The Gallina highlands

Skeletons of War: Migration and Violence in the Northern Southwest in Late Prehistory

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A jigsaw puzzle should never be left unfinished. How else will you know that it is Elvis shooting pool with James Dean if all you have are the outlines of the puzzle and a pile of mixed up pieces in the center of the table? Archaeological interpretations can resemble unfinished puzzles; bare outlines—sometimes with the wrong pieces jammed into place. From these puzzles, we try to reconstruct past cultures and understand complex historical processes. In order for this to happen, though, it is important to consider all the pieces, not just the ones that fit together easily. It is also important to be persistent and keep coming back to the pieces that don’t seem to fit, because often they are the ones that hold the key to solving the puzzle.

Since the 1930s, researchers have characterized the prehistoric residents of the rugged Gallina highlands of northwestern New Mexico as culturally isolated and backwards. Not only did cultural developments lag behind those in neighboring areas — most of the population was still living in pithouses when Great Houses were being built in Chaco Canyon and cliff dwellings were the norm at Mesa Verde — but the Gallina people also seemed prone to violence. A sharp contrast was often drawn between the violent and barbaric behavior of these “isolated hill folk” and the relatively peaceful and civilized behavior of other Ancestral Pueblo groups. In short, the Gallina case was considered an anomaly, a piece of the puzzle that didn’t fit.

Over the past decade, there has been a dramatic shift in thinking about the role of violent conflict in Ancestral Pueblo society, and the Gallina case is no longer seen as anomalous. In fact, interpersonal violence now appears to have been endemic across much of the northern Southwest by late Basketmaker times (ca. A.D. 400–700). Moreover, violence seems to have
peaked between A.D. 1250 and 1300, coinciding with the abandonment of the Four Corners region and an increase in population in the northern Rio Grande Valley and adjacent uplands. Although there is general agreement that this population increase along the Rio Grande was fueled, in part, by the arrival of displaced immigrant groups from the Four Corners region, researchers have been frustrated by the lack of direct evidence for migration.

Located along one of the likely migration routes between the Four Corners area and the northern Rio Grande Valley, the Gallina highlands provide a useful testing ground for many of the new ideas about Ancestral Pueblo society that have emerged in recent years. In turn, as I hope to show in this article, what happened in these neighboring regions had consequences — sometimes serious ones — for people living in the Gallina highlands.

**Ancestral Pueblo Society: A Regional Overview**

In the Ancestral Pueblo region of the American Southwest, there was a gradual shift from mobile hunter-gatherers to more sedentary lifestyles with subsistence practices that included farming. This transition occurred between approximately 200 B.C. and A.D. 700. Along with this shift toward sedentism, there was an associated increase in the number of people living on the land and an increase in storage facilities. During this “settling-in” period, most people lived in small groups and occupied seasonal brush structures as well as more permanent subsurface dwellings called pithouses.

In the northern Southwest — the area that is currently northern New Mexico, southern Colorado, southeastern Utah, and northeastern Arizona — groups of people that lived in similar ways characterized this formational period. Archaeologists refer to this early time period as the Basketmaker period, primarily because of one of the most beautiful artifacts frequently found on Basketmaker sites. It was during this time that agricultural villages with pithouses became common. One of the most famous examples is the early settlement in Chaco Canyon called Shabik’eschee, which was occupied between A.D. 450 and 550. Shabik’eschee was a seasonal habitation site and is well known for its communal structures and its evidence indicating that people were sharing their food with each other. Archaeologists determined this by analyzing how easily accessible storage space was — the more restricted, the less likely it is that the residents freely distributed their food supplies. At Shabik’eschee, and at many sites in this region during this period, unrestricted storage features suggest people shared freely with each other.

