

OLD PUEBLO ARCHAEOLOGY

In the Aftermath of Ancestral Puebloan Migration: Renegotiating Identity in the 13th & 14th centuries AD by Anna A. Neuzil, Ph.D., EcoPlan Associates, Inc.



Figure 1: Masonry walls found at the Goat Hill site near the Pinaleno Mountains. Such construction techniques provide evidence of northern Arizona migrants living in southeastern Arizona. People lived here in the period A.D. 1290-1315. Photo by A. Neuzil.

Have you ever wondered how ancient people thought about themselves and related to others when they moved from place to place in the past? There must have been numerous barriers to get through – different languages, discrepancies in religion and ceremony, and a variety of ways of doing every day tasks such as building houses, cooking food, making pots, tending to the deceased, and raising children. Yet we know that the ancient inhabitants of the Southwest moved around frequently, and somehow they were able to surmount these barriers to make a new life in their new homes. More often than not, however, culture did not survive unchanged from this experience. This article discusses one such instance of migration, from the Kayenta and Tusayan area of northeastern Arizona to the Safford

and Aravaipa valleys of southeastern Arizona, looking particularly at the consequences of migration and focusing on the changes migration wrought upon identity.

Recent research in the Southwest has documented several cases of migration from the Kayenta and Tusayan areas of northeastern Arizona to several points to the south. Under our current understanding, both environmental and social changes that occurred during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Four Corners region led the inhabitants of this region to leave in large numbers, resulting in a drastic depopulation of this area. Kayenta and Tusayan migrants then traveled south, settling first along the Mogollon Rim, and then moving on to other locations such as the Tonto Basin, the Point of Pines region, the Upper Gila River Valley



Figure 2: A D-Shaped Kiva in southeastern Arizona, one of the few ever found south of the Mogollon Rim. Photo by M. K. Woodson.

and the San Pedro River Valley, as well as other areas. All of the areas they moved into had local indigenous populations that these migrant groups must have interacted with in order to learn about their new homeland.

One of the areas that Kayenta and Tusayan migrants moved to was the Safford and Aravaipa valleys of southeastern Arizona. Previous research in this area at the Goat Hill site, AZ CC:1:28 ASM, by M. Kyle Woodson was the first to conclusively demonstrate that the Safford Valley was a destination for Kayenta and Tusayan migrants. Woodson excavated 11 rooms and a D-shaped kiva at the Goat Hill site, and found numerous indicators of Kayenta and Tusayan migrants. First, the Goat Hill site was built in a defensible location, on top of a small butte at the foot of the Pinaleño Mountains. Although a defensible location does not necessarily imply that the inhabitants of this site were engaged in conflict, it does tell archaeologists that the inhabitants at least felt threatened. Second, the Goat Hill site is constructed of masonry architecture, and it is one of only two sites in the Safford Valley exhibiting this construction technique, which is more frequently found to the north (Figure 1). Third, Woodson excavated a D-shaped kiva, which is one of only a handful of kivas – communal architecture more commonly found among Puebloan populations above the Mogollon Rim – found south of the Mogollon Rim (Figure 2). Fourth, upon excavation, Woodson found several rooms that exhibited Kayenta

