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The Pueblo IV Zuni Region

Throughout the history of North American archaeology, researchers have conceived of regions as spatial units of analysis. The American Southwest is no exception, and our current regional concepts are deeply rooted in the culture area concept (Duff 2000; Neitzel 2000). Although the region as a unit of analysis is expedient when delineating spatial and temporal components for archaeological investigations, at issue is the scale at which individuals within archaeologically defined regions focused their social interactions and conceived of their social identities. I am not the first to argue that the concept of region is too large and abstract to have been a meaningful entity to people on a daily basis and that smaller scale organizational units operated within regions (Bernardini 2002, 2005; Mills 2007; see also Neitzel 1999; Hegmon 2000). These organizational units included, among other things, the individual nucleated pueblo, complementary pairs of pueblos, and clustered groups of pueblos within regions. There must also have been internal subdivisions within pueblos based on gender, households, kinship, ritual societies, or other social groups, but these kinds of subdivisions are much more difficult to detect archaeologically.

The Zuni region (Fig. 1.1), the focus of this volume, is part of the larger Cibola cultural area of east-central Arizona and west-central New Mexico. It includes some 4,800 square kilometers (1,853 square miles) of the Zuni River drainage, all of the present-day Zuni Reservation, the El Morro Valley to the east of the reservation, and Jaralosa Draw, located south of the reservation boundary (Duff 2000; Kintigh 1996). I include Jaralosa Draw within the traditional boundaries of the Zuni region (Kintigh 1996: 132) even though this area may also have had close ties with the Upper Little Colorado area (Duff 1999, 2002). Pueblos in the El Morro Valley likely also had ties to Ácoma, with which Zuni shared a ceramic tradition (Dittert 1998).

During the Pueblo IV period, defined in this volume following Adams and Duff (2004: 3) as A.D. 1275–1600, the archaeological record suggests that there were

fundamental shifts in the scales at which social group membership was defined. Although many parts of the northern Southwest were abandoned, large populations in other areas became concentrated in single, apartment-like structures called nucleated pueblos. In the Zuni region and elsewhere in the Western Pueblo area, nucleated pueblos often were clustered across the landscape and shared similarities in material culture, particularly decorated pottery (Duff 2000; Upham 1982). This phenomenon has led a number of researchers to propose the development of multipueblo sociopolitical integration at the level of pueblo clusters (LeBlanc 1989, 2000; Upham 1982). Some researchers focus on interactions within nucleated pueblos and relatively strong intrapueblo integration as primary structuring principles in Pueblo IV social life (Bernardini 1998; Reid and Whittlesey 1999); others postulate regional integration via centralized political systems (Upham 1982; Upham and Reed 1989). Situated between these extremes are various scholars who surmise some degree of regional sociopolitical integration in the absence of centralized authority. Such integration may have taken the form of informal, periodic suprapueblo entities (Habicht-Mauche 1993; Spielmann 1994), alliances among equal polities (LeBlanc 1989, 2000), decision-making hierarchies (Lightfoot and Upham 1989; F. Plog 1985; F. Plog and Upham 1983; Stone 1992; Upham and F. Plog 1986; Wilcox 1991), or complementary relationships between pueblo pairs (Potter 1997; Potter and Perry 2000).

The term pueblo herein refers to a block of contiguous rooms used mainly for permanent habitation. Ranging widely in size, the pueblo was the basic building block for residential settlements in the Zuni region and across the northern Southwest after about A.D. 1000. The nucleated pueblo is a distinctive Pueblo IV phenomenon incorporating multiple, contiguous room blocks into a single, apartmentlike structure. Contemporaneous nucleated pueblos often form spatially distinct clusters, or groups, with unoccupied areas between clusters. I