Following the Basketmaker era, we enter the Pueblo I period (A.D. 700–900) in the northern Southwest. It is at this time that the first above-ground structures, usually for storage, were constructed. This also was the first period of aggregation of outlying groups into larger communities. The Pueblo II period (A.D. 900–1100) follows and is characterized by the expansion of communities into regions that had not previously been settled by people. Above-ground habitation structures became common. The Pueblo III period (A.D. 1100–1300) evidences another bout of aggregation, as smaller groups moved together to form larger communities. Larger villages became much more common, the largest of which occurred along the San Juan River in New Mexico and southwestern Colorado.
We know, based on quickly accumulating evidence, that the Pueblo III period was violent. This has been determined through the presence of defensively located sites, burned structures, and large numbers of skeletons found on the floors of burned buildings. For instance, at Castle Rock, in Colorado, during the early to mid-A.D. 1280s, at least 41 individuals were killed out of approximately 100 occupants. Many of these individuals displayed evidence of having died by violent means as demonstrated by the presence of unhealed injuries on their skeletons. If they had lived past these injuries, the bone would have at least started to heal. Embedded projectile points in human skeletons are another indication of violence, and the patterned separation of groups of sites may indicate the presence of “no-man’s lands.” It is during this period that virtually the entire Four Corners region, particularly the Mesa Verde area, was depopulated. Archaeologists still debate as to the exact cause of this exodus, but the reality is likely that it was a complicated, intertwined process that occurred as a result of the rapidly deteriorating environmental and social conditions.

Northern Rio Grande Valley Overview

The occupants of the northern Rio Grande Valley near Santa Fe followed a roughly similar cultural path as was seen in the Four Corners region. The people transitioned from mobile hunter-gatherers to more sedentary agriculturalists living in pithouses. With the increase in sedentism and food storage that is associated with agriculture came a corresponding move toward surface houses and larger aggregated settlements. While the general trajectory is the same as in the Ancestral Pueblo region, there are some differences in ceramic design style and production techniques between the regions, as well as architectural construction.
By the end of the Coalition period (A.D. 1200–1325), which is roughly equivalent to the Pueblo III period of the Pecos classification, the residents of the northern Rio Grande Valley, especially those near the Rio Grande and in the Rio Chama corridors, were building the largest pueblos to date. Thousands of people resided within the walls of these pueblos, although apparently there was little centralized authority. Some of these villages, in fact, were built so quickly and contained so many people that they are one of the main lines of evidence that archaeologists use to argue for the sudden influx of migrants from the Four Corners region. Conversely, some archaeologists argue that the evidence does not point to an influx of migrants, but that the increase in population in the Rio Grande region was strictly a product of a fertility boom within the local groups.

Gallina Highlands Overview

Located to the southeast of the Mesa Verde region, and northwest of the northern Rio Grande, is an area of rugged terrain that was occupied from about A.D. 1050 to 1275 by a people that archaeologists named the Gallina, after the nearby town and river. The heartland of this people is near the confluence of the Rio Chama and Rio Gallina.

The Gallina people occupied a large area. The area was so large that one must necessarily wonder, even with the presence of the difficult terrain, just exactly how these people were able to maintain a lifestyle that was so isolated from their neighbors that, even 700 years later, we still view them as almost pathologically interested in remaining separate from other contemporaneous groups.

But what makes the Gallina the Gallina? The answer can be found in a suite of material culture traits from Gallina archaeological sites. The three most important portions of this suite are pointed bottom ceramics, tri-notched axes, and the continued use of pithouses long after surrounding peoples had mostly moved into above-ground habitation structures. The large pointed-bottom ceramic pot from the Gallina region harkens back to the pointed-bottom basketry of earlier subsistence practices. The Gallina primarily used this pot for cooking. Although this ceramic form was occasionally seen outside of the Gallina region, it was only within the Galina region that it was overwhelmingly part of the ceramic assemblage. As with the pointed-bottom utility vessel, the tri-notched ax is infrequently found outside of the Gallina district, but within the Gallina heartland it is the most common ax form.

Lastly, one of the key material traits of the Gallina is the late use of pithouse structures. The Gallina lived in pithouses up until the abandonment of the region shortly after A.D. 1275. As discussed earlier, most surrounding groups had transitioned to above-ground architecture centuries before. The Gallina did not solely live in pithouses, though. Near the end of their highland occupation, they started to build single-room, above-ground structures that mirrored the internal architecture and layout of their subterranean houses. In many sites, it appears that both the pithouses and surface houses were occupied contemporaneously. Though rare, small cliff houses, towers, and very small pueblos of between 4 to 12 rooms are also present. There are other unique characteristics of the Gallina culture, such as an unchanging decorated ceramic design style, but these are three of the most prominent.
Migration and Violence in the Gallina Highlands

By the A.D. 1300s, the Gallina people no longer lived and farmed in their highland homeland. Archaeologists have often noted that there was a disproportionate amount of violence in this region and have frequently cited this as the reason for the abandonment. Most studies have focused on the cause of this violence. Some researchers hypothesized that it was due to roaming bands of nomads and other external factors. Others argued that rapidly deteriorating climatic conditions made subsistence more difficult and led to increased conflict and violence among the Gallina. It was this question of who, not why, that led me to examine the patterns that might be present in the archaeological evidence of violence in the Gallina region.

