The chant mentions an ocatillo stockade. Recent archaeological investigations have located stockade structures made of perishable materials surrounding platform mounds. The accounts tell of attacking Pueblo Grande on the Salt River but then differ as to other Salt River sites. The traditional histories also tell of a catastrophic flood that followed a drought during the time of the warfare. Streamflow studies (Graybill 1989) have verified a drought and approximately contemporary flood in 1358.

Finally, at the conclusion of the war, the traditional history states that some of the O'Odham went north to the pueblos. Others went south where the Pima and Akinel O'Odham now live. Those who left the region were from the Salt River villages west of Pueblo Grande. They were fleeing both the social disruption and the floods. Those who went south intermarried with newcomers and became the modern Akinel O'Odham.

If such a battle and movement of O'Odham to the Pueblos occurred, logically, Pueblo peoples should have similar accounts. As 'Teague (1993) relates, they do. One traditional Hopi history specifies that a series of related clans, including the Water Clan, originated in the south at Palatkwapi. Although one version identifies Palatkwapi with a Sinagua site on the Verde River, another states that it is near Phoenix, beyond the Superstition Mountain. A segment of that history related by 'Teague includes a description of prosperous Hopi with fields irrigated by canals from the river and “taxation by means of doing some donation work on the canals and ditches at certain times of year” (Nequatewa 1936, quoted in 'Teague 1993). The description is significant, of course, since riverine irrigation is not possible at Hopi. Finally, specific incidents of the battle are included in both O'Odham and Hopi versions of the story.

It should not be surprising that traditional histories are historically accurate, as both these and the history of Awatovi demonstrate. An additional aspect of these histories that corroborates our enhanced understanding of the period just prior to European contact is the facility, and apparent frequency, with which different peoples were incorporated into other societies. Perhaps it was the existence and continuation of social institutions that had served to incorporate the heterogenous populations that came together after the Four Corners region was abandoned that permitted some O'Odham to become Hopi. It is possible too, that some Athapaskan speakers were nearly incorporated as well.

**SOUTHERN ATHAPASKANS: APACHE AND NAVAJO**

Today, the closest neighbors of many of the traditional peoples of the Southwest are Athapaskan-speaking Indians whose original homelands are in interior Alaska and Canada. One Athapaskan-speaking tribe, the Navajo, has the fastest rate of population growth of any North American Indian tribe. Despite their prominence in the twentieth century, there is little agreement among scholars regarding when these peoples entered the Southwest or by which routes they came (see Chapter 11). Unfortunately, most archaeological data are ambiguous on these issues; there are problems interpreting the early historic documents and linguistic data as well.
Since the introduction of European livestock, most southern Athapaskan groups have pursued a way of life that includes limited agriculture and stock raising. The "typical" residence pattern is generally dispersed, and most groups moved several times each year to obtain grazing land for their livestock. Agricultural techniques are identical to those of other Southwestern peoples. Much of the material culture that is recognizable as southern Athapaskan relates to their adaptations as stockmen (Figure 12.11), for example, single-family shelters (either wickiups or hogans), corrals, sheep pens, and saddles. Because livestock was introduced into the Southwest by the Spaniards, the herding adaptation and associated material culture are not useful in identifying southern Athapaskan remains that date prior to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

It is also well known that the southern Athapaskans have displayed considerable adaptive flexibility over time, a fact reflected in the settlement patterns and items of material culture available for archaeological study. For example, during the Refugee period following the Pueblo Revolt and de Vargas's reconquest, Navajo and Pueblo refugees lived together in the Largo-Gobernador area. The refugee sites consist of stone masonry pueblos, which are defensively located and impressive in their extent (Brugge 1983). Navajos produced a polychrome pottery that was similar to contemporary
Pueblo styles. Reed and Reed (1992b) suggest that the pottery, Gobernador Polychrome, which is distinctively Navajo, is also within the Hopi Yellow ware tradition. Their view is that at least some groups of Navajos were participating with Hopis in a broadly structured system of alliance and interaction. On the eastern edge of the Southwest, some archaeologists (Gunnerson 1969; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971) regard a particular type of micaceous pottery as Apachen, while others (Schaaschma 1976) find it difficult to distinguish between similar types produced at Taos, Picuris, and Nambe pueblos in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If so, perhaps the easternmost Navajos and Apaches were also allied to their Pueblo neighbors.