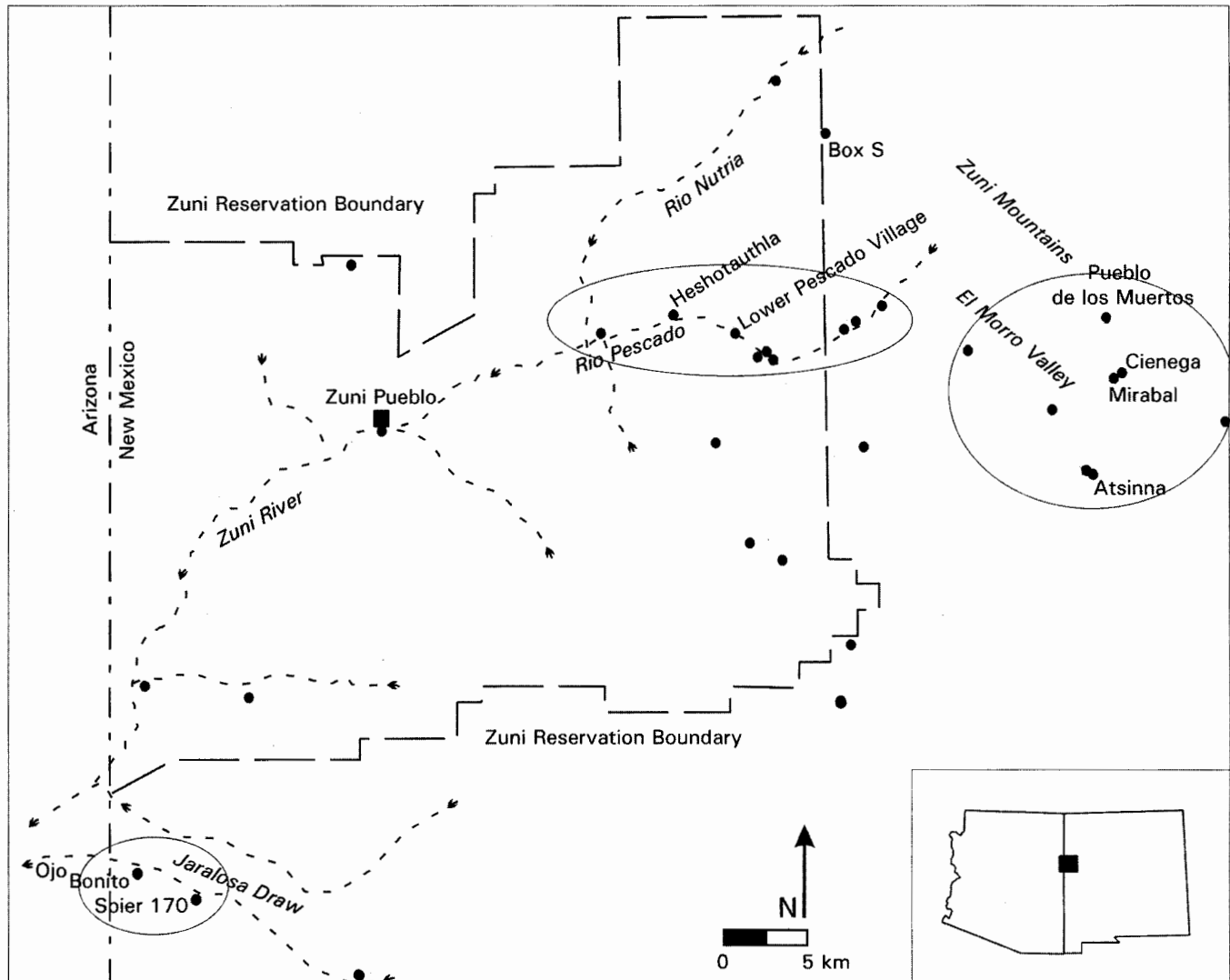


Figure 1.1. Pueblo IV sites (dots) in the Zuni region with sampled pueblos identified; circles enclose pueblo clusters.

generally reserve the term village or town (except where the term is part of a proper name, as in the case of Lower Pescado Village) for non-nucleated pueblos with separate room blocks in close proximity (that is, aggregated), much like the present-day Pueblo of Zuni. I use the term community not only in the sense of an identifiable residential group, but also in the sense of multiple residential groups linked by political, economic, and social ties (Wills and Leonard 1994: xiii–xv). This flexible definition means that communities may be identified at multiple scales.

ZUNI REGION CHRONOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Because the traditional Pecos classification (Kidder 1924) typically is not applied to the Zuni region (indeed, its use is somewhat problematic for much of the ancestral Pueblo Southwest; Adams and Duff 2004: 3–5), an explanation of the chronology used throughout this monograph is necessary. Prior to about A.D. 1150 in the Zuni region, the Pecos classification of Basketmaker II through Pueblo II/Chaco era is generally accepted.

However, the period A.D. 1150–1275, which falls within the Pecos Pueblo III period, is now termed the post-Chaco era (Fowler and Stein 1992; Kintigh 1994, 1996; Kintigh and others 1996). The appearance of nucleated pueblos in the Zuni region (and elsewhere) around A.D. 1275 marks the transition to the Pueblo IV period.