Specifically, I examined sites that had direct skeletal evidence of violence (for instance, embedded projectile points and crushed skulls) to help determine whether the violence was the product of foreign groups entering, or moving through, the Gallina highlands. In my research, I first recorded all of the excavated sites from the Gallina region that had skeletal evidence of violence. I then created modified least-cost path analyses within a Geographic Information System (GIS) from multiple locations in the Ancestral Pueblo world to a number of destination sites on the Lower Rio Chama and Northern Rio Grande. These source and destination sites were chosen based on Pueblo oral traditions and on archaeological evidence. In GIS, least-cost paths generally represent the path of lowest energy
expenditure between two points. You can think of this as the path between point A and point B where one would burn the fewest calories. Humans do not necessarily think strictly in terms of easiest routes, though. We also think in terms of time, so I modified these least-cost paths to consider time. The resulting paths are essentially models of velocity through the prehistoric landscape. They are routes that are both the cheapest, energy wise, but also the quickest. This dualistic model is much better at actually representing human decision-making while traveling. After all, most of us try to find the quickest route from our source to our destination—assuming, of course, that we are not sightseeing. These least-cost paths, for this study, represent possible migration routes from the Four Corners to the Rio Grande district.

Possible migration routes were modeled to five sites in the northern Rio Grande, Jemez, and lower Rio Chama valleys from seven sites that are representative of areas thought to be sources of Coalition period immigrants to these regions (see site map). Thus, each source site had five paths of movement into the Northern Rio Grande and each destination site had seven paths of movement from the Four Corners. As such, 35 paths were modeled. However, a quick review of the site map will highlight that many of these paths overlapped for the majority of their length.

Most of the least-cost paths from Chaco and Chimney Rock barely cross Gallina territory, while many of the paths from Mesa Verde, Aztec, and Salmon travel directly through. Following this analysis, Gallina sites with skeletal evidence of conflict were placed on the map. Any probable migration route that did not approach these conflict sites was removed. I created a buffer with a radius of 3 kilometers (1.86 miles) around each of these remaining routes—approximately the distance that migrants might roam from the main group, or route, to procure subsistence resources while traveling through an area.
Seven out of the 13 sites with direct skeletal evidence of violence fell within the buffer zone along the paths from the Ancestral Pueblo regions of Aztec, Salmon, and Mesa Verde to Tsama’uinge and Wiyo, two sites in the lower Rio Chama and Tesuque Valley, respectively. A random sample of every Gallina structural site that falls within the buffered zone was then selected for calculating a Pearson’s chi-square ($x^2$) test. The $x^2$ test is used to calculate the likelihood that a phenomenon could occur by pure chance. Since the paths from Aztec, Salmon, and Mesa Verde to Tsama’uinge and Wiyo converge through the Gallina region, they effectively have the same $x^2$ calculations. For these routes, there is only a 0.5 percent chance that this spatial pattern would occur randomly. As such, it is extremely probable that the spatial distribution of these sites with direct skeletal evidence of violence is related to this migration route through the Gallina heartland.

**Conclusions**

Based on this study, it is probable that in at least some cases, the physical violence in the Gallina region occurred because either migrants or other travelers were moving through the Gallina heartland toward points farther south and east. All of the dated sites that are significantly correlated with the proposed migration route have occupation end dates that are post-A.D. 1250. This is concurrent with the

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time line for when people would be abandoning the Four Corners for other areas. In this instance, it appears that the Rio Grande district was a destination.

My research is an attempt to resolve the archaeological debates concerning the source of violence in the Gallina region. I have attempted to show that without understanding the Gallina position, spatially and culturally, in the northern Southwest, our understanding of the cause of conflict in this region would still be unclear. Once we embed prehistoric cultures within a broader societal context, when research is integrated and the culture is not studied as an island in the stream of prehistory, then we can find our answers. The pattern that emerges in the Gallina highlands is far too complex for any single explanatory model.

