



# ***NewsMAC***

**Newsletter of the New Mexico Archeological Council**

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## ***NewsMAC Fall 2016 (2016-2)***

### ***The Late Prehistoric – Early Historic-Spanish Colonial Epoch in New Mexico***

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## EDITOR'S WELCOME

I am pleased to present the Fall 2016 issue of *NewsMAC*. Earlier this year when I asked the Listeros if anyone would like to be a guest editor of the *NewsMAC* for one issue in 2016, Dr. Deni Seymour stepped up to the plate. The issue is both topically apropos and timely, given the upcoming fall conference and its focus on the early historic era in New Mexico. The papers in this issue are not slated to be presented at the conference and address the time before Contact, as well as after it.

Thanks to Deni for assembling this collection of essays and for doing the heavy lifting in editing them.

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## GUEST EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This *NewsMAC* issue is focused on the Late Prehistoric – Early Historic-Spanish Colonial epoch in New Mexico. Typically, these time periods are distinguished as separate slices of time but the divide between them is becoming less distinct.

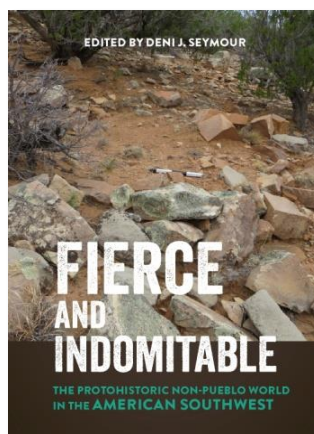
In part this is because recent research has shown that the temporal divide between “prehistoric” and “early historic” is irrelevant. It’s not that it is not as pronounced as once thought, but rather it is nonexistent. There is no time divide as originally conceived, but instead there is a continuous sequence of occupation and a much earlier entry of new peoples that begins in the Late Prehistoric period. Consequently, the processes relevant to the Late Prehistoric continue into the Early Historic and influence in fundamental ways the outlooks of participants and ultimate outcomes.

The false divide has in many ways inhibited our grasp of the intricacies of this period. Some of this is discussed in a soon-to-be released book: *Fierce and Indomitable: The Protohistoric Non-Puebloan American Southwest* (Seymour 2016). That volume’s focus on mobile groups highlights one of the missing puzzle pieces that has inhibited a deep understanding of this slice of time.

Similarly, the indigenous versus European focus has split our discipline into different camps: those who study prehistory, those who study Spanish Colonial, those who study Indigenous groups, and those who collaborate with communities and conduct archaeology in a way that integrates more than a single disciplinary bent. The same misguided divisions can be found in the study of important events, peoples, and processes that occur across state and international lines.

Only by broadening our focus will it be possible to understand the processes and transformations underway. Many of the participants in this newsletter have embraced the ambiguity of disciplinary direction and as a result, their work has led to freshness of approach and clarity of results.

Please enjoy these contributions by some of the newest and also some of the most seasoned researchers in our state as we begin to blur the divide and



embark on an integrated and renewed conversation about this fascinating period.

Some of the contributions to this newsletter will be expanded, or substituted, and combined with others to form an as-yet-untitled volume to be published by 2018 at a scholarly press on the Late Prehistoric and Spanish Colonial period as it relates to New Mexico. For this edited volume we have a

great line-up of authors, with 15 chapters by your favorite authors planned to date.

Also, don't miss NMAC's November 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference entitled: *Spanish Colonial Period in New Mexico: A Trip along the Camino Real*.

Deni Seymour, Guest Editor

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## **A WORLD FOREVER CHANGED: CONTEXT, CONTACT, AND COLONY IN THE MIDDLE RIO GRANDE VALLEY, 1520-1620**

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Few places in the American Southwest experienced the magnitude of social change that occurred in the middle Rio Grande Valley throughout the sixteenth century. This article will examine the period prior to first European contact in 1540, the events and impact of that contact, and the earliest period of true colonization efforts that ensued. The 100-year long period between AD 1520 and 1620 encompasses these three phases of social existence in the pueblo world, a century of almost unequalled change in regional history.

Due to the obvious impacts of first European contact with the arrival of the Vazquez de Coronado expedition from 1540 to 1542, little attention has been paid to Puebloan social organization during the several decades prior to contact. Some exceptions are Ramenofsky and Kulishek (2013) and Chapman (2013). Recent research by the author suggests that widespread systemic changes were occurring in the Puebloan world throughout central New Mexico in the latter

part of the 1400s and the early part of the 1500s prior to contact. Researchers such as Barrett (2002) and Ramenofsky and Kulishek (2013) have detailed an apparent shift from more numerous but smaller villages in the earlier part of the Pueblo 4 period to fewer, larger villages in the later part of the period.

Excavations at larger sites in the Rio Grande Valley dating to that period indicate that earlier sites may have been abandoned in favor of reorganization into fewer but larger villages. These trends were first recognized as long ago as Mera (1940), but the details and scope of this reorganization are still being researched and understood. At certain pueblos along the Rio Grande, such as Piedras Marcadas (LA 290), test excavations have encountered huge amounts of construction, structural fill, and accumulation that must have taken place within relatively short periods of time in what could be described as a massive pre-contract "public works" project.

Independent evidence is contained within the well-described and temporally sensitive Rio Grande glazeware sequence (Mera 1933). Rio Grande glazewares are often sorted into earlier types (Glazes A through C) and later types (Glazes D through F). The break point between these types, not coincidentally, falls within the period when major social reorganizations may have been taking place.

Although these glazeware types may be chronologically diagnostic, enough ambiguity remains in the timing of any ceramic changes and their non-uniform occurrence geographically across the broader central Rio Grande Valley to leave some question as to what happened, when, and where. For example, the accepted dates for Glaze D (typically, San Lazaro Glaze-polychrome) are often cited as AD 1475 to 1525 and yet the type occurs in such large quantities across such a broad area that it is not logical for the production and distribution of San Lazaro to have occurred in such a short time frame. Recent ceramic analyses at Alameda Pueblo (LA 421) by Kurota (2008 and 2013), and at Piedras Marcadas (LA 290) by Franklin (2016) are providing new information on the local glazeware sequence in the middle Rio Grande.

It was into this existing context – of hypothesized population aggregation into fewer and larger communities and related expansion and construction – that the Vázquez de Coronado expedition made its initial contact with the Puebloan world. The expedition was remarkable enough in its own right, being the largest land-based exploration organized by the Spanish Crown in North America (Schmader 2014). The greatest part of the contingent, well over 1,000 men, were Native Mexican soldiers enlisted to provide fighters (Flint 2008). The massive force dealt an immediate and powerful blow to the Puebloan societies they encountered.

Coronado's exploratory party spent both of winters of 1540-1542 in the Tiguex province of the Rio Grande, about a year, during which time several battles were fought, at least one village was appropriated as a basecamp, and likely every village was burned. Native casualties numbered in

the hundreds and much of the local population evacuated the area (Schmader 2016). Only those who decided on active resistance remained and the few who survived were eventually enslaved. There is not much evidence that disease was a major effect of this first contact (Ramenofsky and Kulishek 2013). The primary effect was a cataclysmic strike to the basic social structure and security of the Pueblo world, both internally and to broader-scale external relations between neighboring areas.

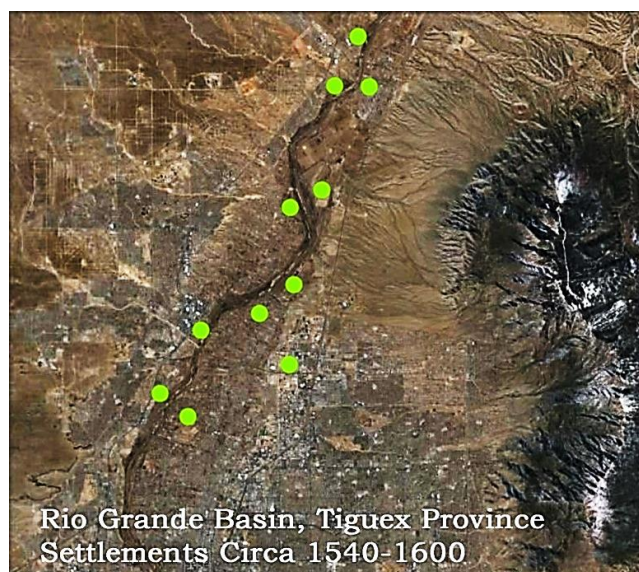
This shattered world was only able to recover in the years following the Coronado expedition, but it was likely a cautious recovery. Burned villages needed to be rebuilt, displaced populations had to be resettled, and always with the looming prospect that unknown strangers with malicious intent could return. On the Spanish side of the equation, the exploration proved to be a financial failure and a major disappointment because no new civilization had been found north of Nueva España (Flint 2008). The period from 1542 to 1581 proved to be one of relative calm, primarily because no new explorations were launched. But the period was short in archaeological terms and no direct evidence has been found that sheds light on the immediate post-contact restructuring that must have taken place.

By the 1570s, renewed interest in the territories north of New Spain turned to the potential for colonization and evangelization of the native peoples (Hammond and Rey 1966). The first of several much smaller explorations was conducted under the guidance of Chamuscado and Rodriguez (1581-1582). This was followed by the Espejo (1582-1583), Castaño de Sosa (1590-1591), Morlete (1590-1591), and Leyva-Humana (1593) expeditions.

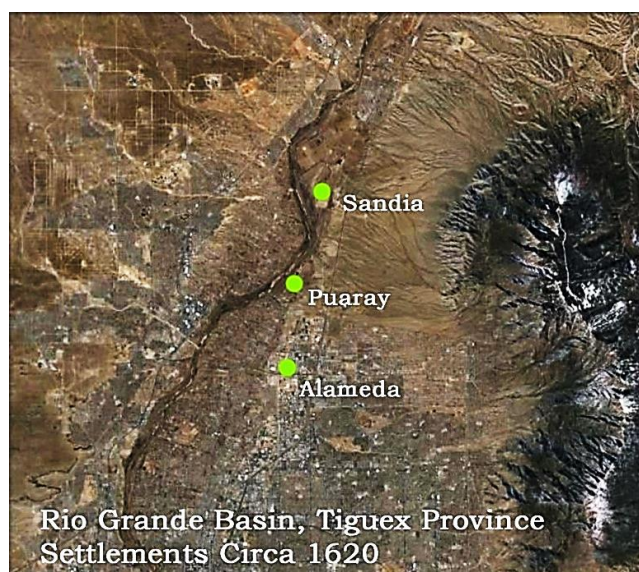
Descriptions of the middle Rio Grande Valley that emerge from expeditionary documents are of a province largely resettled but with a guarded eye towards the possibility of new incursions by foreign invaders. The dichotomy between population dispersal as a defensive strategy and outright defense of villages was recurrent throughout the 1580s. And Spain paid more attention to those areas outside of the Tiguex



province—namely, the Galisteo Basin, Pecos, and the upper Rio Grande. This was a logical response to the almost total collapse within the Tiguex area following the Coronado expedition. By the last years of the sixteenth century, legal and logistical hurdles had been cleared for the first true effort to colonize New Mexico, led by don Juan de Oñate in 1598.



**Figure 1.** Distribution of known pueblos in the Tiguex province north of Albuquerque, circa AD 1540 to 1600.



**Figure 2.** Distribution of known pueblos in the Tiguex province north of Albuquerque, circa AD 1620.

The Tiguex province markedly showed the effects of colonial practices of *reduccion* and *encomienda*. Estimated pre-contact populations of about 20,000 plummeted to less than 1,000 (Barrett 2002). The number of Tiguex villages, in the last half of the 1500s is variously reported as between 12 and 16 (Figure 1). By the early 1600s, the number of pueblos, dropped to just three. The villages of Sandia, Alameda, and Puaray were all that remained and these three only emerged as the primary settlements during the brief period from about 1590 to 1620 (Figure 2). All three were on the east side of the Rio Grande and the west bank seems to have been almost completely abandoned. Archaeological evidence from the major sites on the west side of the river shows scant evidence for continued intensive occupation although scattered exceptions are found.

