) might apply in only one example from CA-ORA-58. The Prescott figurines are of Pueblo II and III age, and thus are contemporaneous with the end of the Snaketown settlement (Gladwin et al. 1937:239).

The most striking resemblance between Hohokam anthropomorphic figures and CA-ORA-58 figures is seen in the coffee bean facial features. At Snaketown, coffee bean eyes are diagnostic of the Santa Cruz Phase (A.D. 700 to 900) (e.g., Haury 1976). Parenthetically, this facial design element is one of a long list of traits indicating cultural connections between Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (Gladwin et al. 1937:241). The CA-ORA-58 anthropomorphs give the appearance of a stylistic hybrid between Hohokam and Prescott figurine traditions. Proximity of the Lower Colorado River to both central and southcentral Arizona suggests a possible origin for at least 11 of the pieces.

Specimens 1 through 6 were examined by Jerry Schaefer, who noted that the paste lacked any mica, one indication that the "very clean" clays came from the Lower Colorado River. He confirmed that all six were of Lower Colorado Buff Ware (Lowland Patayan tradition). Lower Colorado Buff Ware was manufactured along the Colorado River, the Gulf of California to the southern tip of Nevada, along the Lower Gila River, and in the peripheral western Arizona and southern California deserts (Waters 1982:275). Schaefer's assessments did not include Speci-

mens 7 through 12, which were not available for his inspection. However, in the senior author's assessment, all but Specimen 12 appeared to be of Lower Colorado Buff Ware.

A Lowland Patayan origin for 11 of the anthropomorphs seems certain. This observation, coupled with ethnohistoric data to be discussed in the following section, indicates transport of these exotics by the Mojave or their cultural predecessors along the Mojave Trail. After negotiating a route approximating the present-day Mojave Road Recreation Trail (see Duffield 1984; Casebier 1986), traders would have followed the Mojave River (Coues 1900; Galvin 1967), eventually ascending the San Bernardino Mountains eight miles east of the Cajon Pass (Van Dyke 1927). After descending into the San Bernardino Valley, travelers could have followed the Santa Ana River Drainage, leading directly to CA-ORA-58 (Fig. 4).

Mojave Trade

Mojave Indians habitually journeyed through the territory of other tribes (Davis 1961:8) for touristic (curiosity and adventure) (Kroeber 1925:727; 1974:6-7; Farmer 1935:157), militaristic (Stewart 1947), and commercial purposes (e.g. Farmer 1935; Rogers 1941; Tower 1945). For instance, westbound Mojave entrepreneurs traveled from their Lower Colorado River homeland into Chemehuevi, Vanyume, Serrano, Gabrielino, Tataviam, Kitanemuk (see Coues 1900; Kroeber 1925:612; Galvin 1967), Chumash (Kroeber 1925:612; Engelhardt 1930:46-49; Smith and Walker 1965:1; Ruby 1970), Salinan (Smith and Walker 1965:1; Walker 1986:52) and Yokuts territory (Frémont 1854:367, 376, 1887:362, 370; Kroeber 1925:612, 727, Plates 63 and 72; Cook 1960:247; Smith and Walker 1965:1; Walker 1986). Spanish documents have the Mojave as far north as Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa and even Mission San Miguel Arcángel (Smith and Walker 1965:1; Walker 1986:52), which is in Salinan territory. Direct exchange

along the coastal zone was primarily with Chumash and Gabrielino, who received perishables, blankets, and other woven goods (Ruby 1970). Pedro Font reported seeing a cotton blanket resembling those produced by Gila River Pimans at a Chumash village in western Ventura County (Bolton 1931:257). Archaeological and ethnohistoric data indicate that the textile trade was carried to the edge of the southern San Joaquin Valley and beyond (Frémont 1854:367, 376, 1887:362, 370; Coues 1900:278-279; Kroeber 1925, Plates 63 and 72, 934-935; Gifford and Schenck 1926:104; Cook 1960:247; Smith and Walker 1965:1; Galvin 1967:47; Walker 1986:86; see also Sample 1950:4-5).

Mojave middlemen acquired Hopi and Navajo blankets from the Walapai (Mook 1935:164), and from the Havasupai they received blankets woven at an unspecified Pueblo (Spier 1928:245). Mojave might trade directly with Hopi (Forde 1931:106; Driver and Massey 1957:377). Wool ponchos were obtained from the Navajo (Spier 1955:6). In return for Southwestern textiles, the Mojave acquired shells and shell beads (Farmer 1935; Ruby 1970). During Father Garcés' 1776 travels westward across the Mojave Desert, the trails-priest and his guides passed two Mojave trading parties transporting Pacific Coast shell eastward (Coues 1900:243; Galvin 1967:35, 37, 40).