Other research of mine indicates that conflict between Gallina communities included both psychological (i.e., fear) and physical elements. In this article, we observe that conflict with external agents transpired through at least one corridor in the Gallina heartland, a corridor that appears to be one of the migration routes to the lower Rio Chama and northern Rio Grande from the Mesa Verde, Aztec, and Salmon regions. A black or white argument fails to capture this complexity and can only explain a portion of the human behavior that patterned the archaeological record.

Shortly after A.D. 1275, when evidence of conflict in the Gallina region reached an apex, the area was depopulated. In the ancient Southwest, migration was a common coping strategy when social and/or environmental conditions became too inhospitable. The Gallina, with an increasingly failing isolationist strategy — itself supported and continually reinforced by the “traditional” material technologies of the group — likely migrated, either freely or as captives, to other regions where they blended with other groups. The direction, or directions, of this movement are still unknown, although it is probable that there are descendants of the Gallina in the lower Rio Chama, if not in the northern Rio Grande area.

The Gallina culture of the northern American Southwest exists at a critical juncture. Their location in space is in a key position between the Four Corners and northern Rio Grande provinces. Their cultural location demonstrates that processes typically associated with “core” groups can be better understood by incorporating evidence of the groups on the “periphery.” Thus, while archaeologists often perceive the Gallina as aberrant hillbillies and isolationists, the truth is that they sat on one of the most important migration routes of the northern Southwest. As such, the apparent isolation of the Gallina is not so much that of a forgotten group, but a choice on their part.

About the Author

Lewis Borck is a Ph.D. student in the School of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. He studies frontiers and forms of resistance in the archaeological record, often by focusing on the social, cultural, and spatial interactions of marginal groups with their more powerful neighbors. He is also interested in combining GIS and social network analysis. His MA research applied these theoretical and methodological interests to the Gallina region, northwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Figure Credits: All figures except photograph of pointed-bottom pot provided by and used with permission of Lewis Borck. Photograph of pointed-bottom pot from “The Gallina Culture of North Central New Mexico” by Frank Cummings Hibben (1939, Ph.D. dissertation. Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
The Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary - Old Pueblo Archaeology Center Joint Membership-Benefit Program

Since June 2004, the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary, a nonprofit organization based in Phoenix, and Tucson’s nonprofit Old Pueblo Archaeology Center have had a formal agreement that each organization will offer its standard membership discounts for programs, workshops, and tour registrations to members of each other’s support organizations (that is, to Old Pueblo’s Archaeology Opportunities organization members and to PGM Auxiliary members), subject to verification that any member requesting a discount from the other organization is a member in good standing.

This agreement was instituted because the PGM Auxiliary (which supports Pueblo Grande Museum’s mission) and Old Pueblo both seek to foster understanding and appreciation of southwestern archaeological and historical sites and traditional cultures by conducting scientific research, preservation, and public interpretation projects. In addition both organizations sponsor programs, workshops and tours, and both the PGM Auxiliary and Old Pueblo desire to support the production of quality programming related to southwestern archaeology.

The City of Phoenix’s Pueblo Grande Museum and Archaeological Park is the site of a 1,500 year-old Hohokam village located just minutes away from Sky Harbor International Airport in metropolitan Phoenix, and is a National Historic Landmark and Arizona Point of Pride. Along its outdoor trail, the museum features one of the best-preserved Hohokam platform mounds in Arizona, a Hohokam ballcourt, replicated houses, and a garden of plants used by our state’s native peoples. Inside are three galleries, including a children’s hands-on gallery, and a theater. Throughout the year the museum hosts special events and programs. The Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary is a nonprofit organization that supports the museum. The Auxiliary is passionate about preserving the history of the ancient Hohokam people that once inhabited central and southern Arizona.
Old Pueblo Archaeology Center is a not-for-profit educational and scientific organization incorporated in Arizona since 1994. Old Pueblo’s mission is to educate children and adults to understand and appreciate archaeology and other cultures, to foster the preservation of archaeological and historical sites, and to develop a lifelong concern for the importance of nonrenewable resources and traditional cultures.

Programs that Old Pueblo offers to fulfill its mission include archaeological field schools, a membership program that provides research and education opportunities, the “OPEN” simulated archaeological dig education program for children, the “OPENOUT” educational outreach program for children and adults, an internship program for students and others, archaeological and cultural site tours, publications, and web-based education programs, among others.

