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Erik K. Reed

CULTURAL AREAS OF THE PRE-SPANISH SOUTHWEST

AMONG the several definitions of "the Southwest" the archaeological is one of the most restrictive. For the archaeologist, the Southwest extends approximately from Las Vegas, New Mexico, to Las Vegas, Nevada, and from the vicinity of Durango, Colorado, to Durango, Mexico. The plains of eastern New Mexico and the Texas panhandle, most of trans-Pecos Texas, central and northern Utah, and Southern California are generally considered peripheral rather than part of the Southwest proper. Pre-Spanish archaeological remains of Southwestern type are found from the Dolores River in southwesternmost Colorado, the Colorado River in southeastern Utah, and the Virgin River drainage in southwestern Utah, to southern Chihuahua and Sonora, and from the Pecos River valley on the east to the lower Colorado River on the west. Archaeological materials differ in each district of the Southwest, but may be grouped in two major regions, each with subdivisions.

The entire Southwest is characterized archaeologically by the occurrence of painted pottery, which is found very rarely or not at all in other regions of North America north of Mexico. Other-

wise, few distinctive traits are found throughout the whole region. Basic general features such as hunting, farming (corn, beans, and squash), and the use of stone for implements are common to many or all Indian cultures. So are more specific things, like stone axes and the bow and arrow. There are a few negative characteristics, notably the absence of metallurgy and almost total lack of any metal objects in the Southwest. Copper was used and worked in South America, Central America, and eastern North America, but not here. The absence of wheeled vehicles and of livestock applies also to American Indian native culture generally.

Compact, many-roomed, cellular dwellings, built of stone masonry or of adobe mud, which we call pueblos, are found through most of the region. In earlier periods, antedating the development of surface pueblos, the characteristic dwellings are pit-houses. These are essentially roofed excavations, with various types of entranceway, arrangements for roof support, and other details. In the deserts of western and southern Arizona, however, brush huts instead of pit-houses or pueblos have for centuries been the typical dwellings. A broad fundamental division of the archaeological Southwest into two great provinces may thus be made on the basis of general house-types. These cultural provinces correspond roughly to natural areas.

The higher, partly forested country of the Mogollon Rim and the Colorado Plateau is that of the Pueblo Indians, the people who lived in pit-houses and, later, in surface pueblos. This is also the region of piñon and juniper cover and, on the mountains, yellow pine forests, with fir, spruce, and aspen at still higher elevations. It is the habitat of deer, bear, lion, bobcat, mountain sheep, wild turkey. In the desert province, with cacti, palo verde, mesquite, desert bighorn, the Gila monster, and other unusual forms of life adapted to arid conditions, the Piman and Yuman Indians and their archaeological predecessors—the Hohokam and Patayan complexes—form a separate group which differs from

the Pueblos in many features, including the general lack of permanent structures.

The Pueblo area takes in not only the forested mountains of central Arizona and southwestern New Mexico and the plateau to the northward, but also extends into desert areas—down the Rio Grande to La Junta, across southwestern Utah to Nevada. All this territory is characterized by pit-houses and surface pueblos, and by polished and painted pottery, most of it made without the use of paddle and anvil. The Pueblos depended on agriculture, without extensive irrigation, supplemented by hunting. Many bone implements, as well as food bones, are found in refuse heaps. Sea-shell ornaments are less abundant and stone work is less advanced than in the Hohokam country of southern Arizona. The Pueblos generally buried their dead unburned. The skulls show artificial deformation (cradle-board flattening) of the back of the head.

Within the general Pueblo area two major subdivisions can be recognized, identified most readily by their pottery but manifesting other more meaningful differences. These two are the northern Grayware or Anasazi in the Colorado Plateau, and Southern Brownware or Mogollon in mountains and deserts to the south. Anasazi ruins are most often in open valleys in the piñon-juniper zone. Mogollon sites range from desert surroundings to yellow-pine forest habitat.