Pacific shell reached the Southwest as early as the Cochise culture (Sayles 1945:57). In the Anasazi area, Pacific shell is well-documented for the Basketmaker II period (Brand 1938:7; Gifford 1947:61-62; see also Tower 1945:21). Eventually, Pacific shell occurred in all major divisions of the region, and has been found as far away as the Texas Panhandle (Brand 1938:9). There is no way to estimate what proportion of Pacific shell and shell beads in the Southwest would have passed through Mojave middlemen or their cultural predecessors, but certainly around the contact period, the Mojave were prime movers of these commodities.

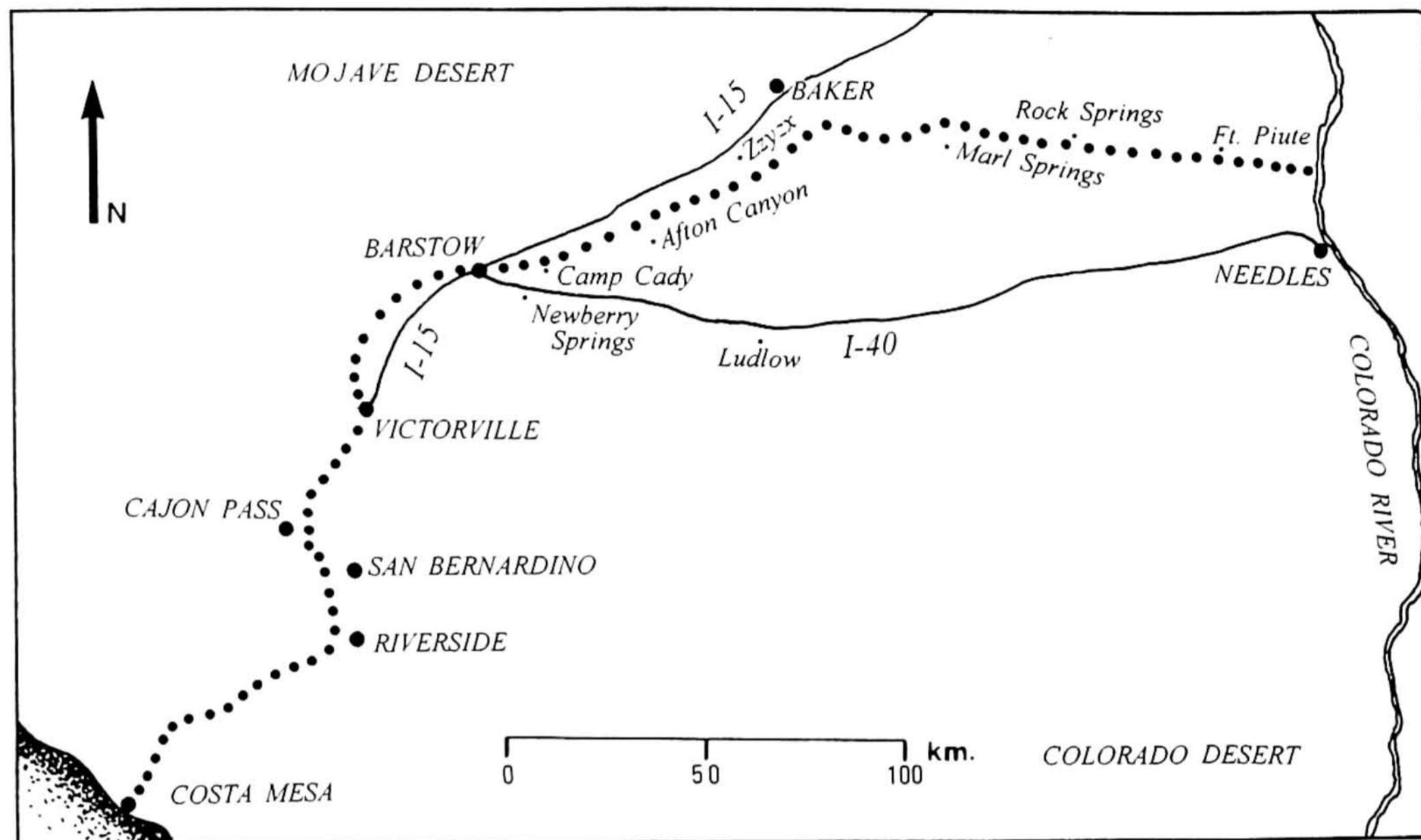


Fig. 4. Probable trade route for CA-ORA-58 figurines.