If you are a member of either Old Pueblo Archaeology Center or the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary (or would like to be!), check out our two organizations’ web sites to get an idea of the kinds of activities for which your membership entitles you to the Old Pueblo - PGM Auxiliary discount:

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Middle school students participating in Old Pueblo’s “OPEN3” simulated archaeological site excavation. Pueblo Grande Museum offers a similar children’s archaeology education program.
Old Pueblo Archaeology Center Offerings

Children’s Education Programs

Tucson’s nonprofit Old Pueblo Archaeology Center offers its “Old Pueblo Educational Neighborhood” (OPEN) program of simulated archaeological-dig field trips, classroom outreach presentations, and guided tours to real archaeological sites for elementary, middle school, and high school classes. Classroom scholarships may be available to cover some or all of the program fees for these youth programs.

- **The OPEN3 Simulated Archaeological Excavation Learning Program** allows students (and adults!) to learn what archaeology is all about by participating in the excavation of “OPEN3,” a full-scale model of an archaeological site in which replicas of prehistoric southern Arizona Hohokam Indian pithouses and outdoor features used for cooking, storage, and other purposes have been constructed. The hundreds of buried artifacts at the OPEN3 site include authentic prehistoric pottery, stone tools, and seashell jewelry, plus replica artifacts. Students participating in the program are exposed to scientific interpretation of how ancient people constructed their houses, what they looked like, ate, and believed in, and how they created beauty in their lives.

- **OPENOUT Children’s Presentations:** Our Ancient People of Arizona outreach presentation tells children about the prehistoric Ancestral Pueblo (Anasazi), Mogollon, and Hohokam peoples in a hands-on session that includes real and replica artifacts, and abundant illustrations. The **Lifestyle of the Hohokam** presentation gives youngsters an idea of how the ancient Hohokam lived and how some aspects of everyday life have changed and others have stayed the same. Our **What is an Archaeologist?** presentation features the tools archaeologists work with, real and replica artifacts, and activities to show kids what archaeologists do, how they do it, and how they learn about people and cultures through their work. The hands-on materials and fun lesson plans in these OPENOUT programs bring archaeology and the past alive for children and are a perfect complement to the OPEN3 simulated archaeological excavation program.

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**Can You Help Us Offer These Children’s Education Programs?**

The numbers of children who have been able to participate in Old Pueblo Archaeology Center’s learning programs has declined precipitously in the past few years because of the weak economy and cuts in the State of Arizona education budget. Old Pueblo normally has offered classroom scholarships to offset some of the fees that we must charge to participating classes to cover program expenses. Funding for these scholarships has come primarily from our annual membership fee revenues and from grants provided by philanthropic organizations. These contributions help underserved school children develop an interest in archaeology and other cultures.

Many teachers who used to enroll their classes in Old Pueblo’s learning programs have been unable to do so recently because state budget cuts have made it impossible for them to come up with the fees normally charged for each Old Pueblo program, many children’s parents cannot spare a per-student fee that would allow their children to participate in our programs. The drop in grant monies has made it impossible for Old Pueblo to offer nearly as many classroom scholarships as we did in previous years.

Any amount of contribution that you can make to Old Pueblo Archaeology Center to help us continue offering these valuable youth education programs will be greatly appreciated. Who knows, your contribution may make the difference for some aspiring kids who want to become professional archaeologists.
Children’s Education Programs (Continued)

- **Archaeology Celebration at Vista del Rio Park** is a youth-focused program in which Tucson’s Vista del Rio Residents’ Association and Old Pueblo Archaeology Center offer fun and educational hands-on activities designed to educate children about the ancient Hohokam Indians who used to live in southern Arizona. This event, which we try to offer annually, includes demonstrations of traditional Native American crafts such as making pottery and stone arrowheads, and opportunities for kids to create their own pottery and stone-and-cordage jewelry, grind corn with an ancient metate and mano, and learn to play traditional Native American games.

Adult Archaeology Classes

Many of Old Pueblo’s adult learning opportunities may be counted toward hours that educators need for their continued professional development. Teachers should contact Old Pueblo and their school district administrators to confirm whether any of these programs may be counted toward Arizona certification.

- **Prehistory of the Southwest** is an introductory course in the study of the American Southwest that provides a basic overview of regional archaeology and cultures. It includes discussions of cultural sequences, dating systems, subsistence strategies, the development of urbanization, abandonments of different areas at different times, and the general characteristics of major cultural groups that have lived in the Southwest over the past 13,000-plus years.