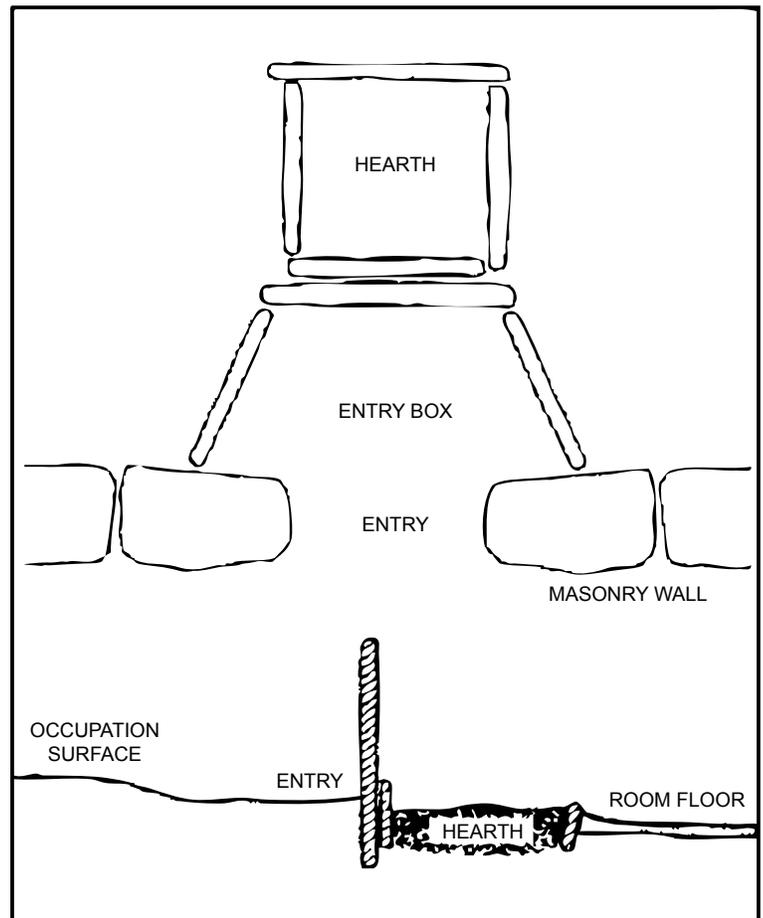


Figure 3: The Kayenta Entry Box Complex.

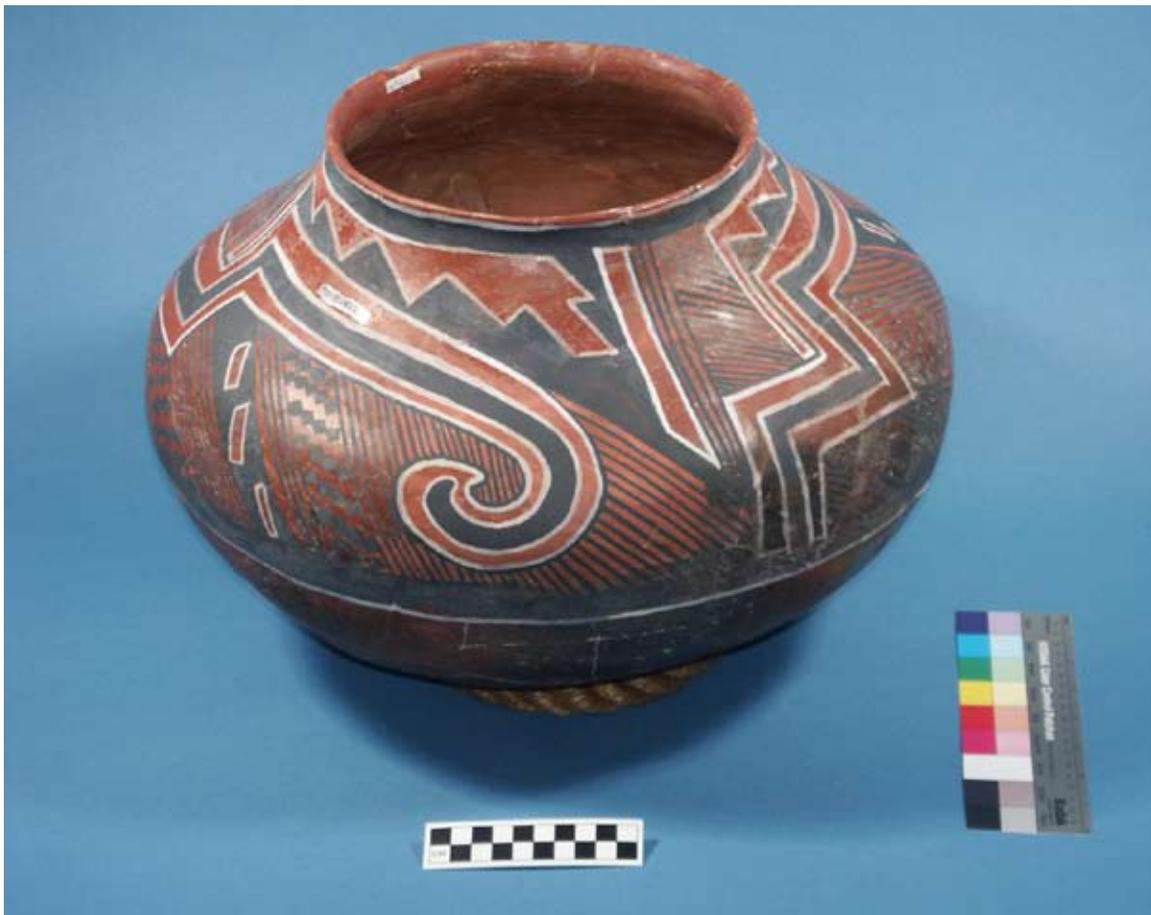


Figure 4: Maverick Mountain Polychrome vessel. This is a southeastern Arizona-produced version of a pottery type more commonly found in the northern Arizona. Photo by Patrick Lyons, courtesy Eastern Arizona College.