The early Spanish documents are also ambiguous regarding the identification of Southern Athapaskans. The Spaniards at first used the term Querecho to refer to any nomadic group of people they encountered. Some scholars (e.g., Forbes 1960; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971; Schroeder 1979b) routinely translate Querecho as “Apache” and suggest that the Spanish descriptions might be valuable clues to the distribution of these people in the sixteenth century. Opler, however, argues that Queretcho was a generic term, noting specifically that “whenever the traits described are more specific, they do not seem to be particularly Apachen” (1983:83). Upham (1982:47–51), in fact, suggests that some of the peoples that the early accounts refer to as Queretcho may have been indigenous Pueblo peoples who were not living within compact villages, but pursuing a more mobile way of life, perhaps living in rancherias. The concern here, however, is that none of the usual sorts of information—material culture, historical linguistics, or Spanish documents—is an unambiguous guide to the identification of early historic or protohistoric southern Athapaskan remains.

SPANIARDS, PUEBLOS, AND BUFFALO HUNTERS

A less detailed and generally quite different scenario of the effects of Spanish and Pueblo interaction is available from Pecos (Kessell 1979; Kidder 1958; Spielmann 1983, 1991a) and Las Humanas (Gran Quivira) (Hayes et al. 1981; Spielmann 1989, 1990, 1991) on the extreme eastern edge of the Pueblo world. Here, the groups involved included nomadic Apache and the Comanche from the Plains in addition to Pueblos and Spaniards. The official Spanish Colonial documents and the letters of colonists are supplemented by archaeological work of Kidder (1958) at Pecos; Vivian (1964), Hayes (Hayes et al. 1981), and Spielmann (1991a) at Las Humanas; and Speth (1990, 1991) at sites on the extreme western edge of the southern Great Plains. In addition, Habicht-Mauhe (1991) contributes an important study of some of the material culture of the protohistoric southern Plains groups. The rich documentary history of Pecos has been synthesized by historian John Kessell (1979). Only the most cursory sketch of this work can be given here.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a convergence of processes affecting the Rio Grande area and the southern Plains brought about well-developed interactions among groups of both areas. Pueblo farmers experienced increasing climatic deterioration at the same time that their population was swelled by refugees from the Four
Corners. Concurrently, the Plains margins that for centuries had been occupied by
generalized hunter-gatherers came to be inhabited by new groups who, while still
nomadic, were more specialized bison hunters.

Whenever they could, the Pueblos of Pecos and Las Humanas planted enough
corn to ensure a surplus, aiming at being able to store two years’ worth of corn and
seed corn. Spielmann (1991a) notes that an economy based on mutually beneficial
exchange developed between Pueblos and Plains groups in the mid-fifteenth and six-
teenth centuries. Pecos and Las Humanas, the eastern border pueblos, became centers
of articulation between Pueblos and Plains. They took in both Pueblo and Plains
products and transferred goods between the two areas. Bison hides and meat moved
west from Pecos and Las Humanas. Corn, pottery, obsidian, and turquoise moved east
(see also Baugh 1991; Levine 1991). The historic record documents annual trade fairs
that took place at Pecos when semi-nomadic Plains hunters camped at the pueblo for
weeks while engaged in exchange. Kidder’s excavations at Pecos yielded Plains-
manufactured items such as knives made of Allibates flint from Texas and Apache ceramics.

The trade, however, was more than a reciprocal exchange of material goods.
Habicht-Mauhe (1987, 1991) shows that between 1500 and 1700, southern Plains
groups not only accepted Rio Grande Pueblo-made glaze decorated pottery but were
producing their own version of Pueblo unpainted cooking and storage ware. Finding
such vessels on sites far to the east of the Pecos River, in camping places used by semi-
nomadic hunters, reflects the existence of intensive relations between Pueblo and Plains peoples. Habicht-Mauhe maintains that the cooking pottery demonstrates that
a tradition of food-preparation and the technology associated with it were disseminated.
For this to have happened, interactions must have been very close, possibly
involving intermarriage.

The first Spanish capital established in 1598 at San Gabriel del Yunque at the
confluence of the Rio Chama and the Rio Grande at San Juan Pueblo (Figure 12.1)
and the second capital, built in 1610 at Santa Fe, were much closer to the Rio Grande
Pueblos than were any Spanish administrative centers to Hopi. Further, Hispanic colonists
established themselves in the Rio Grande Valley, whereas there were no Spanish
Colonial villages in the vicinity of the Hopi. The proximity of the Spaniards and
Pueblos allowed the Spaniards to directly tax the Rio Grande Pueblos for labor and
tribute. At the same time, the more nomadic Plains tribes came to demand European
products such as horses, guns, and iron tools.