In northwestern New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, southeastern Utah, and southwesternmost Colorado, the classical Anasazi sequence of the San Juan is found. This includes many of the largest masonry pueblos and most famous cliff dwellings, and innumerable smaller sites. A span of more than a thousand years is represented, from the early centuries of the Christian era to the abandonment of the San Juan drainage at the end of the thirteenth century. The general San Juan Anasazi development is set apart by the distinctive utility pottery (rough plain or corrugated grayware), the unique ceremonial chambers (the circular kiva,

often semisubterranean), the unusual manner of cradle-board deformation of the skull (artificial lambdoid flattening), and by certain styles of painted pottery and specific types of stone and bone tools. The keeping of domesticated turkeys, no doubt chiefly for the sake of the feathers, is also an Anasazi trait not found to the southward.

Sites of this group are found in the Upper Rio Grande area of New Mexico and in the northern Little Colorado drainage, as well as throughout the San Juan drainage, and also across southwestern Utah down the Virgin River to the Moapa Valley in southern Nevada. Most typical of the San Juan Anasazi which may also be called kiva culture or northern grayware complex is the Chaco-Mesa Verde group in southwesternmost Colorado and northwestern New Mexico. The locally manufactured painted pottery is black-on-white, and what redware is found here is presumed to have been brought in from the westward by trade. The early occupation of the Upper Rio Grande, and developments there until the first part of the fourteenth century, belong to this group. The peculiar Largo phase of the Gallina area can also be classified as a peripheral variant of the same general group, with elements of Plains derivation.

The most westerly Anasazi, of an early phase in southeastern Utah and in much of northeastern Arizona, differed in several respects. The most conspicuous of these is the production of black-on-red and polychrome orangeware as well as black-on-white pottery and rough plain or corrugated grayware. With the thirteenth century, in the final stage of this development, a localized kind of small square kiva appears in the Kayenta district of northern Arizona. The extension of Anasazi culture still farther westward, north of the Grand Canyon in Arizona and along the Virgin River through southwesternmost Utah down to the Moapa Valley in Nevada, consists largely of pottery resembling northeastern Arizona types, together with some actual trade pottery from that source. Structures are locally peculiar, puebloan in only a very

general way. True standardized kivas have not been found. A few of the diagnostic Anasazi traits, such as lambdoid cranial deformation and rather crude full-grooved stone axes, appear as far west as Nevada.

Toward 1300 A.D., the San Juan Anasazi groups disappeared as such, and most of the plateau was abandoned permanently by Pueblo Indians. The district of southern Nevada and southwestern Utah, along with certain others, may have been abandoned more than a hundred years earlier. There was evidently a decline in total population, notably in Chaco Canyon and probably also in certain other districts, well before the great drought which is inferred from tree rings as having occurred between 1275 and 1300. The drought and the consequent severe arroyo-cutting are thought to have caused the abandonment of the San Juan. There is also a widespread view that the Apaches, including the ancestral Navajo, were in the Southwest by 1300 and were responsible for the concentration of the Pueblos into defensible centers in the thirteenth century and for their final disappearance in various areas.

What became of the Pueblo Indians of southern Nevada and southwestern Utah is not known. The people of the Kayenta district undoubtedly came in to the Hopi country, in the northern drainage of the Little Colorado. Already occupied rather sparsely by people of Anasazi culture about this time, the Hopi area received increments of population of different cultural groups from several directions. It is the one section of the northern Anasazi domain which continued to be inhabited by Pueblo Indians after 1300. The people of the Mesa Verde phase in northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado moved to the Rio Grande, coming in across the Rio Puerco to the lower Jemez and the Galisteo Basin close to 1300.

The other main Pueblo grouping, or Mogollon complex, the second major subdivision of the Pueblo pattern, occupied principally the forested uplands, from the Mimbres Valley in south-

western New Mexico to the San Francisco Peaks in north-central Arizona. This complex likewise extended into adjoining desert areas, especially in southern New Mexico and western Chihuahua, also in southeastern Arizona and in the Petrified Forest area to the north. The boundary between this group and the San Juan Anasazi lies near the Little Colorado Valley in Arizona—south of the river in the Wupatki basin, north of it in the Petrified Forest area. The line is not far south of Zuñi, Acoma, and Isleta in New Mexico.