At Piedras Marcadas, formerly the largest of all the Tiguex towns, few late glazeware types such as Kotyiti Glaze-polychrome (Glaze F) persist (Franklin 2016), but no early Colonial vessel forms, such as soup bowls or plates, are found. The ceramic evidence indicates a final end to occupation at about 1620, which is consistent with end dates for the majority of the Tiguex villages. Population decline, resettlement, Colonial administration, and overall deterioration of social and ecological environments ultimately led to a collapse, but not a complete extinction of the Tiguex area (Barrett 2002; Schmader 2014).

The remaining populations all along the middle Rio Grande Valley, such as they were, displayed remarkable resiliency in the face of cultural obliteration (Liebmann 2010; Wilcox 2009). The ability for groups to adapt to deep organizational change, to social and cultural upheaval of belief and religious systems, and to forced labor, tribute, and resettlement are testament to that resiliency. Resulting syncretism in ceremonial practices, assimilated technologies and subsistence practices, and adaptation in residential patterns were used as buffers within a new world construct imposed on native peoples. Their ability to adapt, change, reinvent, resort to secrecy, and engage in active resistance when necessary, all ensured the peoples' culture would endure.

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## **THE LONG PATH TO KANSAS: PUEBLOAN MIGRANTS AND APACHEAN RESIDENTS**

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It is difficult to discuss the early Historic period in northern New Mexico without consideration of the significant out-migration that occurred in response to the imposition of Spanish law, establishment of missions and colonies, and the violent disruption to Puebloan daily life (Kulisheck 2010). For Native peoples living near Spanish settlements, colonial powers and institutions were pervasive, and resistance to colonial demands necessitated creativity. Some northern Rio Grande groups solidified their social and economic relationships with neighboring Apache and Caddoan groups, connections that likely existed for centuries, if not millennia prior to contact with Europeans (Barr 2005; Brosowske and Bevitt 2006; Kidder 1932; Wedel 1967, 1982).

These Puebloan and Plains peoples formed new societies along the periphery of the Southwest and Spanish influence, using residential mobility to actively avoid Spanish rule and to maintain autonomy and their identity (Kulisheck 2010). Parts of the Great Plains became refuges for Puebloan and Plains groups displaced from their home ranges and a diverse congregation of both

native and displaced peoples found themselves in new multi-ethnic communities where access to regional trade networks were key for maintaining domestic and political economies (Barr 2005).

This Puebloan diaspora led to intensified relationships between some Puebloan peoples and their Plains neighbors as larger numbers of people, rather than just their goods, were moving to and staying on the Plains. One destination for Puebloan migrants fleeing their homelands was the Ladder Creek Valley in what is now western Kansas. Recent archaeological investigations at several sites in Lake Scott State Park near Scott City, Kansas provide a view into Puebloan migrants' movement onto the High Plains and the formation of multiethnic communities with local Dismal River (Plains Apache) groups already in the area.

A key site in this region is the Scott County Pueblo (14SC1). Here, a seven-room masonry pueblo and associated evidence points to the presence both Dismal River and Puebloan potters in the area. Puebloan potters manufactured copies

of ceramic vessel forms and types common to northern Rio Grande pueblos using local (High Plains) clays and raw materials (Beck and Trabert 2014; Beck et al. 2016; Trabert 2016).

The nearby sites of 14SC304 and 14SC409 provide further evidence of this blended Puebloan/Dismal River community and its persistence over time. Ceramic technology and practices brought to the region by Puebloan women (and likely men) continued at 14SC304 and 14SC409 more than a decade after the pueblo at 14SC1 was abandoned. Current interpretations of these highly significant sites and what this means for our understanding of the Puebloan diaspora are discussed below.

### **Changing Perspectives on Puebloan Migrants**

The Scott County Pueblo, also known as El Cuartelejo, is located on a low terrace above Ladder Creek, a perennial tributary of the Smoky Hill River (Witty 1983). Archaeological work at 14SC1 has occurred for more than 100 years, carried out by the leading Plains archaeologists of the time, including Samuel W. Williston, Handel T. Martin, Waldo Wedel, James Gunnerson, and Thomas Witty.

In the summer of 1899, Williston and Martin's (Martin 1909; Williston and Martin 1900) excavations exposed a seven room structure measuring 16 x 11 m. The pueblo's walls were approximately 0.75 m high with the thickness ranging from 45 cm to over 60 cm thick. On the floor of the pueblo were a mix of Plains and northern Rio Grande style ceramics, flaked stone, and a variety of butchered animal remains.

Each room of the pueblo contained rectangular slab-lined hearths (unusual for the Plains), there was a large mealing bin in the corner of one room (also atypical for the Plains), and several rooms had a raised "sleeping" bench or platform, more commonly found in the Pueblo Southwest. Burning of the wall and floors, along with the discovery of nearly two bushels of burned corn on the floor, suggest fire was responsible for the final end of the pueblo. The presence of this pueblo structure and Southwest ceramics led

Williston and Martin to assume the site was occupied by immigrants from the Southwest.

Intrigued by the purported connection to the Southwest, Waldo Wedel, an archaeologist at the Smithsonian Institution, revisited 14SC1 40 years later (Wedel 1959). Wedel and a small crew excavated one trench directly north of the pueblo (18 m by 14 m), two irregularly-shaped pits to the south of the pueblo, and a number of exploratory pits around the site. Their investigations yielded a great number of animal bones, charcoal, flaked stone debris and tools, and Dismal River ceramics (similar to other Dismal River sites in Nebraska). Surprisingly, Wedel's excavations revealed almost no evidence of Puebloan occupants, instead he concluded the site's occupants were Apachean groups that had picked up Southwest artifacts and customs (building pueblos) through prior interactions with Puebloan groups.

The most extensive excavations at the site were conducted by Tom Witty and the Kansas Historical Society (KHS) in 1970, 1975, and 1976 (Witty 1971, 1975, 1983). This work continued to yield evidence for a Dismal River occupation, including the remains of a baking pit, similar to those from other Dismal River sites, under one of the walls of the pueblo (Witty 1975). However, unlike Wedel, Witty stated that Southwestern migrants were at the site, inferring they were former residents of the Taos and Picuris pueblos who fled New Mexico following the 1680 and 1696 revolts (Thomas 1935; Preucel 2002). During this work, Witty and his crew partially reconstructed the walls of the pueblo, which are still visible to visitors to the park today.

Other contemporary sites have been identified around the pueblo. Site 14SC304 is located less than a mile north and east of 14SC1. Gunnerson (1968, 1998) recorded the presence of a Dismal River structure (3.6 m in diameter, with five posts surrounding a central hearth) similar to those at Dismal River sites in Nebraska and dissimilar to other contemporary structures on the Plains. A few artifacts, including flaked stone debitage, stone scrapers, groundstone shaft abraders, and a number of sherds (813 Dismal River Gray Ware, 77 red-slipped, and 3 micaceous) were also recovered.



Gunnerson believed that these red-slipped sherds were an imitation of Tewa Pueblo red ware and created a new type called Leadbetter Red (Gunnerson 1998). Work has since continued at the site with intensive surveys by the Kansas Archaeology Training Program (KATP) in 2009 (Hoard 2009) and the University of Iowa in 2013 (Trabert 2015).

Another site, 14SC409, is located several hundred meters south of 14SC1. 14SC409 covers an approximately 11,000 square meter area with scatters of pottery, flaked stone, and bones visible on the surface. In 2008, KATP excavated 18 1x1 m units, recovering Dismal River artifacts and red-slipped pottery (Hoard 2009). The site was revisited by a team of archaeologists from the University of Iowa and University of Oklahoma in 2013, 2014, and 2015 that excavated six additional 1x1 meter units near the KATP area. These recent investigations yielded a number of Dismal River ceramics, flaked stone, and bone as well as three probable post holes and a human burial (not excavated) (Trabert et al. 2016.).

### **Our Recent Findings**

Although these Lake Scott sites have been extensively investigated over the last 100 years, questions regarding who built and occupied the sites and when these events took place remained. Were they Puebloan migrants to the Plains or were they Plains peoples mimicking and adopting Puebloan artifacts and traits? To address these questions, we believed it necessary to first place these sites in time to determine whether they corresponded with historical events inferred by Williston and Martin to be responsible for the migration of Puebloan peoples and construction of the pueblo.

We therefore submitted samples for radiometric dating. Animal bone and burned corn from several different features at 14SC1 were submitted for AMS dating. These results indicate that it is likely that the Dismal River occupation in the area predated the construction of the pueblo (likely between AD 1500 and AD 1645) and the pueblo itself was built before the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. The 14SC1 pueblo was constructed around

AD 1620-1660 and likely abandoned between AD 1640 and 1690 (Hill et al. 2016).

The quantity of Dismal River Gray Ware ceramics recovered from within and outside of the Pueblo indicate that Dismal River groups remained in the area after Puebloan migrants arrived. Puebloan people were migrating to western Kansas before the Puebloan Revolt and new dates from 14SC304 and 14SC409 point to a continued occupation of the area after the pueblo was abandoned. 14SC304 likely dates to between AD 1680 and AD 1730, as does the occupation at 14SC409 where the recovery of a French gunflint (AD 1675-1800) corroborates the date range (Hoard 2009). It is possible that sites 14SC304 and 14SC409 were occupied by Puebloan migrants who fled the northern Rio Grande area following the Pueblo Revolt *or* these sites may have been occupied by the descendants of the initial Puebloan migrants who moved to the area building the pueblo at 14SC1

Our reanalysis of ceramics recovered from all three sites has yielded interesting results regarding the identity of the occupants in this community. Ceramics recovered from these sites come in several major categories: Dismal River Gray Ware, painted and/or glazed northern Rio Grande types, ceramics that share elements of Puebloan manufacturing practices and/or form, and micaceous ceramics. We have focused our macroscopic, petrographic, and chemical compositional studies on the Dismal River Gray Ware, red-slipped sherds, and micaceous ceramics and found several different lines of evidence that point to the presence of Puebloan migrant potters (and their descendants) living with Dismal River groups at these Lake Scott sites. This refutes the possibilities that (a) these were Apachean groups mimicking Pueblos or (b) Plains residents simply trading with Puebloan peoples.

Beck and Trabert (2014) found evidence for the construction and use of vessels with short upright or short inverted necks (approximately 4% of sampled ceramics), a form more commonly found in northern New Mexico than on the Plains. Additionally, the bowl-to-jar ratio of .21:1 in the 14SC1 assemblage is more similar to other

Puebloan sites than assemblages from other Plains sites (similar ratio from the Dismal River type site in Nebraska is .11:1) (Trabert 2015). The presence of Puebloan vessel forms and overall preference for bowls for preparing and serving food points to Puebloan foodways practices and Puebloan migrants, specifically women, at 14SC1 (Beck and Trabert 2014).

Compositional analyses reveal that some purportedly Southwestern ceramics, principally the red-slipped sherds and micaceous ceramics, were probably made in the Plains. These have been recovered from 14SC1 (n = 51), 14SC304 (n = 47), and 14SC409 (n = 65), and Beck and others (2016) found that only a small minority of red-slipped sherds from 14SC1, 14SC304, and 14SC409 represent vessels manufactured in the northern Rio Grande region (Beck et al. 2016). Petrography, microscopic paste observations, and oxidation analysis all indicate manufacture of red-slipped pottery within our western Kansas study area. These results show that potters living at all three Lake Scott sites in western Kansas continued pottery traditions originating in the Tewa Basin of New Mexico.