Recent research indicates the Pueblo IV period can be subdivided into three phases: A.D. 1275–1325, 1325–1400, and 1400–1600 (see also Adams 2002; Adams and Duff 2004; Duff 2000, 2002; Mills and Herr 1999). Across much of the Western Pueblo world, these intervals correspond with changes in ceramic design and technology, as well as shifts in settlement patterns and architectural layouts (Adams and Duff 2004: 3–4). Throughout this volume I use the term early Pueblo IV for the time period A.D. 1275–1325 and late Pueblo IV for the time period A.D. 1325–1400, recognizing that these subdivisions are specific to portions of the Western Pueblo area, including the Zuni region. Because the third interval, A.D. 1400–1600, is marked by a major shift in Zuni region settlement organization and many pueblos founded during this interval continued to be occupied into the historic period, I refer to this interval as protohistoric (Huntley and Kintigh 2004; Kintigh 1990, 2000).

According to Duff (2002: 43), the Zuni region conforms to traditional notions of the “ideal” region based on its consistent developmental history, its stable and high population levels during a long period of time compared to surrounding regions, and its distinctive material culture assemblage. Nevertheless, regional patterns of settlement organization changed dramatically through time and scales of interactions presumably did as well.

Between A.D. 1000 and 1150, corresponding with the late Chaco period, much of the Zuni region population lived in pueblos of 10 to 20 rooms (Kintigh 1985a, 2007). The larger room blocks often had an associated subterranean kiva. Some room blocks were dispersed and others were loosely clustered in what appear to have been communities (Kintigh and others 2004), the largest of which had more than 150 rooms, although probably not all rooms were simultaneously occupied. During the post-Chacoan period (A.D. 1150–1250), larger aggregated villages of 500 rooms or more in multiple room blocks were constructed (Kintigh and others 1996). Post-Chacoan communities in the Zuni region were often focused around great houses and oversized, apparently unroofed, great kivas (Duff 1993; Eckert

1995; Huntley and Schachner 1999; Kintigh and others 1996; Schachner 2007).

Beginning around A.D. 1250 at the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition (Potter 1997), patterns of community organization in the Zuni region changed dramatically with the construction of the first nucleated pueblos (Duff 2000; Kintigh 1985a; LeBlanc 2001; Schachner 2007). Much of what we know about Pueblo IV settlement patterns is based on previous seriations of ceramic assemblages from several archaeological surveys and excavations (Kintigh 1985a; Spier 1917; Watson and others 1980). Fortunately, the relative abundances of different Pueblo IV pottery types made in the Zuni region changed rapidly and these pottery types are reasonably well cross-dated using stratigraphic associations and tree-ring dates (Chapter 2). Available data indicate that 41 large, nucleated pueblos were built in the Zuni region between A.D. 1250 and 1540 (Huntley and Kintigh 2004). By A.D. 1300 at the latest, the entire Zuni-area population apparently resided in nucleated pueblos.

Nucleated pueblos are distinguished from earlier large, aggregated villages in that the former typically consisted of a single block of contiguous rooms (between 200 and 1,200 total) surrounding a central plaza (Kintigh 1985a; Spier 1917). Most nucleated pueblos clearly were planned and appear to have been built during a short period of time, although some rooms were often added later (Anyon 1987; Duff 2000, 2002; Kintigh 1985a; Watson and others 1980). In the Zuni region, nucleated pueblos were constructed in a limited number of architectural forms: either generally rectangular or oval. Some of the earliest Pueblo IV nucleated pueblos were irregular and a few had a composite oval and rectangular shape (Kintigh 1985a). Huntley and Kintigh (2004) argue that the oval and rectangular architectural configurations were contemporaneous and that the different shapes must have been socially meaningful. One interpretation, advanced by Potter (1997; Potter and Perry 2000), is that Pueblo IV Zuni cosmology was embodied in the ritual interdependence of rectangular-shaped and oval-shaped nucleated pueblos.

Notably, nucleated pueblos were initially formed by the coalescence of populations that had previously lived in aggregated communities. Many aggregated communities likely incorporated groups that were similar in size to the populations of nucleated pueblos, but, significantly, their layouts, which consisted of multiple room blocks, afforded some degree of physical and social

separation among neighbors. During the Pueblo IV period, relative strangers suddenly found themselves sharing walls within the highly structured and consolidated spaces of nucleated pueblos.

There were both dramatic and subtle changes in Zuni region settlement patterns during the Pueblo IV period. Huntley and Kintigh (2004) identify two to three groups of spatially clustered pueblos and several isolated pueblos. Although the locations and configurations of pueblo clusters varied through time, they were typically between 8 km and 10 km (5–6.2 miles) across, were separated from each other by 16 km to 20 km (10–12.4 miles), and contained between three and five pueblos each. Figure 1.1 shows the locations of all known Pueblo IV nucleated pueblos within the Zuni region. Sites discussed in detail are labeled, as are pueblo clusters. It is unlikely that additional large pueblos remain to be discovered within the region. Since Spier's (1917) survey, only one new nucleated pueblo, Pescado Canyon, has been reported.