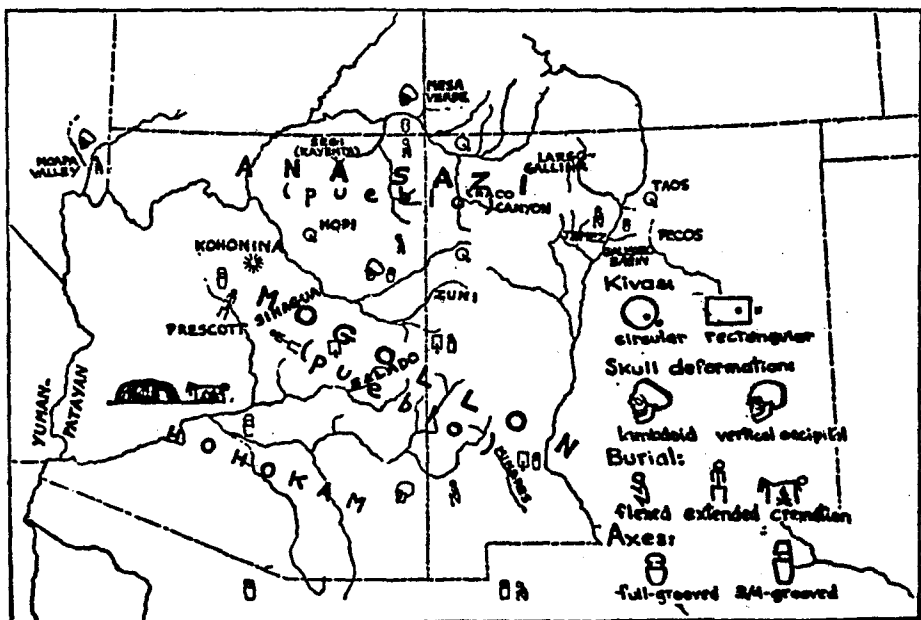
South of this approximate boundary the archaeological materials correspond in general to the broad Puebloan pattern, but they differ consistently in certain details from the San Juan Anasazi. Circular chambers are rare or are entirely lacking. In some districts rectangular kivas are found; in others no ceremonial rooms are definitely recognizable. The bulk of the pottery is polished brownware—plain and red-slipped, often with black-smudged bowl interiors, sometimes corrugated (and polished over the indentations), red-on-brown and red-on-white and other decorated types. In much of the region from about 800 to 1300 A.D. the painted pottery includes black-on-white as well as black-on-red; but in the fourteenth century consists almost wholly of polychrome redware. In the southern or brownware Pueblo groups, from the Pecos River to the Verde Valley, from before 500 A.D. to after 1500, cranial deformation was always vertical occipital and never, so far as known, of the lambdoid style current among the Anasazi of the northern Southwest. The stone axes are well finished and mostly three-quarter-grooved for a J-shaped haft, as in southern Arizona and western Mexico, seldom of the full-grooved (wrapped-haft) and often quite crude San Juan type. Turkey remains are not abundant and concentrated, as is frequently the case in northern sites, but consist of only a few bones, doubtless representing the occasional taking of wild birds.

Important local brownware sequences include the Mimbres development in southwestern New Mexico, the San Simon branch

in southeastern Arizona, the Cibola (or Salado) group in east-central Arizona, and the Sinagua complex in the Flagstaff district in the Verde Valley. Materials in Chihuahua, southern New Mexico, and west-central New Mexico also fall in the general Mogol-
lon group.

What became of the people of the Mimbres and Chihuahua complexes is unexplained. Very probably the Sinagua contributed to both Hopi and Pima. In the case of the Cibola-Salado group, expansion in several directions about 1300 A.D. is noted; but the culture reached its height in the central area at the same time and disappeared in eastern Arizona only about 1400 or even shortly after. Also at this time the people of the Salt River drainage presumably moved in large part into the Zuni country. Other Cibola-Salado elements may have gone north to Hopi and south to the Pima country.