- Old Pueblo’s **Advanced Prehistory of the Southwest: The Hohokam Culture of Southern Arizona** class explores the archaeology of the American Southwest’s Hohokam culture, including its origins, subsistence and settlement systems, social and organizational systems, material culture, social interaction, and ideas on religion and trade.

- Our **Cultural Resources Survey Techniques & Practice** class teaches archaeological field methods for discovering, recording, mapping, and evaluating archaeological sites, and develops skills for avocational archaeologists to work alongside professionals in cultural resources surveys.

- **Writing Preliminary Archaeological Reports** is an on-line class that provides knowledge and skills to prepare a usable preliminary report about archaeological survey or excavation projects.

The above-listed courses, taught by registered professional archaeologist Allen Dart, can be taken for Certification credit through the Arizona Archaeological Society, a not-for-profit organization separate from Old Pueblo Archaeology Center.
Artifact-Making Workshops

- In Old Pueblo’s **Arrowhead Making and Flintknapping workshops**, an expert flintknapper teaches how to make arrowheads and spear points out of obsidian and other stones, providing you with hands-on experience and knowledge of how prehistoric people made and used stone artifacts.

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Our “Third Thursday” series is one of Old Pueblo’s most popular and regular public outreach programs, held on the third Thursday evening of each month September through April. These Thursday programs provide dinnertime presentations by a guest speaker at Tucson-area restaurants (usually a different one each month), where those attending may order their dinners off the general menu, enjoy the presentation after their meal, and discuss the evening’s topic with our speakers and other attending guests.

Archaeologist-Guided Educational Tours

Tours Old Pueblo plans to offer in the next two years:

- **Deer Valley & Spur Cross Ranch Petroglyphs tour** to ancient petroglyphs and a rock art museum at the Deer Valley Rock Art Center park north of Phoenix, and a northern Hohokam-periphery pueblo and two petroglyph sites in the Spur Cross Ranch Regional Park near Carefree.

- **Mimbres Ruins, Rock Art, & Museums of Southern New Mexico tour** to Mogollon and Classic Mimbres archaeological sites, spectacular petroglyph and pictograph sites, and museums with fine Mimbres Puebloan pottery.

- **White Tank Mountains–Petroglyphs of Waterfall Canyon & Mesquite Canyon tour** visits rock art sites in Maricopa County’s White Tank Mountain Regional Park west of Phoenix.
Old Pueblo Archaeology

- **Los Morteros and Picture Rocks Petroglyphs Archaeological Sites tour** to the ancient Los Morteros village site where Native Americans lived between AD 850 and 1300 and constructed one of the biggest known Hohokam Indian ballcourts; and to the Picture Rocks Petroglyphs site, which contains hundreds of petroglyphs depicting dancing human-like figures, whimsical animals, and abstract images, at least one of which is a sophisticated calendar marker.

- **Rock Art and Archaeology of Ventana Cave tour** to a huge rockshelter where archaeological excavations unearthed Native American artifacts and human-made features up to 10,000 years old, and where there are pictographs dating to the Archaic, Hohokam, and historic Tohono O’odham periods.

- **Petroglyphs of the Sutherland Wash Rock Art District tour** to rock art sites in the Baby Jesus Ridge area on the western side of the Santa Catalina Mountains near Catalina.

- **Chaco Canyon, Aztec, & Salmon Great Pueblos and Other Archaeological Sites tour** to archaeological sites within Chaco Canyon and “Chacoan Outlier” sites in northwestern New Mexico.

- **Canyon de Chelly Archaeology and Cultures tour** to northeastern Arizona’s Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto to see ancient cliffdwellings, petroglyphs and pictographs, Navajo families who have lived in the canyon for generations, and towering sandstone cliffs; includes all-day Thunderbird Lodge Jeep Tour into the depths of Canyon de Chelly.
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Also check out Old Pueblo Archaeology Center’s other activities at www.oldpueblo.org

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Archaeology Opportunities is a membership program for persons who wish to support Old Pueblo Archaeology Center’s education efforts and perhaps even to experience for themselves the thrill of discovery by participating in research. Membership is also a means of getting discounts on the fees Old Pueblo normally charges for publications, education programs, and tours. Members of Archaeology Opportunities at the Individual membership level and above are allowed to participate in certain of Old Pueblo’s archaeological excavation, survey, and other field