This "directional-commercial" (see Renfrew 1972:470) Southwestern textile-Pacific shell trade may have been facilitated by reciprocal exchanges of prestige goods as a preliminary to barter exchange involving the primary commodities of blankets, shells, and shell beads. Such possible prestige goods found in Orange County, on Catalina Island, or in the greater Gabrielino area might have included the fired clay anthropomorphs herein discussed, as well as *Glycymeris* shell bracelets (Anonymous 1938a; Miller 1991:90), pottery, grooved stone tools (Heizer 1946; Dixon 1960), Sonoran projectile points (Koerper and Drover 1983), a unique Desert side-notched arrowpoint (Anonymous 1937), and U-shaped crescents (e.g., Anonymous 1938b). The pottery is varied—Sacaton Red-on-buff (Brand 1935:208; Gladwin and Gladwin 1935:204; Heizer 1941; Walker 1945:193; Ruby and Blackburn 1964; Ruby 1970:266-268; also see Bissell 1983), Cibola White Ware (Ruby and

Blackburn 1964), Cibola Black-on-white (Ruby and Blackburn 1964), Colorado Buff Ware (Anonymous 1939; Ruby and Blackburn 1964), and Trincheras Purple-on-red (Demcak and Cottrell 1985).

Implications for CA-ORA-58

During the Spanish and Mexican periods, Newport Bay was referred to as the "Bolsa de Gengar" or "Bolsa de Genga," indicating that a village of major importance, Genga, was situated in the area encompassed by the bay and contiguous Newport Mesa. After extensive examination of historical records, especially mission registers, Earle and O'Neil (1994; see also Koerper et al. 1996) favored placement of Genga (also known as Genna, Jenna, Gebit, Gevit, Jebit, and Jevit) at the Santa Ana River on Newport Mesa over any Newport Bay location, such as CA-ORA-111, -119, or -287. Archaeological evidence further supports the hypothesis

that the historically important village of Genga was located on the western boundary of the mesa (Koerper et al. 1996).

The quantity and quality of magico-religious and status artifacts reflects the intensity of the more ideational activities at a site. Since such activities are molded by the more material considerations of technology and domestic and political economy, such artifacts might be employed as rough measures of the comparative economic and political importance between contemporaneously occupied sites within the larger region. The evidence here includes Late Prehistoric artifacts manufactured of high quality Santa Catalina Island steatite (see Koerper 1993; Koerper et al. 1996). Most, if not all, of these items probably were exported in finished form from the island. The aggregate of exotic steatite objects from Late Prehistoric components at Newport Bay falls well below the richness of those recovered on Newport Mesa. Further, well over a dozen other fired clay objects (Koerper et al. 1996) and perhaps many more (see Dixon 1977), several being Northern Tradition figurines, have been retrieved from CA-ORA-58. The Northern Tradition specimens probably account for the majority of such types unearthed in all of Orange County. When the inventory of exotics is expanded to include the CA-ORA-58 Southern Tradition fired clay effigies (found nowhere else in the county), the Late Prehistoric importance of the mesa sites, particularly the Banning-Norris site, is unmistakable.

The location of a major village or village complex at the Lower Santa Ana River is not difficult to explain. First, there would have been abundant water, more so than at Newport Bay, and the village would have been strategically placed to control bay resources, as well as a variety of microenvironments adjacent to the river. The region was probably at a trade crossroads, lying along a coastal route running southward from the Long Beach area to Genga, inland to *Pajbenga*, and then across the southern

portion of the Ciénega de las Ranas and beyond to San Juan Capistrano (Koerper et al. 1996). As previously indicated, the area was probably the terminus of a trade route that descended the San Bernardino Mountains just east of the Cajon Pass and proceeded down the Santa Ana River to the coast (see also Koerper n.d.).

CA-ORA-58 and/or nearby large middens—the Adams-Fairview site (CA-ORA-76), the Gri-set site (CA-ORA-163), CA-ORA-506, and possibly CA-ORA-165—may be the village or complex of villages recorded as Genga in the records of San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano missions (Koerper et al. 1996). The richness of the Late Prehistoric component at CA-ORA-58 allows the speculation that this village might have served as the politically vested center for the complex of sites.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A variety of material remains recovered in Orange County reflects different kinds of connections linking the Hohokam and coastal Californian cultures. Such connections were undoubtedly indirect, presumably through Colorado River Yumans. At contact, the Mojave were the major intermediaries in a long-distance Southwestern textile/Pacific shell commerce.