The expansion of the Cibola-Salado around 1300 included cultural influence, and possibly actual migration of groups of people, to the southward, all across southeastern Arizona and much of southern New Mexico. Similar expansion also overran



the Hopi and Zuñi areas, previously occupied by people of San Juan Anasazi tradition. Rectangular kivas, redware, three-quarter-grooved stone axes, and vertical-occipital skull deformation superseded the corresponding Anasazi diagnostics in both these districts at about that time. A continuance eastward of this Cibola expansion reached the Upper Rio Grande, bringing glaze-paint redware, probably also the square kiva, perhaps other traits. Possibly it also brought the Keresan language, which is not related to the other languages of the Upper Rio Grande. The latter are Tanoan dialects (Tiwa, Tewa, and Jemez-Pecos or Towa), which may plausibly be correlated with archaeological elements of San Juan Anasazi culture.

In the western Arizona desert neither pueblos nor pit-houses are found. This area is marginal or even non-southwestern, and differs but little from Southern California on the opposite side of the Colorado River. The logical and proper system might be to consider Southern California and most of western Arizona a separate region. The people of this western desert are the Yuman tribes—Indians who speak a group of closely related languages. The Cocopa, Yuma, and Mohave are along the Colorado River below the turn at Black Canyon, where Hoover Dam (Boulder Dam) now stands. Yumas located away from the river comprise the Diegueño, Kamia, and others in Southern California, and the Walapai group (including Yavapai and Havasupai) in northwestern Arizona.

The Yumas have been concentrated along the lower Colorado in the same general area for centuries, although individual tribes have shifted about, or moved away from the river, and some have disappeared. There apparently was a considerable Yuman expansion several hundred years ago, out from the river in both directions, across Southern California to the coast and across northwestern Arizona as far as the Verde Valley (the Yavapai) and the San Francisco Mountains (the Havasupai). The early Spanish expeditions, from 1540 to 1605, found the Yuman-speaking

tribes, identifiable in their reports, in approximately their modern locations.

Archaeological remains along the lower Colorado River, and in the deserts on either side, obviously represent the Yumans from perhaps 1500 years ago to very recent times. Cultural remains include brownish pottery, manufactured with the use of a paddle and anvil, some of it decorated with simple designs in red paint; certain types of stone objects; and sea-shell ornaments. Fire hearths and indications of brush huts are found, but no pit-houses or structures of permanent materials. Undoubtedly agriculture was practiced from an early date, plus the collecting of wild plants, and hunting and fishing. The dead were evidently cremated. Many archaeologists call this material by another name, Patayan, because of the unavoidable lack of conclusive proof that it does indeed represent Yuman-speaking Indians.

Another strongly demarked archaeological group is the Hohokam of southern Arizona, with its focus in the Gila-Salt Basin around and south of Phoenix. Resembling in several important points what has been described above, the Hohokam culture may derive, at least in part, from a Yuman people. There are also traits of clearly Mexican affiliation; and one element may have been an immigrant group from the southward. Sites of Hohokam type, dating to periods ranging from thirteen or fourteen centuries ago, possibly much earlier, up to the 1100's, occur in the Gila Basin, the Salt River Valley, the Tonto Basin, and the Verde Valley.

The intensive agriculture of the Hohokam, with highly developed irrigation, concentrated on the same crops as Pueblo farming—corn, beans, squash (pumpkins), and cotton. Hunting was evidently unimportant, and bone tools are scarce. Excellent work was done in stone and sea shell. The micaceous red-on-buff Hohokam pottery, shaped with paddle and anvil, is unmistakable. Villages consisted of brush huts. Large oval structures identified

as ball courts, related to those of southern Mexico, are found. The Hohokam cremated their dead and buried the ashes with pottery and other funerary offerings.

Beginning soon after 1100, the desert territory of the Hohokam was subjected to certain cultural influences from the Pueblo area. In all likelihood there was actual immigration from the forested uplands to the north. The Pueblos involved were chiefly Sinagua, in the Verde Valley and lower Salt River, with Cibola-Salado in the Tonto Basin. At least certain historic Pima Indian tribes, as the Gila Pima and the Sobaipuri, are thought to derive from the blend of Hohokam with Sinagua and possibly other Pueblo groups.