Ceramics manufactured from micaceous materials are also recovered in small numbers at the Lake Scott sites, a sample of which was recently subjected to petrographic and chemical (NAA) compositional analyses. Trabert and colleagues (2016) found that while a small percentage of the micaceous ceramics matched paste and compositional expectations for northern New Mexico source districts (compared to data from Eiselt 2006), the majority of the micaceous ceramics recovered from Dismal River sites (in Kansas and Nebraska) did not match any known micaceous clay deposits. This suggests that the micaceous ceramics were likely tempered using mica-rich granites found along the Front Range of Colorado and/or Laramie Mountains of Wyoming, but further compositional analyses of those source materials is needed for a definitive source determination.

### **Implications of Research and Conclusions**

Our new ceramic analyses provide further proof that Puebloan migrants were living in western

Kansas with Dismal River groups. Additionally, a complex internal exchange system was in place connecting the occupants of these Lake Scott sites with other Dismal River groups and Puebloan peoples to the north, west, and south. Puebloan migrants brought with them their own belief systems, practices, and technical knowledge when they migrated to the Plains, and the mixture of Puebloan and Dismal River material objects recovered from the Lake Scott sites presents evidence for a blended multi-ethnic community. Additionally, sites 14SC304 and 14SC409 were likely occupied after the closure of the 14SC1 pueblo, yet these sites yielded evidence for the continued use of Puebloan ceramic manufacturing techniques and foodways. Not only did a new community form in this place, but many of these practices continued decades later with a multi-generational blended Puebloan/Dismal River community.

Spanish colonial activities in the early Historic period led to a Puebloan diaspora, as migrants left their homelands to seek refuge with neighboring communities. Trade between groups in the U.S. Southwest and Great Plains likely existed for hundreds, if not thousands, of years prior to European colonization. These relationships served as a means by which people living in both regions could ameliorate significant environmental or social change as they could rely on their neighbors, and sometimes kin following intermarriages, for support. This diaspora was possible because Puebloan migrants knew of places of refuge among friendly allies, and boundaries we see today, such as between the “Southwest” and the “Great Plains” were permeable.

Through studies such as this, it is becoming increasingly apparent that in-depth studies of specific events or periods must accommodate regions and past peoples living in borderlands. Peoples in the Southwest and Great Plains were irrevocably linked during the early Historic Period as they found creative ways to negotiate profound demographic, social, economic, and political changes stemming from European colonialism.

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## THE JEMEZ REVOLT OF 1623

**Matthew J. Barbour**  
**Manager, Jemez Historic Site**

In 1623, the Jemez revolted against the Spanish. As part of this revolt, they burned the Mission of San Jose de los Jemez and abandoned the surrounding pueblo of Giusewa, roughly translated as “Pueblo at the Sulphur Place” or “Pueblo at the Hot Place.” Today, this location is preserved as Jemez Historic Site.

At the time of the 1623 Jemez Revolt, Giusewa was among the largest, if not the largest, pueblo village in the Jemez Mountains. It sprawled over 18 acres at the confluence of the Jemez River and Church Canyon (Oak Canyon) Creek. It is presumed to have been a trading mecca for the Jemez People and may have served as a production center for Jemez Black-on-white pottery. Exactly how many people lived at the site is unknown. Franciscans boast that prior to the revolt of 1623 roughly 6,566 Jemez were baptized. It is possible hundreds if not thousands of those “converts” were settled at Giusewa.

Looming on the hillside above the village was the Mission of San Jose de los Jemez. Founded by Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron in 1621, this structure stood as high as four stories in many places. It included a church, sacristy, kitchen, storerooms, animal pens, and a possible smithy. Completely walled off from the surrounding village, it was one of the biggest and most elaborate Franciscan missions built in New Mexico. Yet, it burned only two years after construction.

Exactly what caused the Jemez to revolt in 1623 is unknown. Local lore of the Jemez people tells of Salmeron requiring the Jemez of the surrounding villages to attend Sunday mass at Giusewa. This included the large farming center, known as Amoxiumqua or “Old Anthill Place,” atop Virgin Mesa. The people of Amoxiumqua did as instructed, utilizing hiking sticks to make the

steep descent into the valley. Upon reaching the church, they discarded the sticks and entered. The priest saw this as a sign of submission before God and allowed the pile to build as a means of demonstrating the sway he had over his flock. Weeks passed and the pile grew. When the moment was right, the Jemez set the pile of walking sticks on fire and the mission burned.

Others have attributed the burning of the church to the Navajo, however, this may be a conflation of the Jemez conspiracy with the Apache in the 1640s. Under this telling, Navajo warriors incited more troublesome elements within Jemez society to attack the mission. Together, the two groups fled to the Dinétah – an area in and around present day Navajo Reservoir – to hold up in their pueblitos, or fortified strongholds. Archaeologically, this interpretation does have some merit. Large quantities of Jemez Black-on-White pottery are often found on these early Navajo pueblitos suggesting at, the very least, contact, if not cohabitation, of the two peoples within these defensive structures. Even today, the Navajo “Mą’ii Deeshgiizhinii,” or Coyote Pass Clan, are considered to be of Jemez origin.

Regardless, San Jose Mission was abandoned and the Jemez went into revolt against both the priests and the Spanish as a whole. Spanish officials characterized this as a civil war among the Jemez people, however there is no evidence at Giusewa to suggest non-Christian Jemez attacked the Christian tribal members. Only the church was burned indicating the target of Jemez aggression was the Franciscan priests, not the village of Giusewa. It is possible the “converts” at Giusewa participated in the uprising or at the very least did not defend the priests against their non-Christian brethren. Spanish suzerainty over the Jemez Mountains collapsed.



**Figure 1.** *San Jose Mission Church. Photo courtesy of Richard Hasbrouck.*

Reconquest of the Jemez fell upon Spanish residents residing in Santa Fe and the surrounding area. Many of these men were located in the Galisteo Basin and what was then called the Sandia Jurisdiction (which included the Bernalillo area). Among them was *Encomendero* Don Pedro Duran y Chaves who owned a large hacienda through his wife Dona Isabel de Bohorquez (Baca) at Arroyo del Tunque near San Felipe Pueblo.

Duran y Chaves was a military man, first appearing in the New Mexico archives exacting the Governor's tribute at Taos Pueblo in 1613. By 1623 he had risen to the rank of *Sargento Mayor*, or major. By the end of the uprising, in 1626, he was *Maestre de Campo*, second only to the Governor of military affairs of New Mexico, and his land grant extended from San Felipe Pueblo to Atrisco in the south valley of present day Albuquerque. Among the many Native peoples who paid him tribute were those of the Jemez Mountains.

Exactly what occurred during the reconquest is unclear. It appears that Tano, Tewa, and Keres Indian auxiliaries participated in most of the fighting, with Spanish horsemen and gunners

providing support. Several Jemez villages were likely abandoned during the conflict. Based on the absence, or near absence, of Glaze F pottery, Amoxiumqua (Old Anthill Place or Virgin Mesa Ruin), Kwastiyukwa (The Giant's Footprint or Holiday Mesa Ruin), and Seshukwa (Eagle's Nest or San Juan Mesa Ruin) were presumably among those deserted.

In the wake of the conflict, the Jemez people were rounded up, forced to resettle Giusewa, and build the new pueblo of Walatowa (present day Jemez Pueblo). At Giusewa, the Franciscan Martín de Arvide reactivated San Jose de los Jemez Mission. At Walatowa he founded San Diego de la Congregacion. If Spanish estimates are to be believed more than 3,000 Jemez lost their lives in the uprising which occurred over the course of three years.

As with many early Native American uprisings in New Mexico, little is known of the Jemez Revolt of 1623. However, events such as these have great importance in our understanding of seventeenth century Native American and European interactions in New Mexico. In terms of the Jemez, the 1623 Revolt cost the lives of many



more people than the more famous Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

This later revolt on August 10, 1680 unified the Pueblo peoples and resulted in the removal of the Spanish from the northern parts of New Mexico Province for more than a decade. However, it did not occur in a vacuum. Rather it represents one in a line of many actions by Pueblo peoples to resist Spanish rule and Catholicism. Despite the many unknown details, the Jemez Revolt of 1623 should not be forgotten.

Want to learn more about Native American uprisings in the Jemez Mountains? Jemez Historic Site is located at 18160 Highway 4 in Jemez Springs and is open five days a week, Wednesday through Sunday, from 8:30 AM to 5:00 PM. Admittance is \$3.00 per adult. There is never a charge for children. Jemez Historic Site is free to New Mexico seniors on Wednesday and all New Mexico residents on Sunday. For more information, call the Site at 575-829-3530, email [matthew.barbour@state.nm.us](mailto:matthew.barbour@state.nm.us), or see our website at <http://www.nmhistoricsites.org/>.

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## ON THE ANTIQUITY OF JEMEZ PUEBLO: HISTORIC CERAMICS FROM WALATOWA (LA 8860)

**Matthew Liebmann**  
**Harvard University**

For more than three centuries the Jemez people have occupied a pueblo located in the sandy flats just east of the Rio Jemez that they call *Walatowa*. To the Anglophone world this village is known as Jemez Pueblo, while archaeologists refer to it as LA 8860. Like many of the 19 Pueblos in New Mexico it is clear that Jemez Pueblo is very old indeed, with roots stretching back into the seventeenth century (at least). But exactly when *Walatowa* was founded remains a matter of debate (Bandelier 1892; Bloom and Mitchell 1938; Elliott 2002; Farwell 1991; Ivey 1991; Kubler 1940; Liebmann 2006; Scholes 1938).

Historical records suggest that in 1621-22 fray Gerónimo Zárate Salmerón founded two missions in the Jemez Valley: San José de los Jemez (located at the village of Giusewa in present-day Jemez Springs, now known as Jemez Historic Site) and San Diego de la Congregación. Where exactly the latter was located remains unclear. Current consensus assumes that this mission was founded in the southern end of the valley, at the site of present-day *Walatowa* (Bloom and Mitchell 1938; Elliott 2002; Kubler 1940; Scholes 1938). In his

Memorial of 1630, fray Alonso Benavides wrote of:

*San Diego de la Congregación, which for our purposes we founded anew, taking to it the Indians who once had been part of that nation but had gone astray. We gave them houses already built, along with food and sustenance for several days and plowed fields for their seed plots...And so today that congregation constitutes one of the best towns in the Indies, with its church, friary, and schools teaching all the trades that may also be found elsewhere.* (Morrow 1996:29).

The archaeological record remains frustratingly mute regarding the location of this mission, however. It may well be located underneath the present-day houses of *Walatowa*. But as at other occupied Pueblo villages, access to sub-surface remains is hampered by contemporary settlement. Aside from William Dodge's (1982) monitoring report of waterline trenches dug in the pueblo in 1979-80, archaeological work at *Walatowa* has been nearly non-existent.

There is, however, one notable exception. In 1955 Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis carried out a series of excavations in the middens/ash piles of Walatowa. The results of these excavations have not been previously published, and the ceramics are currently housed at the University of New Mexico's Maxwell Museum. What follows is a brief inventory of the LA 8860 assemblage excavated by Dr. Ellis, and a discussion of what this evidence tells us about the founding of Walatowa (and what it doesn't).