Early Pueblo IV nucleated pueblos (A.D. 1275–1325) were consistently located at higher elevations (more than 2,013 m; 6,600 feet) compared with late Pueblo IV period (A.D. 1325–1400) pueblos and in a wider variety of topographic locations, including mesa tops and canyon floors (Kintigh 1985a). Both rectangular and oval pueblos were common, and at least two pueblos had a composite layout including oval and rectangular components. During the early Pueblo IV period, a large concentration of eight nucleated pueblos was situated in the El Morro Valley. Other early Pueblo IV settlements were located along the Pescado, Nutria, and Zuni rivers, in the vicinity of the southeastern portion of the modern Zuni Indian Reservation, and along Jaralosa Draw.

During the late Pueblo IV period, several new nucleated pueblos were built and some founded during the early Pueblo IV period were no longer occupied or had reduced populations (Duff 2000; Kintigh 1985a). Many fewer nucleated pueblos overall were occupied during the late Pueblo IV period and there were none with a thousand rooms or more. With the exception of Lower Pescado Village, which probably housed a small number of people into the fifteenth century (Rothschild and Dublin 1995) and Halona:wa North (Zuni Pueblo), all of the large Pueblo IV nucleated pueblos in the Zuni region were unoccupied by the late 1300s.

Spatial clustering of nucleated pueblos during the late Pueblo IV period is even more obvious than during the preceding early Pueblo IV period. During the late

Pueblo IV interval the El Morro Valley cluster contained three pueblos (Pueblo de los Muertos, Cienega, and Atsinna) and the Pescado Springs cluster contained five pueblos (Heshotauthla; Lower Pescado Village; and West, Lower, and Upper Pescado ruins). An additional isolated pair of pueblos (perhaps representing a cluster) was located in Jaralosa Draw. Late Pueblo IV period clusters were around 10 km (6.2 miles) across and were separated from other clusters by at least 20 km (12.4 miles). Intracluster pueblo spacing also changed from a few hundred meters, on average, during the early Pueblo IV period to a few kilometers in the late Pueblo IV period, although late Pueblo IV Pescado Springs and Pescado West are only about a hundred meters apart.

In addition to spatial clustering of nucleated pueblos, there are indications that regional variability in demography and settlement patterns may have persisted over a long time. For example, the eastern portion of the Zuni region was more densely populated throughout the Pueblo IV period than the region's western and southern portions (Kintigh 1996; Kintigh and others 2004; Watson and others 1980). Furthermore, the residents of Heshotauthla Pueblo apparently had a longer history in the immediate area (although with significant population in-migration) than did inhabitants of the El Morro Valley, Box S Pueblo, or Lower Pescado Village. Full-coverage survey of 10.4 square kilometers (4 square miles) surrounding Heshotauthla Pueblo indicates the presence of small-scale settlement clusters in this area as early as A.D. 900 (Kintigh and others 2004: 41). Local populations apparently coalesced into the pueblo of Heshotauthla around A.D. 1275.

The El Morro Valley, in contrast, was sparsely populated before about A.D. 1225, when immigrants to the region constructed the aggregated Scribe S community, a village of clustered room blocks (Kintigh 1985a; Kintigh and others 2004; LeBlanc 2000; Watson and others 1980). The Scribe S inhabitants apparently also built and occupied the planned, nucleated pueblo of Pueblo de los Muertos around the same time that Heshotauthla Pueblo was constructed. Systematic survey is lacking for the areas surrounding Lower Pescado Village and Box S Pueblo, but there is little evidence of substantial population in the vicinity of Box S prior to A.D. 1250 and prior to A.D. 1300 near Lower Pescado Village (Kintigh 1985a, 1996, Appendix).

Another major shift in settlement locations occurred with the onset of the protohistoric period. Beginning around A.D. 1400, the eastern and southernmost portions

Table 1.1. Characteristics of Sampled Zuni Sites

Site	Location	Layout	No. of Rooms	Occupation Dates	Dating Method
Pueblo de los Muertos	El Morro Valley	Rectangular	880	A.D. 1275–1375	Tree-rings; ceramic seriation
Atsinna	El Morro Valley	Rectangular	875	A.D. 1275–1385	Tree-rings; ceramic seriation
Cienega	El Morro Valley	Oval	500	A.D. 1275–1375	Tree-rings; ceramic seriation
Mirabal	El Morro Valley	Oval	740	A.D. 1275–1325	Tree-rings; ceramic seriation
Heshotauthla	Pescado Basin	Oval (?)	875	A.D. 1275–1385	Tree-rings; ceramic seriation
Lower Pescado Village	Pescado Basin	Oval (?)	420 (?)	A.D. 1300–1400*	Ceramic seriation
Box S Pueblo	North-central Zuni region	Rectangular	1000+	A.D. 1225–1290	Ceramic seriation
Ojo Bonito	Southwest Zuni region	Rectangular	225	A.D. 1300–1385	Ceramic seriation
Spier 170	Southwest Zuni region	Trapezoidal	200	A.D. 1300–1385	Ceramic seriation

NOTE: Data compiled by Huntley and Kintigh (2004, Appendix).