In one kind of connection, Hohokam manufactured artifacts such as *Glycymeris* bracelets, Sacaton pottery, possibly grooved stone tools, and possibly chipped stone objects reached the coast. In another, some of the Sonoran projectiles found locally, while ultimately of Hohokam or possibly Piman inspiration, would have been manufactured in Orange County. Also, 11 of the 12 Patayan fired clay anthropomorphs showing Hohokam stylistic influences, and possibly Prescott Branch (Patayan) influences, were not manufactured locally.

Speculatively, some of the exotics may have been exchanged through reciprocity between interior traders and their coastal trade partners/protectors as a social/ritual preliminary to the

more overtly economic activities of a larger directional-commercial market exchange. This scenario is suggested by the rarity of especially the clay figurines, *Glycymeris* bracelets, and pottery vessels. The rarity of such archaeologically durable goods is not consistent with an inventory of durable primary market exchange commodities.

Beyond an economic role, possession of the fired clay effigies may have conferred prestige on those receiving the exotics through exchange. Beyond considerations of status acquisition, further speculations regarding functions might be as varied as those frequently given to explain the purposes of other clay figurines. Perhaps fertility/fecundity increase imagery attached to the anthropomorphs, particularly the female examples, with attendant ritual use (see Parsons 1919, 1939:317-318; Heizer and Beardsley 1943; Bullen 1947; Morss 1954:53; Graffam 1978:26-27). Employment in death rites is a possibility (e.g., Campbell 1932:iii; Hedges 1973:34; Graffam 1978:27). Of special note here is Trippel's (1889:8) observation of Lower Colorado Quechan women at a mourning ceremony walking about to "console the wailers by touching them with tiny clay dolls, thus keeping them mindful of the fact that children will again be born to fill the places of those who have gone." In this example, death and fertility themes overlap, a reminder that the use categories enumerated here need not be mutually exclusive. An additional mortuary use, falling under Graffam's (1978:27) "Afterlife Figure" functional category, was proposed by Chace (1973:42), who speculated that the unbaked clay effigy from a cremation near Twentynine Palms described by Campbell (1932:111) "may symbolically embody traits a young female had not yet achieved in life, but should be properly directed to achieve in a future time, an afterlife."

The figurines might have been used in imitative magic to harm victims (see Roberts 1917:33; True 1957:296; Hedges 1973:34; Graffam

1978:27), or, in a curative ritual, an anthropomorph might be employed to heal. A Havasupai sucking shaman worked a cure by removing, among other things, the spirit of a grandfather from an afflicted patient. The spirit was in the form of "a little white man, with a head but no limbs" (Spier 1928:280-281). With this Havasupai example, two themes are again commingled; in this instance, death with curative powers.

It may be that figurines constructed from materials other than clay (e.g., cloth, wood, and shell) could be used for witchcraft and in mourning ritual (DuBois 1908; Sparkman 1908:227; Strong 1929; True 1957; Hudson 1979:357, 359-360). In postcontact times, cloth figurines replaced those of clay in witchcraft and shamanic activity (True 1957:296). Interestingly, a Northern Tradition unfired clay anthropomorph, with breasts and a longitudinal slit possibly representing female genitalia, was unearthed in Cahuilla territory in association with a large quartz crystal and basalt smoking pipe. This cache may represent the remnants of a sacred bundle or, more likely, a shaman's kit (Langenwaller 1980).

The CA-ORA-58 figurines, while similar enough to each other to be taken as belonging to a single genre and sharing identical function(s), lack the degree of standardization one might expect if a particular deity was being represented. Equally unlikely was their use as toys, especially given the circumstances of their transport over significant distances and their possible role in exchange. Further, following True (1957:296), their great rarity makes a toy function a less likely proposition.

Finally, with no other Orange County site yielding a Southern Tradition figurine, CA-ORA-58, already remarkable for its comparatively unusual inventory of Late Prehistoric prestige items, appears to have been within or near the center of a significant political/economic orbit, more so than any Late Prehistoric com-

ponent at Newport Bay. For this and other reasons, we support the idea that the location of the important village or complex of Genga was at or near the site of CA-ORA-58 (see Earle and O'Neil 1994).

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