The pre-Revolt Spanish tax on Pueblo labor and the demand of the Spanish
Empire for tribute in corn, hides, and tallow disrupted the ongoing exchange between
Pueblos and Plains peoples. Pueblos could not produce enough to feed themselves,
pay tribute to the Spaniards, and maintain their obligations to trade with their neighbors
on the Plains. Further, the Spaniards themselves entered into trade with the Plains
groups. One of the changes that seems to have occurred in this case was the development
among the Pueblos of factionalized communities and an incipient class system
composed of high status leaders versus everyone else. The leaders acted as middlemen
for the Spaniards both in collecting tribute and coordinating the trade of Pueblo goods
for products from the Plains. As long as tribute was paid and trade maintained, they
were able to enrich themselves to some degree at the expense of their own communities and the Spaniards. When there were agricultural shortfalls and the Pueblos could not meet their trade obligations, the situation deteriorated into armed conflict between Pueblo and Plains groups, especially the Comanche. After the reconquest, this raiding and warfare contributed significantly to eventual abandonment of Pecos, Las Hu-
manas, and other eastern margin villages.

The Spanish documents report that Colonial Governors dealt only with specific leaders or headmen among the Pueblos. Sometimes, these individuals were provided with goods to exchange with the Plains peoples. At the time of the Revolt, the leaders at Pecos and the Galisteo Basin Pueblos were not interested in taking part in the Revolt although the populace of these pueblos did. At least some of the disorder and internal fighting that characterized the period between 1680 and the beginning of reconquest in 1692 stems from this insidious factionalism.

The changes European conquest wrought on the Pueblos cannot be overestimated. At the most basic level, European diseases, such as smallpox, that were accidentally transmitted to the Pueblos drastically reduced their numbers. The death toll was also increased by over-taxing Pueblo labor and taking food from the villages by force, and through the internecine fighting and hostilities among Pueblos, Apache, and Co-
manche. While the Europeans did introduce new crops and domestic animals that supplemented the dogs and turkeys the Pueblos already had, European livestock changed the character of the native vegetation. Familiar gathered foods that might have made the difference between survival and starvation when maize crops were poor, no longer grew in abundance in the altered habitat.

DISCUSSION

Following the abandonment of large areas of the Southwest in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, large aggregated communities were founded in previously sparsely inhabited areas. Some of these sites are recognized as ancestral villages by modern Pueblo people. At some of these sites, too, rock art and kiva mural representations depict figures that are recognizably aspects of katsina ritual, which is an important component of modern Pueblo religion.

Other aspects of the archaeological record of the fourteenth century depart from modern Pueblo culture. For example, the stylistic homogeneity in ceramic design, an abundance of traded ceramics at some sites, and the detailed similarities among the kiva mural depictions from widely separated areas suggest a higher level of intervillage interaction than is characteristic of the modern period. The nature of relations among aggregated villages is the subject of research and scholarly disagreement.

The year 1540 marks the end of the pre-Columbian period in the Southwest. The imposition of Spanish Colonial policies and the introduction of European diseases, new crops, and domestic animals forever disrupted traditional patterns of adaptation. The written accounts of the Spanish chroniclers, however, provide the first views of Southwestern societies from a European perspective. The documentary data are a rich
source of information that can greatly elucidate the archaeological record. There are, of course, ambiguities in the documentary history, but comparisons of the Native American and Spanish histories and archaeological records, as demonstrated by the work at Awatovi and Walpi, are leading to a clearer understanding of the ways events are reflected in the archaeological record. It is hoped that innovative use of these materials will eventually provide a better basis for understanding both the prehispanic period and the historic integration of traditional Southwestern cultures and their southern Athapaskan neighbors.

CONCLUSION

The Southwest provides an extraordinary record of human behavior over a period of 11,000 years. The archaeological remains have been of interest to scholars for more than 100 years. Archaeology in the Southwest, as elsewhere, has become increasingly specialized and technical, and it is probably impossible to present a synthesis of the ancient Southwest that adequately represents all the complexities of the “current state of the art.” Nevertheless, my intent has been to provide the interested student with a means of access to the vast literature of southwestern archaeology and a sense of both the current understanding of the past and the areas of disagreement requiring new and innovative research. One of my hopes is that some interested students will be inspired to conduct the research that needs to be done and that others will develop an enhanced appreciation for the record of human accomplishments in the Southwest.

The Southwest is of interest for many reasons that have been examined in the preceding chapters. From my perspective, one of the most intriguing is the record it provides of flexible and heterogeneous responses to environmental diversity and extremes. The arid Southwestern climate, with cold winters and hot summers, establishes a difficult baseline for human societies. The long archaeological record indicates that successful adaptation was accomplished, in part, by maintaining a diversity of subsistence and organizational options. At any one time, the people of the Southwest engaged in a mosaic of behavioral strategies, ensuring the success of at least some of them.

Chapter-opening art: Historic photo of the Hopi village of Mishognovi (photograph courtesy of the University of Colorado Museum).