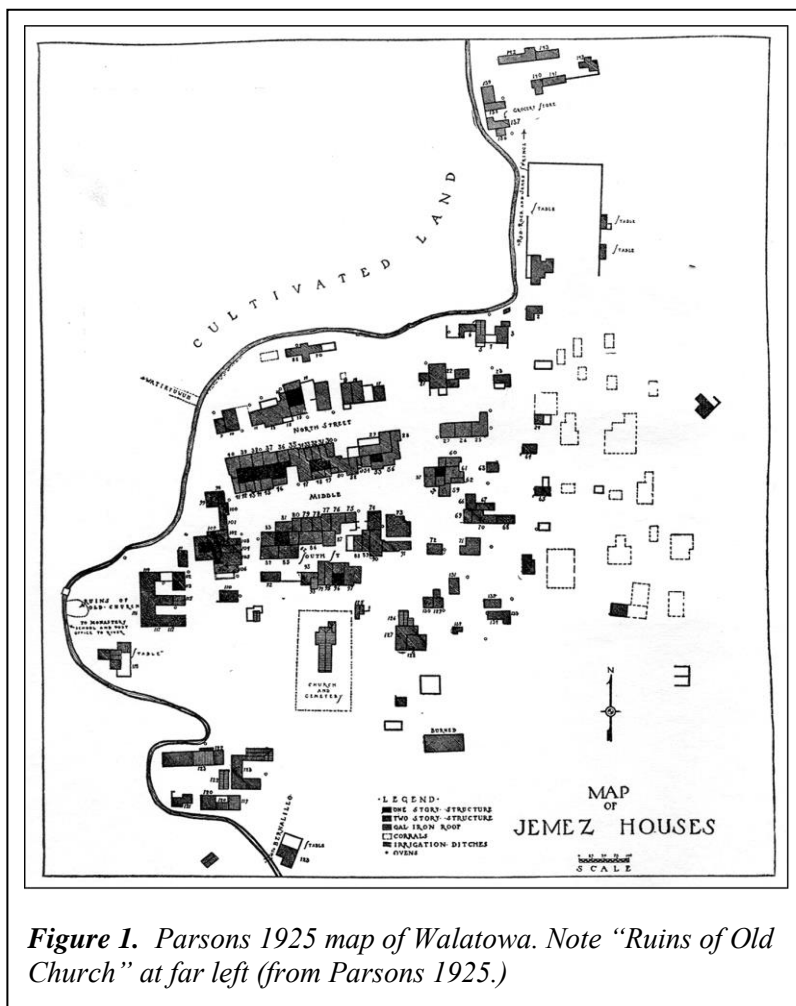
### **The 1955 FHE Excavations at Walatowa**

Dr. Ellis conducted excavations at LA 8860 on Oct. 29, Nov. 5, and Nov. 11, 1955. Presumably these investigations were carried out as part of her work on behalf of Jemez for the Indian Land Claims Commission (Ellis 1956). Similar investigations were carried out by Ellis at other pueblos, including Zia (Ellis 1966). In the case of the Jemez excavations, it seems likely that this collection was never analyzed after its removal (see below). It is possible that Dr. Ellis was unable to complete her examinations due to time constraints; the excavations took place in the autumn of 1955, and her report for the Indian Land Claims Commission was penned in 1956.

The areas investigated appear to have been within one or more middens (known within the pueblo as the “ash dumps”) located at Walatowa. Some of the bags of ceramics are labeled “Jemez Ash Dump #1,” others simply as “Jemez Ash Dump.” There are at least three historic ash piles/midden areas located near the central plaza at Walatowa: one on the north side, one on the south side, and one near the western edge of the core settlement at Jemez (the neighborhood known as “Hoc’we” in Towa) – in the area labeled on the 1925 Parsons map as “ruins of the old church” (Figure 1). Exactly which of

these middens (if any) were the subject of the 1955 excavations remains uncertain.

Dr. Ellis conducted excavations on three separate occasions, over a span of two weeks in the fall of 1955. On October 29, she investigated Sections F and H, and on November 5 and 11, she excavated Section E. The labeling of these “Sections” is curious: why are there no Sections A-D or G represented in these collections?



**Figure 1.** Parsons 1925 map of Walatowa. Note “Ruins of Old Church” at far left (from Parsons 1925.)

Additionally, why were sections F and H excavated *before* section E? Maybe one day the discovery of field notes will shed some light on this small mystery. For now, it is interesting to note that the section labels correspond to Dr. Ellis's initials: FHE.

The excavator(s) apparently took note of stratigraphic levels as they removed these materials, documenting each level as a “Layer.” Unfortunately, we have no idea how deep any of these levels were, but Section H contained three layers, Section F had two layers, and Section E had six layers. It is unclear whether Dr. Ellis followed natural or arbitrary stratigraphy in this study; in part she appears to have assigned new layer IDs based upon the presence of diagnostic pottery types, as exemplified by Section E, Layer 6. The assemblage of this layer is comprised of just three sherds total, including a large and diagnostic Glaze F bowl rim. It seems likely that she designated this a new and separate layer due to the presence of this single diagnostic sherd.

This also suggests that the area(s) studied exhibited “normal” stratigraphic seriation, with the earliest layer being the lowest (Section F, Layer 2; Section H, Layer 3; Section E, Layer 6) and the latest (or most recent) being the uppermost—labeled Layer 1 in each section. According to a relative chronology based solely on ceramic types, there appears to have been no instance of reverse stratigraphy in these sequences.

I examined 1363 sherds from bags labeled as originating from Ellis’s 1955 Walatowa excavations. The collection was first washed, as most of the sherds had never previously been cleaned (suggesting that these sherds were never in fact analyzed by Dr. Ellis or anyone else). Each sherd was then categorized according to ceramic type and form (jar/bowl, body/rim, or unidentifiable/unknown). The results of this categorization were recorded according to number of sherds and total weight in grams. All percentages reported in Figure 2 are based on weight. A summary of the results of this classification is presented in Table 1 and Figure 2.

## Results

Unsurprisingly, Utility wares (a.k.a. “Jemez Plain”) dominate the assemblage, comprising 49.6 percent of the total collection by weight. This type is predominantly basalt-tempered, and is defined by virtue of its lack of decoration – including

slipping, polishing, or intentional modification of surface relief (corrugation, striation, etc.); many of the utility wares were smudged, although this was not recorded systematically in this survey.

**Table 1.** *Summary of Results for all Sections and Layers.*

Type	Total Number	Total Weight (g)
Historic Red	239	974.5
Hopi	1	1.1
Jemez B/w	10	39
Jemez River	2	7.3
Kapo	1	14.8
Kiua	25	133.3
Kotyiti Glaze	9	60.4
Majolica	23	51.6
Micaceous	4	41.9
Puname Poly	282	1523.8
San Diego Glaze	23	65.7
Tewa	42	171.5
Unidentified	42	238.7
Unidentified Glaze	5	17.2
Utility	655	3284.7
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1363</b>	<b>6625.5</b>

The most common decorated ware in the assemblage was Puname Polychrome, comprising 23 percent of the total assemblage. Zia and Santa Ana potters produced this type in the eighteenth century, and is characterized by a white slip, mineral matte paint, and basalt temper (Harlow 1973:51; Harlow and Lanmon 2003:3-32). Puname Polychrome was especially prevalent in the upper layers (Layer 1) of each Section in comparison with other decorated types, showing an increase frequency through time (assuming a normal stratigraphic sequence).

The lack of Jemez Black-on-white in the assemblage (totaling .5%) is not totally unexpected, especially considering the significant amount of Historic Redware (14.7%) in the assemblage. Historic Red was first identified by

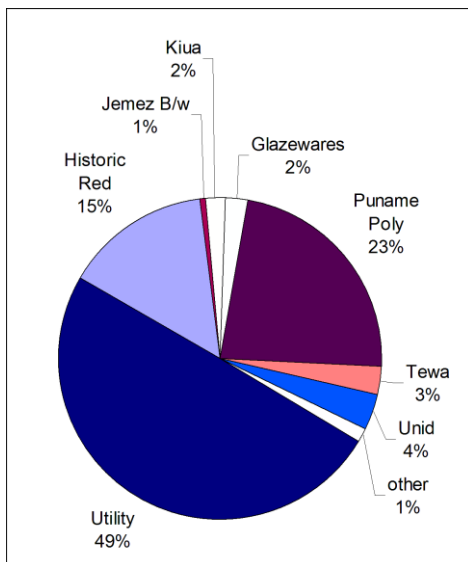
Kidder, who called coined the term “Plain Red” (Kidder and Kidder 1917:338;) to refer to “vessels with smooth finish but without decoration of any sort” (Kidder and Shepard 1936:287, 541-544). Jemez women stopped producing Jemez Black-on-white after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, adopting Historic Redware and an increased use of tradewares in their household ceramics (Liebmann 2006: 343-371; Liebmann and Preucel 2007; Liebmann 2012).

Glazewares (primarily Glaze F, Kotyiti and San Diego Glazewares from the Keresan Pueblos of Cochiti, Zia, and possibly Santo Domingo and Santa Ana) made up a small amount of the collection, just 2.2 percent, along with a small amount of Kiua polychrome (2.0%), also from their Keres neighbors (Santo Domingo and Cochiti). Similarly, Tewa wares (including Tewa Poly-chrome, Ogapoge Polychrome, Pojoaque Poly-chrome, and Kapo Black) comprise a small amount of the assemblage, 2.8 percent.

These results are similar to those found by Dodge (1982:62-72), who unearthed no Jemez Black-on-white pottery, just eight glazeware sherds, and 20 pieces of polished redware in trenches located in and around the plaza at Walatowa.

### Interpretation

What can these ceramics tell us about the overall chronology of Walatowa? The results remain frustratingly inconclusive. While the textual evidence notes that fray Zàrate Salmerón founded San Diego de la Congregación in 1622, it is not clear whether the modern pueblo of Walatowa is situated at the same location of the original San Diego de la Congregación village, which was destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Liebmann 2012:84). The ceramics of the Ellis investigations show no evidence of a pre-1700 occupation in this



**Figure 2.** Ceramic Types by weight in total assemblage (Sections E, F, and H) of Ellis 1955 Walatowa Collections.

assemblage – suggesting that at least some (if not all) of the modern pueblo of Walatowa was constructed in its present location only *after* the resettlement of Jemez in the early 1700s (following the Jemez emigration after the 1696 revolt).

I base this conclusion upon the decorated ware assemblage. First and foremost, glazewares are sparingly present, and only Glaze F types. Kotyiti and San Diego glazes were produced primarily in the latter seventeenth century, and they are not present in large numbers in this assemblage.

This evidence, combined with the lack of Jemez Black-on-white (terminal date: 1680; see Liebmann 2012:129-133) and prevalence of Historic Redware and Puname Polychrome (the latter increasing through time), suggests that this assemblage represents a late seventeenth to early eighteenth century occupation. Also consistent with this hypothesis is the small but notable amount of Tewa ceramics, which are almost wholly absent from all pre-1680 Jemez assemblages (Liebmann 2012:157; Liebmann and Preucel 2007).

This assemblage most likely dates to the period of the San Juan de los Jemez mission, founded in 1695 (Espinosa 1988:149, 158; Liebmann 2006:181). This mission was vacated from 1696-1703, after which Jemez refugees from the Second Pueblo Revolt diaspora returned to re-settle at the modern site of Walatowa (Bloom 1931:159-160; Bloom and Mitchell 1938:108; Hackett 1937, 3:376). Without additional data regarding the specific locations of the ash piles from which these ceramics were excavated it is difficult to make additional meaningful interpretations. However, if these ceramics did in fact come from the west midden—near the “ruins of the old church” identified by Parsons (1925), it could suggest that the remains found there are of the 1695 mission. The location of the 1622 San

Diego de la Congregación mission church and village remains unknown and speculative at best. What we can say with confidence is that the archaeological record of LA 8860 attests to settlement at Walatowa by 1700. Whether Jemez people lived in this location earlier than that is not clear. The answers probably lay beneath the homes, kivas, and plazas of Walatowa today, waiting to be unearthed by the archaeologists of the future.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALS OF MOBILE ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW MEXICO: A SITE RECORDS OVERVIEW**

**Lindsay Montgomery**  
University of Arizona

I have been looking at tipi rings for about 30 years  
but I have only been looking *at* them...