entry box complexes, which are distinctive configurations tying the entryway and slablined hearths of rooms together with a deflector, most commonly found in the Kayenta area (Figure 3). Fifth, the decorated ceramic assemblage at the site was dominated by Maverick Mountain Series ceramics, a decorative tradition that appears to be locally made copies of Tsegi Orange Ware, a ceramic type found in the Kayenta/Tusayan region (Figure 4). And finally, Woodson found numerous examples of perforated plates in the ceramic assemblage, which are a distinctive ceramic vessel clearly associated with the Kayenta/Tusayan region and migrants from this region (Figure 5). This overwhelming number of indicators led Woodson to conclude that the Goat Hill site was occupied by migrants from the Kayenta and Tusayan regions from A.D. 1290-1315, and conclusively demonstrated that the Safford Valley was a destination for these migrants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Site records and anecdotal evidence from other sites in the Safford and Aravaipa valleys suggested that Goat Hill was not the only site in the area to have been a destination for Kayenta and Tusayan migrants during the Classic period (A.D. 1200-1450). In order to get a better understanding of the scale of migration into these areas, and how such

migration affected the expression of identity of both migrant and indigenous populations, I evaluated the ceramics and domestic architecture from 35 sites in the area. To accomplish this, I used a two-stage approach. First, I used low visibility items of material culture, those which are not intended to send messages or signal identity, to distinguish among discrete social groups in the archaeological record. And second, I used high visibility items of material culture, those which are intended to send messages or signal identity, to identify who these groups were. More specifically, I used corrugated ceramics and the construction techniques of domestic architecture as low visibility material culture, and decorated ceramics and the spatial layout of domestic architecture as high visibility items of material culture.

Techniques of ceramic manufacture are often passed down within families and lineages, and thus, ceramic manufacture can be a good indicator of similar social backgrounds. Analyses of several attributes that reflected the manufacturing techniques of corrugated ceramics (Figure 6), such as coil width, allowed me to determine that there were household level groups with different social backgrounds living at almost all of the Classic period sites occupied after the arrival of migrants in the area (after A.D. 1275).



Construction techniques of domestic architecture gave me several other clues that many of the Classic period sites in this region were inhabited by distinct social groups. Most importantly, the habitation rooms at sites with perforated plates in their assemblages, which were probably occupied by Kayenta and Tusayan migrants, were all of a similar size, while the habitation rooms at sites without perforated plates in their assemblage were substantially more varied. This implies that the sites occupied by Kayenta and Tusayan migrants were occupied by people with very similar ideas about how big rooms should be, because they were raised with similar social backgrounds.

Decorated ceramics, which were often used to overtly or inadvertently signal messages of identity concerning their users, can provide substantial information about the inhabitants of archaeological sites, especially their identity. This is particularly important in areas where migration occurred, since the act of migration often challenged notions of identity. In looking at the decorated ceramics at sites dating to the Classic period from the Safford and Aravaipa valleys, I found that assemblages were most varied during the period from A.D. 1275-1325, when most of the Kayenta and Tusayan migrants appear to have been entering these valleys. During this time, Maverick Mountain Series ceramics were common, but a variety of other local and non-local types such as White Mountain Red Ware and Cibola White Ware

from the Mogollon Rim area, and San Carlos Red-on-brown (local to the Safford and Aravaipa valleys), were also found. Furthermore, at four sites, Maverick Mountain Series and San Carlos Red-on-brown ceramics were spatially segregated. In other words, Maverick Mountain Series ceramics dominated the assemblage in one area of the site, while San Carlos Red-on-brown ceramics dominated the assemblage in another area of the site. Combined with the information from corrugated ceramics, which suggest that people with different social groups were living at these sites, the diversity seen in the decorated ceramic assemblages, particularly during the change from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries A.D., suggests that both migrant and indigenous groups were living at these sites.

This diversity is also seen in measures of space syntax of domestic architecture. Space syntax is a way of quantifying the way built space (buildings, structures, roads, etc.) shapes the way people interact with each other. Several measures of space syntax demonstrated that the inhabitants of the Safford and Aravaipa valleys were most integrated before the arrival of migrants (A.D. 1200-1275). Sites that were occupied entirely by migrants immediately after their arrival in the area, such as the Goat Hill site, were the least integrated. This may have been the result of the presence of other means of integration, such as the communal architecture of kivas, at these sites, combined with an increased feeling of cohesiveness among



Figure 5: The perforated plate is a pottery form commonly found in northern Arizona. This one comes from southern Arizona.