*There may have been an earlier occupation that was not sampled.

of the Zuni region were abandoned and the entire regional population became concentrated into nine villages, many of which were occupied into the historic period (Kintigh 1985a, 1996; Watson and others 1980). Nucleated pueblos were replaced by similarly sized settlements that generally had multiple room blocks and plazas.

Protohistoric villages often appear unplanned compared with earlier nucleated pueblos, and their final complex architectural configurations may be the result of a long period of accretional growth. Kintigh (2000) provides evidence for inequality in religious and political authority among these towns and argues that inter-village variability in mortuary goods reflects social and political boundary maintenance, possibly even ethnic differences, among them. Such ethnic differences may have had their origin in the demographic reorganization of the preceding early and late Pueblo IV periods.

There are a number of possible reasons why population movement was so pervasive during the Pueblo IV period. The simplest explanation is the need to find suitable marriage partners, because it is unlikely that nucleated pueblos could have been entirely endogamous. Social stress and factionalism may have been major reasons for people to move. In fact, Duff (2002) attributes the complete abandonment of many nucleated pueblos to factionalism. Most nucleated pueblos, although they were clearly the result of a planned design and substantial labor investment, were nevertheless occupied only for a few generations (Duff 2000).

As some pueblos were abandoned and others were founded during the course of the Pueblo IV period, populations were again reshuffled. There is no reason to assume that such movement involved the wholesale relocation of the residents of individual nucleated pueblos. It seems more likely, as first suggested by Kintigh (1985a), that the shifting locations of nucleated pueblos within the Pueblo IV Zuni region were the result of the combining and recombining of various social groups, each bringing with them preexisting social connections. These preexisting connections, along with social pressures resulting from regular population movement and regional demographic variability, probably introduced an element of instability into everyday social discourse that resulted in the constant renegotiation of social relationships.

DESCRIPTIONS OF SAMPLED PUEBLOS

I sampled ceramic assemblages from nine Pueblo IV period nucleated pueblos in the Zuni region (Table 1.1). Of these, four are located in the El Morro Valley in the eastern Zuni region (Pueblo de los Muertos, Atsinna, Cienega, and Mirabal), two are located in the central Zuni region along the Rio Pescado (Heshotauthla Pueblo and Lower Pescado Village), one is located in the northern Zuni region (Box S Pueblo), and two are located along Jaralosa Draw in the southwest Zuni region (Spier 170 and Ojo Bonito; Fig. 1.1). A distance of approximately 25 km (15.5 miles) separates Hesho-