Richard Forbis (Oetelaar 2004:125)

Western historians have long written about the central role of mobile groups in shaping the colonial Southwest (Blackhawk 2008; Brooks 2001; Hamalainen 2008; John 1996; Thomas 1940). Despite this robust historical record, the archaeology of mobile groups in New Mexico has often taken a back seat to investigations of ancestral and historic Pueblo sites. Over the past 25 years a growing number of archaeologists have begun to systematically investigate the material record of non-Pueblo groups, particularly focusing on Athabaskan peoples such as the Apache and Navajo (Eiselt and Darling 2012; Eiselt 2012; Girard 1992; Schaafsma 1996; Seymour 2004; Towner 1997; Towner 2008). Despite the increasing interest in the archaeology of mobile populations our understanding of other historic groups in New Mexico, such as the Comanche, remains incomplete. This brief article seeks to highlight the interpretive potential of a comparative analysis for interpreting site patterns across mobile groups on a regional scale as well as the pitfalls of current modes of data collection and archiving. In order to accomplish this goal, I will discuss the material profile of sites labeled as “Plains nomad” with the Archaeological Records Management System (ARMS) of New Mexico and compare this to those established for Ute and Apache sites.

The trends discussed in this section are based on the compilation of over 1,000 sites identified as having materials consistent with a “nomadic cultural affiliation” within ARMS.<sup>1</sup> This exercise

reveals the inherent biases and problems with the ARMS database and the difficulties of using this database for larger analyses. In this context, a “nomadic cultural affiliation” refers to sites identified in ARMS as Apache, Navajo, Ute, and Plains nomad. Archaeologically, the term “Plains nomad” has been used as a catchall category for sites which are inferred to be non-Pueblo and lack the diagnostic materials necessary to be affiliated with a specific mobile group (Figure 1). This model of cultural affiliation is based on the identification of “strong patterns” (Plog 1984; Upham 1994) within the archaeological record such as conspicuous features and biases towards pottery and projectile points as ethnic identifiers (Seymour 2010b:164). As a result of these biases, “Plains nomad” as an archaeological category encompasses a range of tribal communities mentioned in the historical record, including the Comanche and Kiowa.

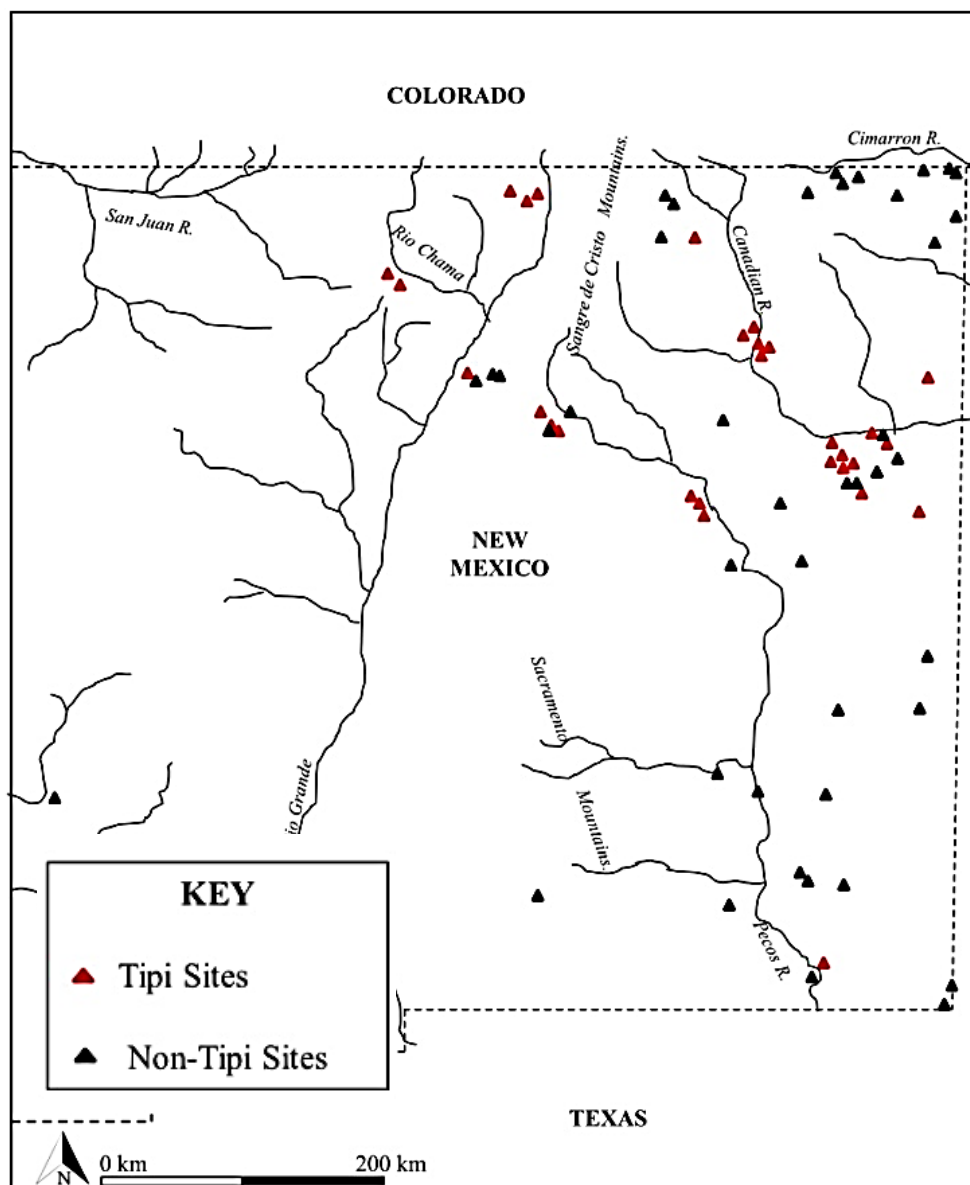
Tipi rings were identified as a sub-sample of mobile sites and provide a shared material index with which to compare Ute, Apache, and Plains sites (Table 1). Approximately half of all Plains Nomad and Ute sites identified in New Mexico contained tipi rings, while only nine percent of identified Apache sites had rings (Figure 2). The particularly small number of tipi sites identified within the Apache sample reflects the fact that many Apache bands did not use tipi’s as their exclusive form of dwelling; utilizing temporary brush structures and wickiups as well as more

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<sup>1</sup> The number of sites analyzed reflects the sample of information available within the ARMS as of 2013 and efforts are currently underway to integrate subsequently added sites into this analysis. Several of these tipi sites were not assigned a cultural affiliation or were labeled ambiguously and were therefore not included in the analysis.

permanent forms of architecture. The alternate use of wickiups and tipis by Apache groups is noted in the ethnohistoric record (Moorhead 1968; Seymour 2013) and reflects several factors including terrain, presence or absence of horses, resource availability, climate, elevation, and proximity to and relationship with neighboring communities (Seymour 2010a:146-148). As indicated in Figure

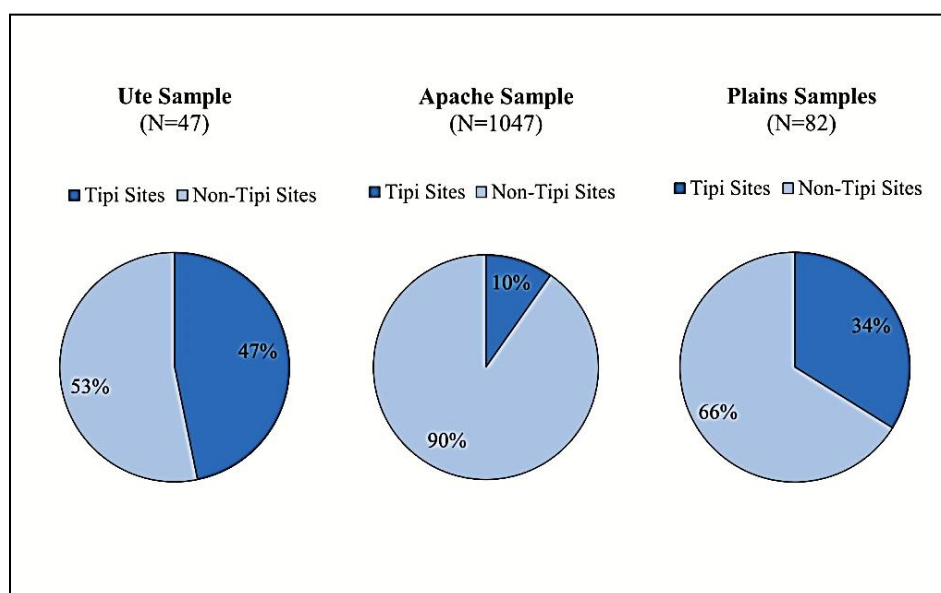
2 there are also substantial differences in the total number of Ute and Plains sites compared to Apache sites. This distribution reflects the temporally deep and spatially dispersed occupation of Apache bands in the state, biases in the location of archaeological survey work, and the use of Apache as a default category for protohistoric and historic sites with tipi rings.



*Figure 1. Distribution of sites identified as Plains Nomad in New Mexico.*

**Table 1.** *Distribution of Tipi Ring Sites based on Cultural Affiliation.*

Cultural Affiliation	Number of Sites
Plains Nomad	42
Apache	79
Ute	22
Navajo	1
Apache/Ute	5
Ute/Comanche	3
Unknown Native	2
Not Specified	6



**Figure 2.** *Percentage of Ute, Apache, and Plains sites associated with tipi rings.*

The vast majority of Ute, Apache, and Plains nomad sites in New Mexico were broadly classified as being occupied between AD 1500 and 1993 within ARMS. The large chronological range assigned to mobile sites reflects the difficulties associated with dating non-diagnostic artifacts and presents a significant limitation to interpreting such ephemeral sites. It also reflects past knowledge-limitations as to the early presence of these groups

in the Southwest, which has now been adjusted at least two centuries earlier (Brugge 2012; Fowler 2011; Gordon 2012; Malhi et al. 2008; Seymour 2008; Towner 2016).

The material assemblages associated with Ute, Apache, and Plains tipi sites are relatively sparse and contain similar classes of materials across cultural groups. Both Historic and

Prehistoric ceramics were rarely associated with Plains tipi sites (prehistoric ceramics:  $n=9$ ; historic ceramics:  $n=3$ ) and none currently identified at Ute tipi sites, reflecting the short term nature of these encampments, the restrictions of a mobile lifestyle, as well as the small sample size, particularly for Ute tipi sites. When ceramics were identified at Plains sites, they consisted primarily of Puebloan types (particularly bichromes and graywares) signaling the reoccupation of Pueblo sites by Historic period mobile groups. A larger number ( $n=299$ ) of Apache sites were associated with ceramics, however, only a small number (prehistoric ceramics:  $n=37$ ; historic ceramics:  $n=34$ ) were also identified with tipi rings.

Similar to tipi sites found on the northern Plains, all tipi sites in New Mexico were associated with lithic assemblages, dominated by debitage, particularly chert and obsidian. The absence of diagnostic artifacts at the majority of mobile sites is complicated by the fact that many tipi rings are part of multi-component sites with mixed assemblages or are located away from identifiable work areas (Seymour 2009a). The difficulties surrounding culturally affiliating mobile sites is further complicated by the fact that Ute, Apache, and Plains groups shared overlapping territories during the Historic period, pointing to the need for a more explicit discussion of the specific material and ethnohistoric evidence that researchers reporting to ARMS use in assigning cultural affiliation.