Figure 6: The author studied corrugated pottery vessels as evidence of migrant pottery making traditions in southeastern Arizona. Photo by M. Devitt, courtesy of Eastern Arizona College

migrants because they were so different from indigenous populations. Sites occupied after the arrival of migrants in the area (A.D. 1325-1450) were more integrated than those occupied exclusively by migrants, but less integrated than those occupied before the arrival of migrants. This signals that in a very short period of time, 50 years or less, migrants were incorporated into the existing social fabric of the Safford and Aravaipa valleys and began living side-by-side with the indigenous inhabitants. Decorated ceramic assemblages and domestic architecture support this assertion, as there are no sites in the Safford and Aravaipa valleys post-dating A.D. 1275 without some indicators of migrants in their ceramic assemblages or architecture.

Several types of sourcing analyses of ceramics and obsidian from throughout these valleys support the assertion that the decorated ceramic assemblages from these sites are representative of their inhabitants and not their exchange partners. Petrographic analyses of the temper used in a sample of 273 sherds from throughout the study area demonstrated that less than 3 percent were manufactured from sands found outside the Safford and Aravaipa valleys, indicated that they were locally manufactured. The results of obsidian sourcing were similar; very few pieces of obsidian found at Safford and Aravaipa valley sites were from non-local sources. Thus, the diversity seen in the ceramics and architecture at Safford and Aravaipa valley sites reflect the diversity of the

inhabitants themselves, and demonstrate that both migrant and local groups were living side-by-side at these sites after the arrival of migrants in the late thirteenth century.

Undoubtedly, this unique living situation produced changes in the way both indigenous and migrants groups conceived of themselves and others. In fact, the totality of evidence from low and high visibility ceramics and architecture suggest that both groups renegotiated their identity to form a completely new identity. Both groups also maintained some aspects of their pre-migration identity at the same time. The arrival of migrants in the Safford and Aravaipa valleys appears to have challenged the structure of the way they defined themselves and others that caused them to transform the structure, and thus the expression of their identities. In this case, as in many others, culture did not survive unchanged from the experience of migration, as both groups found a way to get through the barriers that migration posed to each in unique and unprecedented ways.

About the author: Dr. Anna Neuzil is a Principal Investigator on the staff of EcoPlan Associates—an environmental and cultural resources management consulting company with offices in Arizona and Colorado.



THIRD THURSDAY PRESENTATIONS

Thursday December 18, 2008: "Hopi Summer" with author/historian Carolyn O'Bagy Davis at Old Pueblo Archaeology Center, 5100 W. Ina Road Bldg. 8 (northwestern Tucson metro area). 7:30 to 9 p.m. Free.

In the summer of 1927, a wealthy Boston socialite, Maud Melville, met Ethel Muchvo, a Hopi potter from First Mesa, while visiting the Hopi Indian Reservation. Their instant friendship resulted in years of correspondence between the two women of vastly different backgrounds.

Author and historian Carolyn O'Bagy Davis tells the true story of their cross-cultural friendship using diaries, letters, vintage photographs, and interviews with contemporary Hopi people. The tale of Hopi Summer provides insight into Hopi life before change came to the traditional, mesa-top villages through government intrusion, increasing tourism, and twentieth-century technology. This is the story of a touching friendship as Maud and Ethel lived through happy and sorrowful times. Epidemics raged through the villages killing scores of Hopi children and elders.

Carolyn O'Bagy Davis, a fourth-generation descendant of Utah pioneers, has written numerous books and articles on the history of archaeology, quilting, and western history. She has curated museum exhibits on southwestern archaeology, Hopi quilting, and other topics related to western history, and she lectures extensively to groups and museums around the country.

No reservations needed. 520-798-1201 or info@oldpueblo.org. This presentation will be held at Old Pueblo Archaeology Center, 7:30-9:00 p.m., 5100 W. Ina Road Bldg. 8 (northwestern Tucson metro area). Free. No reservations needed.