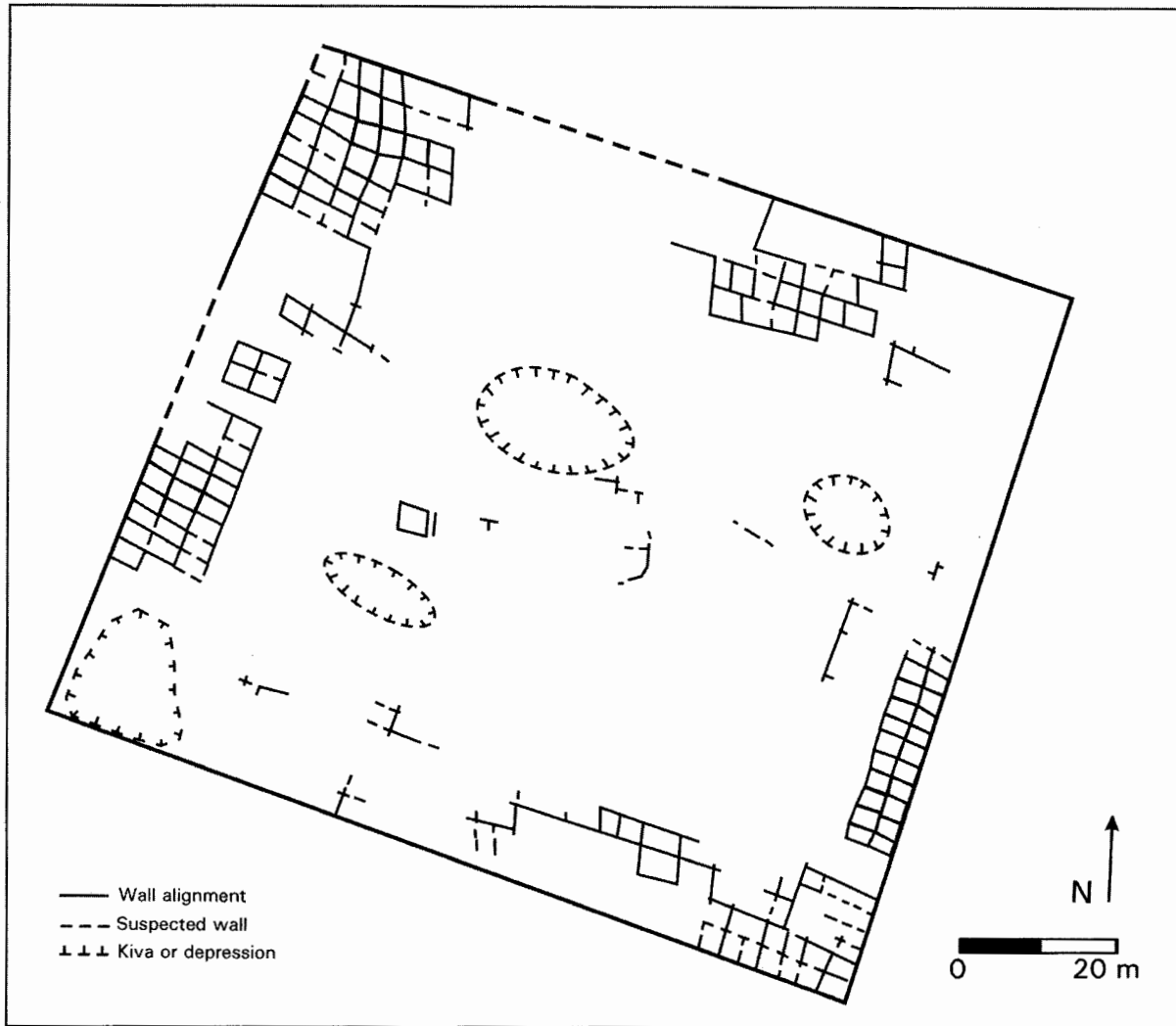


Figure 1.2. Pueblo de los Muertos site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985a, Fig. 4.32; Watson and others 1980, Fig. 4).

tauthla and Lower Pescado Village from the El Morro Valley pueblos. Box S Pueblo is located approximately 15 km (9.3 miles) northeast of Lower Pescado Village. Ojo Bonito and Spier 170 are located more than 50 km (31 miles) from Heshotauthla in the far southwestern periphery of the Zuni region. I selected these pueblos because they had roughly contemporaneous occupations during the Pueblo IV period (Table 1.1) and because most have accessible ceramic collections from excavated contexts (a few have surface collections only). Because our knowledge of many of these pueblos has changed somewhat since Kintigh's (1985a) study, I provide a brief description and plan view for each pueblo and include a history of archaeological investigations and summary of available occupation dates. Pueblo chronol-

ogies are based on tree-ring dates (where available) and ceramic cross-dating.

Pueblo de los Muertos

Pueblo de los Muertos (Fig. 1.2; LA1585; CS 139) is one of several large, nucleated pueblos located in the El Morro Valley (Fig. 1.1). The available archaeological evidence suggests that the pueblo was constructed according to a preconceived plan with later additions (Watson and others 1980). Pueblo de los Muertos is rectangular in shape and consists of three to four rows of rooms on each side of an open plaza (Fig. 1.2). The inner rows of rooms are built over plaza trash and thus appear to have been added some time after the pueblo's