In an effort to identify possible ethnic or cultural differences across mobile encampments, the morphology of tipi rings was analyzed according to eight criteria drawn from tipi ring studies conducted on the northern Plains (Finnigan 1982; Mulloy 1960) (Table 2). Tipi rings were highly uniform across ethnic groups and were described as undisturbed, circular, and single coursed in ARMS site reports. A comparison of the mean ring diameter established for each cultural group (Ute:  $d=4.9\text{m}$ ; Apache:  $d=4.32\text{m}$ ; Plains nomad:  $d=4.26\text{m}$ ) indicates that there is no strong evidence for a relationship between ethnic identity and tipi ring size. The uniformity of tipi ring features identified in ARMS reflects biases towards the documentation of complete or obvious features

and therefore does not accurately capture those features which were disturbed or partial (Seymour 2010a). Detailed information regarding feature morphology was inconsistent across the eight criteria, particularly with regard to external features such as hearths, storage pits, and entranceways (Figure 3). This trend in data reporting reflects the absence of rigorous recording standards for tipi sites as well as the lack of excavation.

A comparison of these morphological criteria revealed that the number of tipi rings associated with mobile encampments varied substantially. Plains and Apache sites tended to be characterized by a larger range in site size – having up to 100 and 200 rings, respectively – while Ute sites had a maximum of seven rings. This pattern suggests that, unlike Ute households, Apache and Plains groups occasionally coalesced for large socio-political gatherings in New Mexico, as is consistent with the historic record and other archaeological findings in the region (Bolton 1916; Cortes y de Olarte 1989; Hammond and Rey 1929; 1966; Hickerson 1994; Seymour 2004). A comparison of the number of tipi rings found per site further distinguishes the encampment patterns of Utes, Apaches, and Plains groups. Specifically, approximately 36 percent of Ute and 44 percent of Apache sites contained more than two tipi rings while more than half (54%) of Plains encampments contained two or more tipi rings. Although statistically small, these differences suggest that when Utes and Apaches used tipis in New Mexico, they typically camped as individuals or as single nuclear households.

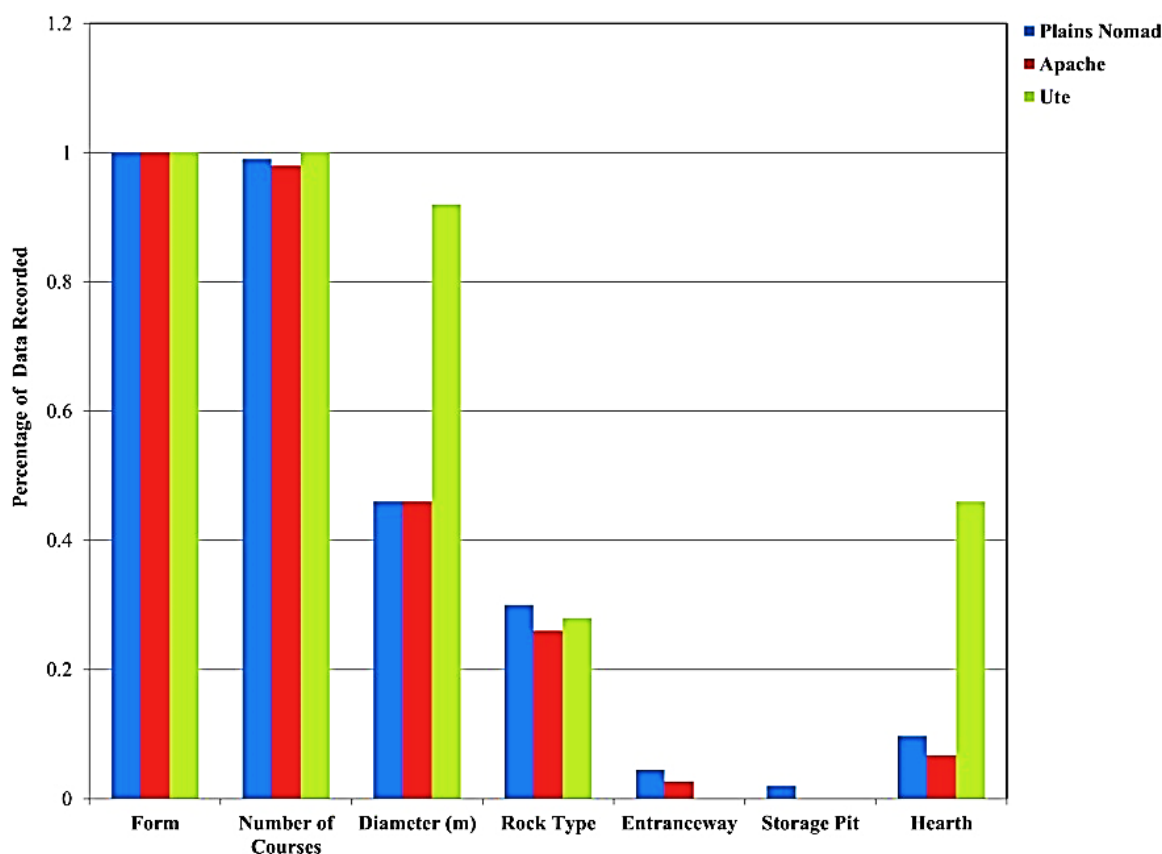
In contrast, Plains groups moving through the region more often camped in groups comprised of multiple individuals or households. This pattern reflects the tendency of Plains groups, particularly the Comanche, to camp in small groups of two or more nuclear households (Foster 1988; Kavanagh 1989; Kehoe 1983; Malouf 1961). This trend may also reflect differences in the types of activities Plains groups were engaged in (Seymour 2009b; 2010a); specifically, the formation of focused activity groups under the leadership of a single individual convened for the purposes of raiding or trading in the region (Betty 2005; Kavanagh 1986,

1999, 2008). Ultimately, future field work, particularly with regard to the Ute sample, will help determine if these patterns reflect sampling biases

or more significant differences in the mobility strategies and socio-economic structures of Ute groups (Baker 2003; Carter 2003; Greubel 2001).

**Table 2.** *Morphological characteristics of Plains tipi sites in New Mexico.*

	Plains Nomad	Apache	Ute
Sample Size (no. of rings)	332	540	39
Site Size (median)	2	1	1
Form	Circular	Circular	Circular
Number of Courses	1	1	1
Diameter (m)	4.26	4.32	4.90
Rock Type	Basalt	Sandstone	Sandstone
Entranceway (no. of rings present)	15	15	0
Storage Pit (no. of rings present)	7	0	0
Hearth (no. of rings present)	31	37	18



**Figure 3.** *Percentage of data recorded in sites reports for morphological criteria used to compare nomadic tipi sites in New Mexico.*

Tipi sites were also assessed in relation to a series of geophysical variables including topography, elevation, and vegetation. The majority of Plains tipi sites were located on high points on the landscape, such as benches, canyon rims, and ridges. This trend resembles evidence from the northern Plains, which indicates that mobile groups preferred to camp in areas with strategic overlooks of the surrounding landscape—a particularly important factor within colonial New Mexico, where local Pueblo and Hispanic groups were often hostile towards raiding groups (Adams 1978:15; Arthur 1966:67; Malouf 1960; Seymour 2015). Geospatial research on tipi encampments on the northern Plains also indicates that tipi sites tend to cluster in grasslands associated with midland elevation (6000-9000 ft.). An analysis of the elevations and vegetation associated with tipi sites in New Mexico follows the general pattern established on the northern Plains.

When the geophysical data sets created for Ute, Apache, and Plains tipi encampments are compared, two notable similarities are evident. First, the majority of tipi sites regardless of ethnic affiliation are associated with the “midland” ecological zone. This trend largely reflects the fact that most of New Mexico’s land base falls within this elevation range. This trend also reflects important biases within data collection—with the majority of archaeological survey work having been conducted alongside roads and river valleys within the midland zone. The placement of tipi encampments indicates a strong preference for elevated topographic locals, particularly terraces and benches. The placement of tipi sites in elevated locations with strategic view sheds is replicated across the northern and southern Plains, suggesting that this widespread pattern is an integral component of mobile encampment practices across regions and cultural groups.

Archaeological research undertaken over the past two decades in New Mexico demonstrates a growing understanding of mobility as a material phenomenon (Eiselt 2012, 2013; Seymour 2008, 2010a; Towner 2016). This research challenges current models of archaeological practice which are based on work with sedentary agricultural societies and in doing so reveals the distinct nature of mobile engagements with the landscape. The research presented here is part of a larger project which seeks to comparatively investigate the encampment practices and iconography of historic mobile groups in the state of New Mexico.

In attempting to assess broad trends in mobile encampment practices across cultural groups, this research has identified important similarities in camp site selection and the absence of detailed information on tipi site layout and composition within New Mexico’s primary archaeological database. This sort of detailed attention to tipi camp placement and content has long been a hallmark of archaeology on the northern Plains and is a ripe field for further inquiry in New Mexico.

As has been suggested by other scholars (Seymour 2002, 2003), the development of mobile archaeology in New Mexico has been limited by a lack of temporal and cultural clarity. These limitations are the result of overlapping territorial use, stylistic similarities in material culture across groups and over time, a general paucity of diagnostic materials, and a lack of use by archaeologist of all the dating techniques available (Seymour 2010b). Ultimately this brief summary points to the potential of a synthetic comparative approach in the documentation of mobile material culture and the need to develop a more comprehensive state-wide archive for ephemeral material remains.

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## MOBILE LANDSCAPES AND THE DEFINITION OF A MANSO SIGNATURE

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There's a reason many of the non-Pueblo groups noted by the first Spaniards have not been identified archaeologically, and it's not just because their archaeological signature is so light. The reason lies largely in how we make sense of the archaeological record, the logical threads we utilize to format our arguments and organize, even recognize, data. Here I would like to briefly address a problem in how this reasoning leads to the creation of faulty linkages between non-Pueblo groups and archaeological sites.

Let me begin with a recent email exchange with a colleague and friend that well illustrates this issue. This was a follow-up discussion about a possible Manso site—the Manso being a poorly understood and as-yet archaeologically undefined group in the El Paso/Las Cruces area. The email went as follows:

R: Good news about the Manso site ... We finally ...[can]...do the macrobot on the two fire pit features...

D: And how is it that the inference was drawn that it is Manso as opposed to anything else?

R: The site is located in the area demarcated as Manso, along with early records that describe this group in the Mesilla Valley. The olive green glazewares and Puebla polychrome point to a Spanish Colonial period occupation.