Lying between the Mogollon-affiliated Sinagua complex and the Yuman-connected Patayan material, there are two western Arizona groups of somewhat debatable placement: the Kohonina branch or complex on the Coconino Plateau south of the Grand Canyon, and the Prescott branch in the upper Verde (Chino Valley) and upper Agua Fria. Both of these minor and little-known groups are in many respects Puebloan, but the pottery of each is similar to Yuman (Patayan) wares. For the Kohonina complex especially, in which burials are not found and cremation with scattering of ashes has been assumed, a Patayan relationship is suggested. In the Prescott group, however, extended inhumations are found, and other known traits are all very much like the contemporary thirteenth-century Sinagua, except for the pottery. It is very coarse, micaceous, orange to dark gray, with little polishing or painted decoration, reminiscent of Hohokam plainware and closely resembling certain Patayan (early Yuman) types of the Colorado River.

In modern times the plateau region of the San Juan Anasazi has belonged to the Navajo (an Apache tribe), the Ute (also hunters and raiders), and the Hopi Pueblos. In the Upper Rio Grande valley and at Acoma and Zúñi, as well as in the Hopi

country, Puebloan occupation has been continuous for more than a thousand years. There the Spaniards in the sixteenth century found the Pueblo Indians living, and there they still live today. Other localities, occupied in 1540 and into the 1600's or later, were abandoned between 1650 and 1850. These include subdistricts and individual large pueblos within the Upper Rio Grande area, as the Galisteo Basin and Pecos Pueblo. Entirely gone are the Piro Indians of the Rio Grande below Isleta, particularly near Socorro, and the Salinas district around Mountainair. The forested mountains and desert valleys of the southern Brownware people or Mogollon pueblos have been largely Apache country (and Yavapai, in central Arizona) in modern times. The former Hohokam domain of southern Arizona is the historic Pimería Alta, and the Patayan archaeology of western Arizona continues with no sharp break into the historic Yuman tribes.

Virtually the entire area defined as the archaeological Southwest is the historic province of New Mexico, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included the El Paso districts and the Hopi country. The Pima country of what is now southern Arizona was the northern frontier of the province of Sonora. If the Gadsden purchase had not been consummated, the Hohokam complex would be Mexican, geographically as well as archaeologically.

Actual settlement of New Mexico by Spanish colonists concentrated along the Rio Grande. Only a few Franciscan missionary priests and occasional military expeditions entered the wilderness of the Navajos and the other Apaches. Consequently the tradition and atmosphere and the architecture of New Spain, as well as of the original Pueblo inhabitants, are found today in the Upper Rio Grande area within a hundred-mile radius of Santa Fe. A line roughly northwestward from Glorieta Pass, where Kearney crossed unopposed in August, 1846, to occupy Santa Fe for the United States, and where the Texan invasion of

New Mexico in 1861 was thrown back by Union troops, traverses all the layers of Southwestern history, from drive-in theaters and atomic-bomb laboratories back through eighteenth-century churches to pre-Spanish cliff dwellings and still-occupied pueblos of the native Indians.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A list of references on Southwestern archaeology would be inadmissibly long, and most of them are concerned with restricted areas or phases; the general studies and popular surveys are more or less inadequate or misleading.

Discussion of the northern Anasazi groups is based on a large number of sources. For the Yuman-Patayan area I have depended primarily on a paper by Malcolm J. Rogers, "An Outline of Yuman Prehistory," in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Summer, 1945, and on unpublished work of G. C. Baldwin and of A. H. Schroeder. For the Hohokam the most important monograph is *Excavations at Snaketown*, Vol. I, *Material Culture*, by H. S. Gladwin, E. W. Haury, and E. B. Sayles, 1937. In addition to the material from Snaketown (a dig in which I had the privilege of participating under Dr. Haury's supervision), I have drawn on published and unpublished work of A. H. Schroeder, especially his paper, "Did the Sinagua of the Verde Valley Settle in the Salt River Valley?" in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Autumn, 1947. The authoritative source for the Sinagua branch generally is Dr. H. S. Colton's *The Sinagua*, Museum of Northern Arizona, 1946. For the relationships between Mogollon and Anasazi, I must refer to papers of my own published chiefly in *El Palacio* and *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* during the past few years.