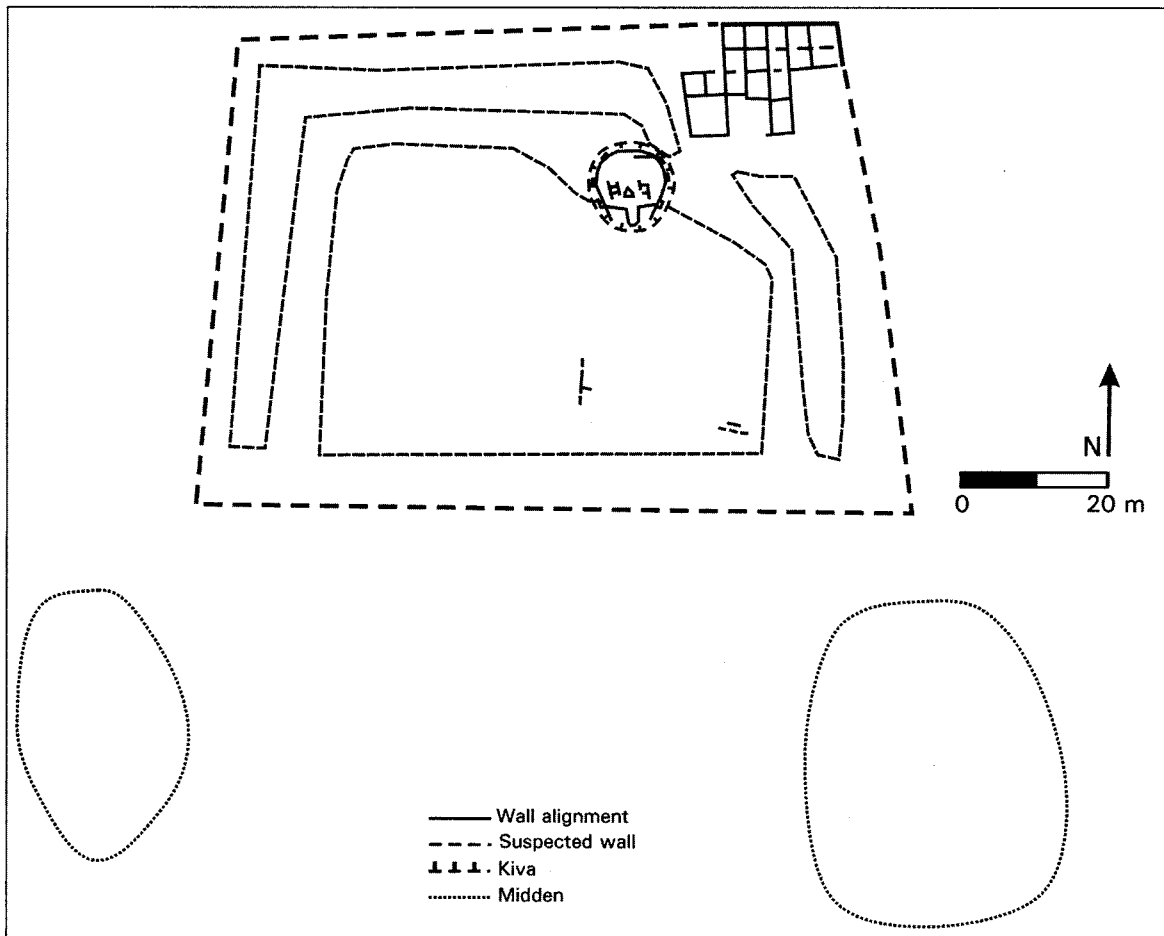


Figure 1.3. Atsinna Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985, Fig. 4.33; Watson and others 1980, Fig. 7).

initial construction. The pueblo contained nearly 900 rooms by its final occupation (Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix; Kintigh 1985a: 51).

Excavations were conducted at Pueblo de los Muertos in 1972 and 1973 as part of the Cibola Archaeological Research Project (CARP) directed by Patty Jo Watson, Charles Redman, and Steven LeBlanc. CARP excavated 15 trash-filled rooms and several trenches in the plaza and outside the pueblo's exterior wall (Watson and others 1980). Tree-ring dates from Pueblo de los Muertos cluster between A.D. 1260 and 1290, including a cutting date of A.D. 1284; however, there are few tree-ring dates for upper deposits at the pueblo (Watson and others 1980: 207). Based on surface and excavated ceramics, the pueblo was occupied from about A.D. 1275 to 1375 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix), although CARP researchers argue that it was

abandoned earlier (Watson and others 1980: 207). Kintigh (1985a: 51) cites evidence for an earlier structure beneath the main pueblo and suggests that the major occupation associated with the planned construction of the pueblo started around A.D. 1300.

Atsinna Pueblo

The pueblo of Atsinna (LA99; CS 149) is located atop Inscription Rock in the El Morro Valley (Fig. 1.1). Like Pueblo de los Muertos, the shape of Atsinna is rectangular (Fig. 1.3). A double row of rooms encloses three sides and a great kiva is located in the northeast portion of the pueblo. Atsinna and Pueblo de los Muertos also appear to share construction methods (Watson and others 1980). Two or three walls were initially constructed and then subdivided into groups of