This simple exchange encapsulates repeated discussions I have had with researchers, authors, and students and so accounts for my emphasis on the implications of this seemingly innocuous statement. What I will focus on here is the issue

that, when a late-occurring site of unknown cultural affiliation falls within the geographic area of a historically noted group, the site is assumed to correspond to that group (for another example of this see Seymour 2009:113-114). While this can seemingly be a sound interpretation, the apparent correspondence is underlain by fundamental flaws.<sup>1</sup>

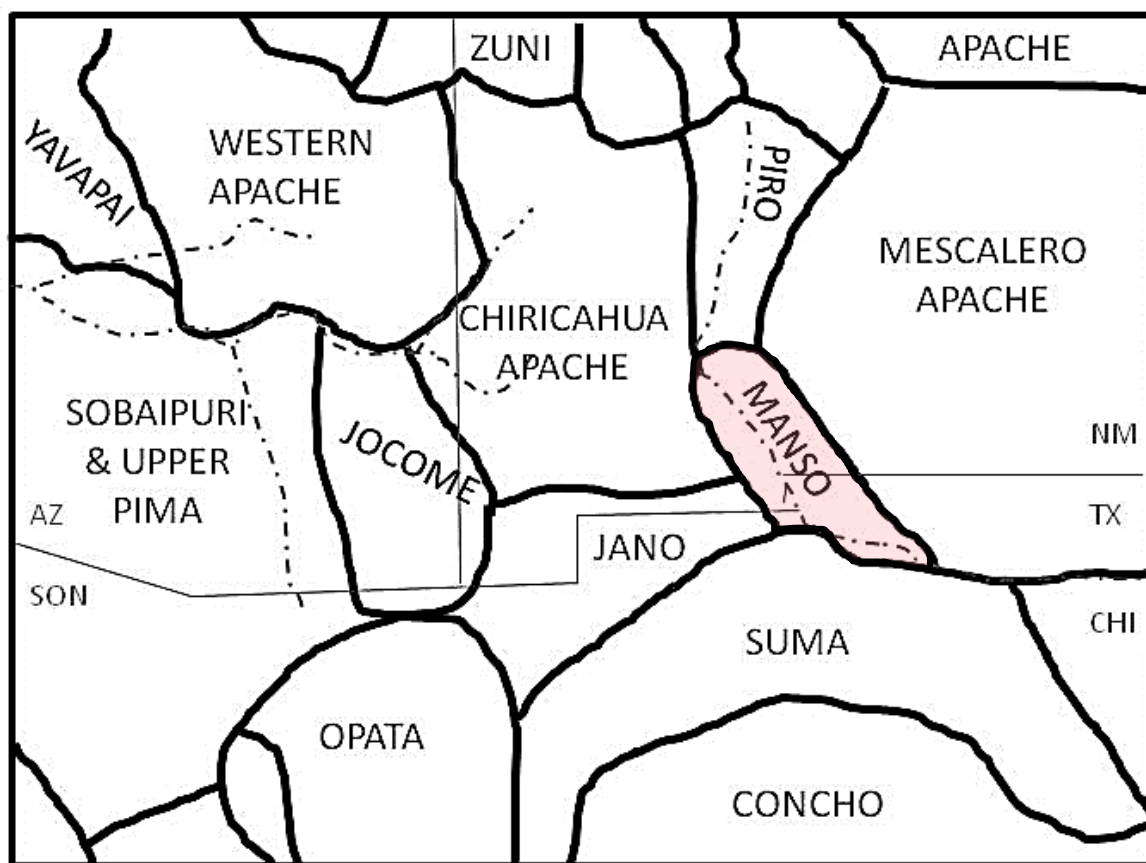
But first, to clarify, the Manso were a group encountered by early Spaniards (Figure 1). They were called this by Oñate who stated:

On May 4 we did not travel farther than to the pass of the river and the ford. Forty of the Indians came to the camp. They had Turkish bows, long hair cut to resemble little Milan caps, headgear made to hold down the hair and colored with blood or paint. Their first words were manxo, manxo, micos, micos, by which they meant "peaceful ones" and "friends" (Hammond and Rey 1953:315).

The Manso are thought to have been the same people that Antonio de Espejo reported in 1582 as the Tanpachoas. This inference that both were the same group relates to sightings of people at the same approximate location along the river in relation to El Paso, which is also potentially problematic, rather than an unquestionably sound inference. While little about them is reported during this early period, the existing passages are packed with surprisingly rich information, and when all the accounts are pieced together (assuming they are all referring to the same population), statements can be made about their adaptation, especially when supplemented with later accounts (see Seymour 2002).

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<sup>1</sup> This is one of many issues. Elsewhere, I have discussed that "protohistoric" groups are actually present much earlier and that the substantially distinct cultural patterns and transformations we seek to understand must be sought in the Late Prehistoric Period.



*Figure 1. Historical location of the Manso, according to Spanish documents.*

Many people think of the Manso as descended from the Jornada Mogollon, a position Beckett (2016; Beckett and Corbett 1992) holds. Several reasons lend credence to this belief, including the geographic location reported for both the Manso and Jornada, which I will return to momentarily. Another reason is that the Manso were said to have had corn, and certain of the Jornada Mogollon grew corn. With reference to the Tanpachos (perhaps the Manso), Luxan of the 1582 Espejo expedition stated: “A large number of Indian men and women from another nation, called Tanpachos, came to this place...they brought us a large quantity of mesquite, corn, and fish, for they fish much in the pools with small dragnets” (Hammond and Rey 1966:169).

The interpretation of this passage may seem straightforward enough, but in reality it is not. Does having corn mean they grew it, or does it mean that they, like many mobile peoples, traded some commodity, such as fish or meat, for corn with settled farming people? In fact, this question is unanswerable by the ethnohistoric record alone (Seymour 2002:381-386). Independent data, such as are available from the archaeological record are needed.

Asking and answering this question of corn and agriculture is crucial, in that it would go a long way toward explaining why the Manso have remained invisible archaeologically. If they are, in fact, descended from the Jornada, there might be no real difference between the Jornada and Manso archaeologically, except perhaps greater mobility

for the Manso and all that that entails, the addition of historical European artifacts, and perhaps a more restricted geographic range for smaller and smaller groups through time. Notably, there is evidence that people were present in the El Paso/Las Cruces area and the surrounding region continuously from prehistoric times. There is no hiatus, no empty niche after the “collapse” of the Jornada Mogollon.

But back to geography and my reasons for questioning the sometimes uncritical assertions that (a) a site is Manso and that (b) the Manso derive from the Jornada. Even though the Spaniards placed the Manso, and the Tanpachos before them, in the El Paso/Las Cruces area, at least a dozen other mobile groups are known to have lived in, otherwise used, or passed through this area (Seymour 2002:344). These groups moved around together, raided together, went to war together, and coalesced for ceremonies. Their territories were not exclusive, and their homelands and raiding hinterlands were many hundreds of miles across.

Consequently, just because a late-dating site is found in the geographic area defined for the Manso, does not mean the site is Manso. At least four different groups of Apache were in this crossroads area (perhaps more, given the confusion surrounding Spanish-imposed names on the groups: Far  n, Natag  , Gile  , Mescalero, Lipan, Chiricahua). The Jano, Jocom  , and Suma were also in this area, and the Navajo, Jumano, Kiowa, and Comanche are recorded as passing through (see Seymour 2002:341-346, 388-391). Just because the El Paso/Las Cruces area was not the heartland of these other groups, does not mean that their sites will not be present. More directly, just because this *is* the heartland of where the early Spaniards noticed the Manso, does not mean that sites of a dozen or more other groups won’t also be found in this area.

The ancestral Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache signature has been defined, as have what is probably the Jocom   and Jano (variants of Canutillo) and Suma (Soto) signatures (see dozens of publications on this by Seymour at <https://independent.academia.edu/DeniSeymour>). If Beckett is right, then the archaeological signature

of the Manso should be derivative of the Jornada, but this is still an “if” and remains to be demonstrated with archaeological data.

Indeed, it is a critical research question and one that is eminently addressable. Someone was living in the El Paso/Las Cruces area and it makes sense that the Jornada did not just disappear. So, given the temporal continuity, the geographic focus, and the reasonableness that someone descended from the Jornada, the connection with the Manso is sensible. But the Piro, Tigua/Tiwa, and Jumano also are all potentially descendant populations from the Jornada Mogollon, which further raises the question as to whether the prehistoric subdivisions recognized in the Jornada Mogollon area (e.g., Wiseman 2015) are antecedent to each of these historical groups.

My point is that we cannot just assume a site is Manso because it occurs in a certain geographic area and dates to the Protohistoric or Historic period (see Seymour 2009:113-114, 2016, 2017). No doubt, a fundamental premise for differentiating culture groups is their placement within discrete spatial-geographic boundaries. I also believe that success in addressing this problem of initial culture group definition (defining a constellation of traits in a restricted area and time) involves looking at specific geographic areas where historically recognized groups were centered, and then identifying the most distinctive traits present in that area that occur in the greatest numbers and in the most contexts, as I have done elsewhere (Seymour 2002; 2016).

Yet, it also takes an organized and targeted program to distinguish them, as has been done for the Apachean Cerro Rojo complex and the non-Apachean Canutillo complex (and its subdivision for the Jocom  ). It remains to be shown archaeologically both what Manso looks like and what Jornada morphs into. Late-dating sites, comparison of finds across a large area, and carefully considered chronometric dates will be combined to ultimately solve this question. In fairly short order, with a focused research effort and sufficient funds, this elucidating of the nature of Manso and of Jornada descendants can be resolved.



The take away should be that the arguments needed to interpret the cultural affiliation of sites during the Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic periods in the El Paso/Las Cruces area are far more complex and layered than they are for better known groups with long-understood and more robust signatures. Research at a larger and specifically targeted set of relevant sites will ultimately lead to reliable answers to the questions raised here. Such research will also lead to the discernment of an archaeological signature for the Manso, a group that is not much known beyond the southern Southwest, but whose descendants still reside in the El Paso and Las Cruces area (Figure 2).

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**Figure 2.** *Descendant populations who recognize their Manso heritage reside today in El Paso, Las Cruces, and surrounding communities.*

## AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF FOOTPRINTS: THE BECOMING OF THE TEWA CULTURAL COMMUNITY<sup>1</sup>

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Rio del Oso Anthropological Service

An established tradition among Southwestern archaeologists over the past century is to engage in lively, sometimes acrimonious, discussion about the origins of the Pueblo communities observed since the sixteenth-century Spanish *entradas*. Discussion of the origins the Tewa Pueblos in the northern Rio Grande has occupied a central place in this debate (e.g., Boyer et al. 2010; Ford et al. 1972; Lipe 2010; Ortman 2010a, 2010b, 2012). The argument focuses on the issue as to whether the Tewa people immigrated from the northern San Juan drainage into north-central New Mexico during the late thirteenth century, or if they are indigenous to the region known culturally and historically as the Tewa Basin.

In making an admittedly coarse generalization for illustrative purposes, I have previously referred to these opposing archaeological constructs as the *movers* and the *shakers* models (Anschuetz 2007a). Citing the appearance of selected traits in ceramics, architecture, or settlement in relation to patterns observed in the northern San Juan, proponents of the *movers* model suppose that the Tewa cultural community, as a distinct and identifiable cultural entity, arrived in north-central New Mexico from the northern San Juan region during the A.D. 1200s. Advocates presume further that these *immigrant* Tewa played *the* instrumental role in shaping the cultural-historical developments in their adopted Tewa Basin homeland prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

By extension, even if implicitly, these archaeologists view the whole of the northern Rio Grande region as a cultural backwater compared to the Four Corners region until the Tewa (and other northern San Juan drainage groups) arrived on the scene. The members of this camp do not address

fundamental questions about the conditions under which the immigrant Tewa either could have displaced or assimilated the Tewa Basin's indigenous populations.

Proponents of the *shakers* model contend that the Tewa are *indigenous* to the northern Rio Grande and that they comprised a distinct and identifiable cultural community before the thirteenth-century migrations out of the northern San Juan took place. These archaeologists suppose further that as *the* population of consequence in the Tewa Basin, the Tewa absorbed the northern San Juan's immigrant groups. In this construction, the Rio Grande populations were progressing along their own cultural-historical trajectory and were largely unaffected by the dramatic changes that were taking place elsewhere in the Pueblo World. While acknowledging the northern Rio Grande's demographic environment changed with the arrival of the northern San Juan groups, advocates of the *shakers* model appear to suggest, even if implicitly, that the Tewa possessed the economic, social, and beliefs systems to acculturate and fully assimilate the new arrivals into their communities such that the immigrants left virtually no trace of their prior lifeways.

It is worth noting that both the *movers* and the *shakers* models presume that the whole bag of economic, societal, and ideational stuff required for a population to build themselves into a distinctive and identifiable Tewa cultural community existed *before* the immigration of San Juan drainage populations into north-central New Mexico. What is more, the characterization of Tewa culture shared by these models not only is patterned and dominant, it is simultaneously reductionist simplification.

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this commentary was presented in *Dave Warren and the Transformation of Cultural Studies Symposium*, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, October 17, 2014, Santa Fe, NM.