ANCIENT CRAFTS

Traditional Pottery Making Level 1 Workshop with John Guerin at Old Pueblo Archaeology Center, 2201 W. 44th Street (on the premises of the Tucson Unified School District's Ajo Service Center) from 2 to 5 p.m. each Sunday. Fee \$79; \$63.20 for Old Pueblo Archaeology Center and Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary members; includes all materials except clay, which participants will collect during class field trip. A series of 7 pottery-making class sessions will be offered by artist John Guerin each Sunday afternoon beginning May 3 and ending June, 14 2009, including a clay-gathering field trip on May 10. The class is designed to help modern people understand how prehistoric Native Americans made and used pottery, and is not intended to train students how to make artwork for sale. The Level 1 class demonstrates pottery making techniques the instructor has learned from Native American potters, using gourd scrapers, mineral paints, and yucca brushes. Advance reservations required: 520-798-1201 or info@oldpueblo.org.

OLD PUEBLO TOURS!!

February 10: "Ventana Cave and Tohono O'odham Nation Archaeology and Culture" (ST146) Pima Community College study tour with archaeologist Allen Dart via passenger van departing from Pima Community College, 401 N. Bonita Ave., Tucson. 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. \$79

Old Pueblo Archaeology Center's director, archaeologist Allen Dart, leads this van tour, which focuses on the Ventana Cave National Historic Landmark archaeological site and rock art, includes visits to nearby villages and the Tohono O'odham Nation government complex in Sells, and opportunity to purchase arts and crafts at the Wiwpul Du `ag Arts Trading Post. Bring your own picnic lunch and water, wear comfortable hiking shoes.

Advance reservations required: 520-206-6468 (Pima Community College, Tucson)

January 6, 2009: "Casa Grande Ruins and Middle Gila Valley Archaeology and History" (ST147) Pima Community College study tour with archaeologist Allen Dart via passenger van departing from Pima Community College, 401 N. Bonita Ave., Tucson. 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. \$79

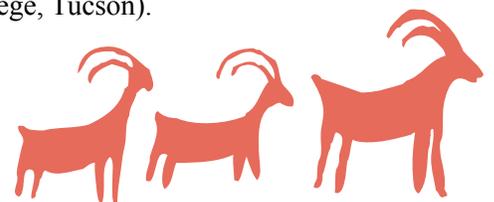
Archaeologist Allen Dart leads van tour to Coolidge-Florence area. Tour includes an extended visit to archaeological features in the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in Coolidge plus visits to the Grewe site (early Hohokam village), Adamsville Ruin (late Hohokam village with platform mound and ballcourt), historic Adamsville Cemetery and settlements along the Gila River, and Pinal County Historical Society Museum in Florence. Bring your own picnic lunch and water.

Advance reservations required: 520-206-6468 (Pima Community College, Tucson).

Tuesday March 3, 2009: "Tucson-Marana Rock Art and Archaeology" (ST149) Pima Community College study tour with archaeologist Allen Dart via passenger van departing from Pima Community College, 401 N. Bonita Ave., Tucson. 8 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. \$69

Archaeologist Allen Dart leads van tour to the Picture Rocks petroglyphs site, Hohokam Classic period housing compound and agricultural sites in the Tortolita Mountains, and Los Morteros, one of the Tucson Basin's largest archaeological sites, which includes a Hohokam ballcourt, bedrock mortars, and large trash mounds in the ancient living areas. Bring a lunch and water.

Advance reservations required: 520-206-6468 (Pima Community College, Tucson).





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Friday June 19-Tuesday June 23, 2009

"Mimbres Ruins, Rock Art, and Museums of Southern New Mexico" (ST585) Pima Community College study tour (CRN 72084 Double Occupancy, CRN 72085 Single Occupancy) with archaeologist Allen Dart via passenger van departing from Pima Community College, 401 N. Bonita Ave., Tucson. From 3 p.m. Friday to 5 p.m. Tuesday. \$759 Double Occupancy, \$799 Single Occupancy

Registered Professional Archaeologist Allen Dart leads this comprehensive tour to southwestern New Mexico's Silver City area to visit Classic Mimbres pueblo ruins, Early Mogollon village archaeological sites, the Gila Cliff Dwellings, spectacular petroglyph sites, and a museum with one of the world's finest collections of Mimbres Puebloan pottery (the kind with those spectacular human and animal figures). Tour includes transportation, lodging and entry fees. Offered by Pima Community College in affiliation with Old Pueblo Archaeology Center.

Advance reservations required: 520-206-6468 (Pima Community College, Tucson).



Mimbres Pottery. Photos courtesy Amerind Foundation.

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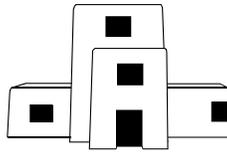
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