In dissecting these archaeological models to their basics, we can see that researchers have been portraying the Tewa as a kind of *übermensch*, even a personification of the “Borg” of *Star Trek* fame. (Remember after all, the “Borg” unwaveringly—and single-mindedly say, “Resistance is futile,” when encountering others.) The casting of early Tewa people in such a caricature is problematical for several reasons. Chiefly, such a cartoonish representation denies the Tewa of their essential humanity. It also excludes the possibility that the Tewa’s ancestors were a diverse and creative people who could draw from hard-learned lessons in their past to cope with formidable vectors of change (Anschuetz 2007a).

In the effort to talk about Tewa origins in north-central New Mexico without reliance on dehumanizing stereotypes, I think that it would be helpful for archaeologists to consider carefully what Tewa people themselves have to say about their origins. At first glance, Tewa cultural-historical narratives about their origins seemingly embody dialectic narratives similar to those purported by archaeologists. In conversations with Tewa friends and colleagues from a number of different Pueblos over the years, I have heard community members variously say, “We came from the north” and “Our people have always lived here.” I have even heard individuals voice both of these sentiments at different times and within different contexts.

I suppose that some archaeologists might be tempted to throw up their hands in dismay in the face of what they perceive to be a riddle without resolution. Others might think that archaeologists are the only ones who will be able to resolve this question through the use of rigor scientific method to analyze and interpret in a quest to uncover a singular truth. (As a quick aside: This attitude involves another unsavory polemic; if only archaeologists can uncover the only *Truth* with a capital “T,” then all other accounts of the Tewa’s past would be relegated to the scrap pile of untruths [see Swentzell 1991].)

I think, however, that the contradiction in the accounts offered by Tewa people and

archaeologists alike are more apparent than real. I further suggest that observations shared by present-day Tewa community members provide insights for comprehending that the greater Tewa cultural community is a product of the coming together of ancestors who were indigenous to the northern Rio Grande and other ancestors who arrived from the north, as well as other places. Moreover, the commentaries that Tewa people share with archaeologists help us comprehend that the archaeological traces of this “coming together” represent the footprints of remarkable journeys across the landscape of the Ancestral Pueblo World to create a qualitatively new kind of community.

Tewa history, as known by today’s Tewa, as well as archaeologists, historians, and ethno-historians, also shows that the Tewa cultural community has been – and continues to be – a resilient construction. Tewa people have relied upon their cultural heritage to maintain their distinctive ethnicity in the face of unending challenges in the natural, social, and political environments they have faced since the late thirteenth century, including Spanish colonization and United States’ Statehood. Tewa community members also depend upon the footprints left by their forebears to maintain their identities in the present and prepare for the future.

In talking about Tewa origins, Alfonso Ortiz, a well-known Tewa scholar once said, “Our ancestors came from the north. Theirs was not a journey to be measured in centuries, for it was as much a journey of the spirit as it was a migration of a people” (Ortiz 1991:7). When asked questions about where her ancestors went after leaving places where they formerly had occupied great villages, his daughter, Elena Ortiz, replied, “We didn’t go, we *became*” (in Latham 1995:187 [*emphasis added*]). Commenting further upon the idea of *becoming*, Alfonso Ortiz added that the origin of Tewa society and culture was the product of the coming together of disparate peoples to form a new community that was greater than the sum of its parts (Ortiz 1991).

Using these and other commentaries offered by Tewa community members as a source of ideas,

archaeologists and other outsiders can distill several principles to frame our collective thinking about the Tewa's culture history. Foremost, the Tewa idea of *becoming* (Ortiz 1969) shares a striking similarity with Charles Darwin's (1859) concept of evolution. Both convey the understanding that there is "descent with modification." In other words: change not only happens, change builds on inheritance. The Tewa idea of *becoming* is more than "descent with modification," however; it refers both to the malleability of the people and the ideas – or should we say *the spirit*? (after Cajete 1994) – that Tewa people have carried across the generations.

If archaeologists follow Ortiz (1991) and consider the possibility that Tewa culture and society depend on the idea of the integration of diverse peoples, as opposed to some cartoonish stereotype devoid of humanity's essence, we open ourselves to the examination of alternate interpretive constructs. That is, the archaeological traces that the Tewa people left – and continue to leave – in their continuing process of *becoming* allow all of us to track their journey of how they became the people who they are today through a process of cultural transformation engineered through constructive dialogue among actors confronting great challenges in their natural, social, and ideational environments during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The archaeological record of the rocks, pots, houses, fields, plants, and animals used by the Tewa to sustain their families and pueblos over countless generations is more important than a collection of material stuff to collect, describe, quantify, and put on display. This archaeological record is a distinctly human record, which represents a world of cultural product and meaning. For Tewa people, archaeological traces are alive because they have been imbued with the breath of life by their ancestors (Anschuetz 2002, 2005, 2007a; Cajete 1994; Naranjo and Swentzell 1989).

The Pueblo people who left the northern San Juan drainage during the thirteenth century for north-central New Mexico did not find a *tabla raza* upon which to build a new homeland. Major

portions of the northern Rio Grande region, which includes much (though not all) of the district known today as the Tewa Basin, already were the homes for Ancestral Pueblo populations, who archaeologists characterize as living in the Developmental period of Rio Grande culture history and spans the six centuries between A.D. 600 and 1200.

Researchers working in north-central New Mexico have made notable contributions in documenting cultural-historical continuities among the footprints of these Tewa ancestors over the centuries. For example, Steve Lakatos (2003, 2006, 2007) has documented the persistence of a comparatively narrow range of variation in a pitstructure plan. This Rio Grande Pueblo pattern contrasts markedly with the greater heterogeneous mix of pitstructure designs used in the northern San Juan region over the same time. Cherie Scheick's (2007) discussion of marked settlement pattern continuities in the Tewa Basin's Santa Fe district is equally important. In combination, the persistence of these trends in architectural design and settlement pattern, which are traceable from the 7th century well into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, argues against the idea that the Tewa arrived in mass from the Four Corners country during the thirteenth century either to replace or dominate the Rio Grande's indigenous populations (see also Boyer et al. 2010; Lipe 2010).

On the other hand, research by Scott Ortman (2010a, 2010b, 2012) in the northern San Juan drainage is greatly expanding the argument that immigrants from the Four Corners not only arrived in the Rio Grande, but that they had indeed exercised significant influence in shaping the subsequent cultural-historical development of the communities of which they became contributing members (as opposed to assimilated parts). Ortman's (personal communication 2006 and 2007; Ortman and Cameron 2011) documentation of shrine assemblages in the backcountry surrounding several major thirteenth-century villages in the Cortez area of southwestern Colorado is especially intriguing. The San Juan shrine assemblage is by no means identical to that found in the Tewa Basin after circa A.D. 1250. The

shrines' spatial organization, particularly the features' emphasis on cardinal orientation and designed referent back to the villages' centers, however, is unlike anything that seen archaeologically in the northern Rio Grande before the mid- thirteenth century.

Just as the Tewa speak of their origins, the archaeological record of the Tewa's *becoming* is represented by the footprints left by disparate peoples who came together (Anschuetz and Wilshusen 2011). Through this choreography of movement, we see that the different groups each offered unique cultural contributions in the formation of a greater whole of a transformational—and continually transforming—community. The amalgam of people arriving from the northern San Juan (and probably elsewhere) with indigenous Rio Grande populations provided the essential physical, social, and ideational stuff from the people crafted and grew a distinctive and identifiable Tewa community from the roots of a rich and diverse Pueblo cultural heritage.

Study of Pueblo cultural landscapes by Pueblo authors, as well as by cultural anthropologists and archaeologists, has identified the interdependent relationship between center and edge as one of the five principal themes underlying Pueblo constructions of time and place (see Anschuetz 2002, 2007b). Architectural plan and settlement location are aspects of the idea of center, while the cardinal orientation embedded in the placement of the backcountry shrines that surround villages refers to the definition and explication of edge. The people unified the ideas of center and edge through the further promotion and further integration of *movement* (see Anschuetz 2002, 2007b), which is another essential landscape theme, into their way of life.

Ancestral Tewa, just as their descendants, interacted with the land, water, plants, and animals as a part of a transformational—and continually transforming—community that is the cultural landscape. Their interactions were based on movement, as informed by the three “R’s” of a Pueblo way of life, which a Tewa community member once explained to me as “Rest, Renew,

and Reuse” (Louie Hena, personal communication 1999, in Anschuetz 2014).

There is no compelling material record in the footprints by the Tewa's ancestors of a cultural revolution in which existing economic, social, and ideational institutions were discarded wholesale. Nor are there sufficient material grounds for suggesting that the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were a time of relative cultural stasis despite a fundamentally changing demographic environment. Quite to the contrary: Rather than cultural replacement or domination, available architectural, settlement pattern, and shrine data suggest that immigrant and indigenous populations alike employed selected aspects of their established economic, social, and ideational traditions to accommodate one another, reorganize their newly forming composite society, and intensify their economic production and social relationships (Anschuetz and Wilshusen 2011).

Through an integration of systems of belief and referent, these diverse peoples, in combination, engineered a cultural transformation of their collective design. Certain threads of the big ideas about center and edge contributed by the Tewa's different ancestors were sustained even as they were rewoven into a qualitatively new fabric of cultural-historically informed understanding and tradition (Anschuetz and Wilshusen 2011). The Pueblo World, just as the Pueblo people who participated in this process, undertook a grand experiment of cultural “descent with modification.” The Tewa—and the Tewa World—*became* in the area that we know today as the Tewa Basin.

It is useful to observe further that the processes of accommodation, reorganization, and intensification to form a distinctive pattern of cultural integration unfolded differentially in fits and starts among the Tewa Basin's many watersheds over a span of more than a century. As a product of rich cultural-historical development in which disparate peoples acted, organized themselves, and managed their systems of belief in living their everyday lives, the people's

construction of their Tewa identity took time to work out across time and space.

Evidence of residential site instability, the cycling between the opening and closing of plaza architecture, and the shifting of residences between accessible and inaccessible locations on the Tewa Basin's northwestern and eastern margins is evident during the final decades of the thirteenth century and first decades of the fourteenth century (e.g., Duwe 2011; Duwe and Anschuetz 2013). Populations living within the Tewa Basin more or less had integrated themselves into the greater Tewa cultural community during the latter half of the fourteenth century. The Tewa at this time were not a homogenous lot and the people likely needed to continually negotiate social tensions among the residents of the many settlements across the Tewa Basin.

Nonetheless, Severin Fowles (2004) has summarized evidence indicating that the people of the emergent Tewa cultural community created and maintained boundaries to distinguish themselves from all others in the Pueblo World. The elaboration of the ideas of center embedded in multiple layers within Tewa architecture design, in combination with the embellishment of shrine assemblages (Anschuetz 1998, 2014; Duwe 2011,

2016; Ford 2014) that radiate in concentric rings from the ash piles surrounding the villages to the mountain tops used to define edge (after Ortiz 1969), is traceable archaeologically from the late thirteenth century to the present.

In conclusion, I think that it is worth reiterating that the archaeological and ethnographic materials to which I referred in these comments are pieces of a world of cultural product through which the Tewa people and their history with the land are inseparable. This construction of inseparability, in turn, fulfills the very definition of ensoulment, in which the land makes the people as much as the people make the land. Through their culture of movement, which celebrates and commemorates the footsteps of their forebears, the Tewa have historically maintained intimate ties with a broad land base in ways that challenge widespread archaeological characterizations of abandonment, sustain a sense of community identity within a milieu of continual change, and distinguish themselves from all others in the Pueblo World. To my eyes as an archaeologist and anthropologist, the epic—and still unfolding—Tewa journey of *becoming* focuses, in part, on finding and sustaining a sense of centeredness founded on a long history of movement to define and continually refine a cogent sense of place within the landscape.

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