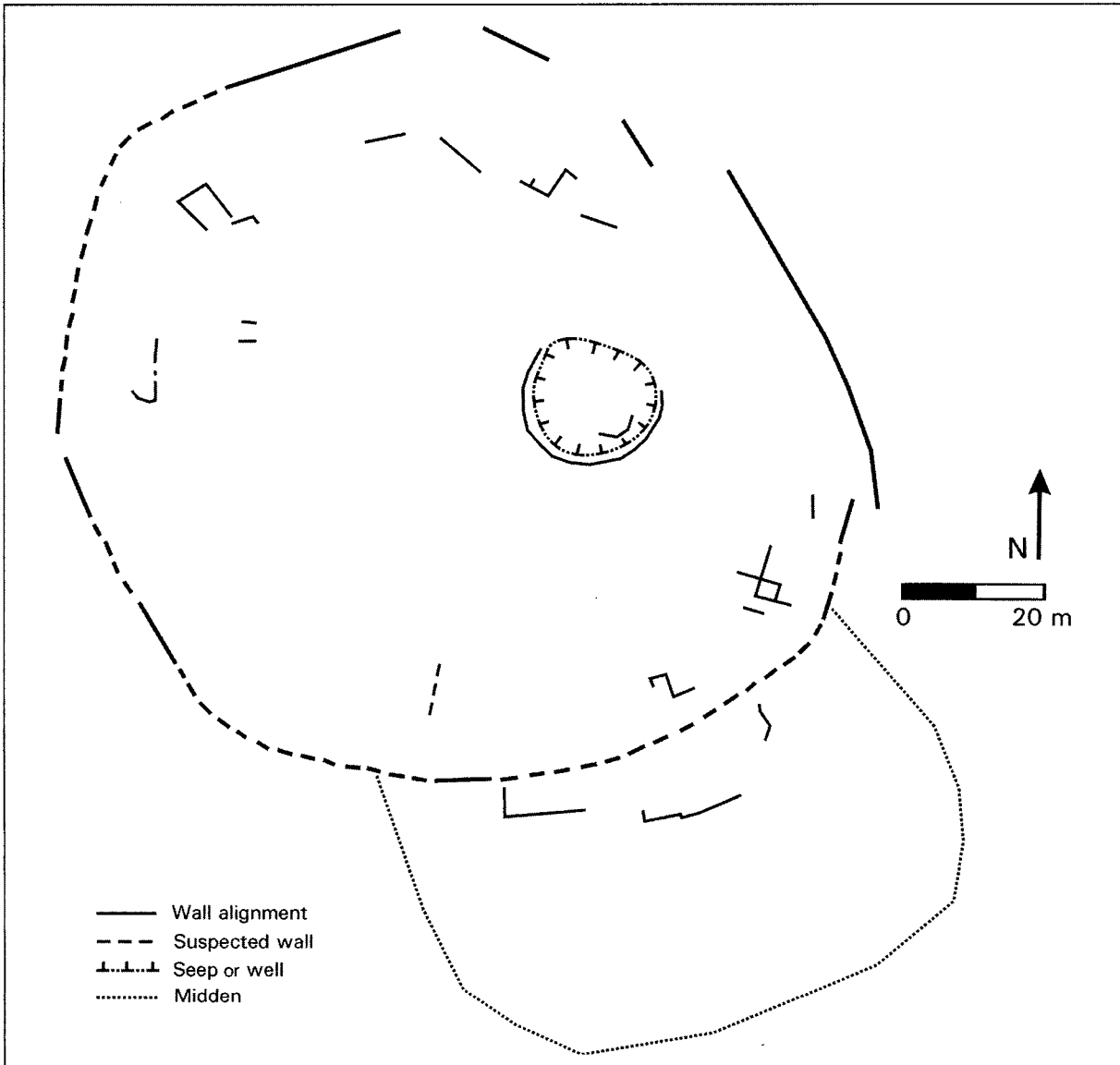


Figure 1.4. Cienega Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985a, Fig. 4.30; Watson and others 1980, Fig. 5).

rooms that extended from the back wall of the pueblo to the central plaza (LeBlanc 2001: 33). Kintigh (1985a: 52) estimates that the final configuration of this pueblo contained 875 rooms.

In 1952 and 1953, Richard and Nathalie Woodbury (1956) excavated a number of rooms and a kiva at Atsinna. CARP investigators later excavated trenches in two external middens and in the trash-filled plaza (Watson and others 1980). These two investigations produced tree-ring cutting dates of A.D. 1274, 1285 and 1288, as well as non-cutting dates as late as A.D. 1349 (Kintigh 1985a: 52; Watson and others 1980: 207). The

available tree-ring dates and ceramic typological data suggest that Atsinna was constructed and occupied between A.D. 1275 and 1385 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix).

Cienega Pueblo

Cienega Pueblo (LA425; CS 140) is located in the center of the El Morro Valley (Fig. 1.1). The pueblo is oval (Fig. 1.4), probably contained about 500 rooms (Kintigh 1985a: 48), and appears to have been constructed in the A.D. 1280s and later expanded (Watson

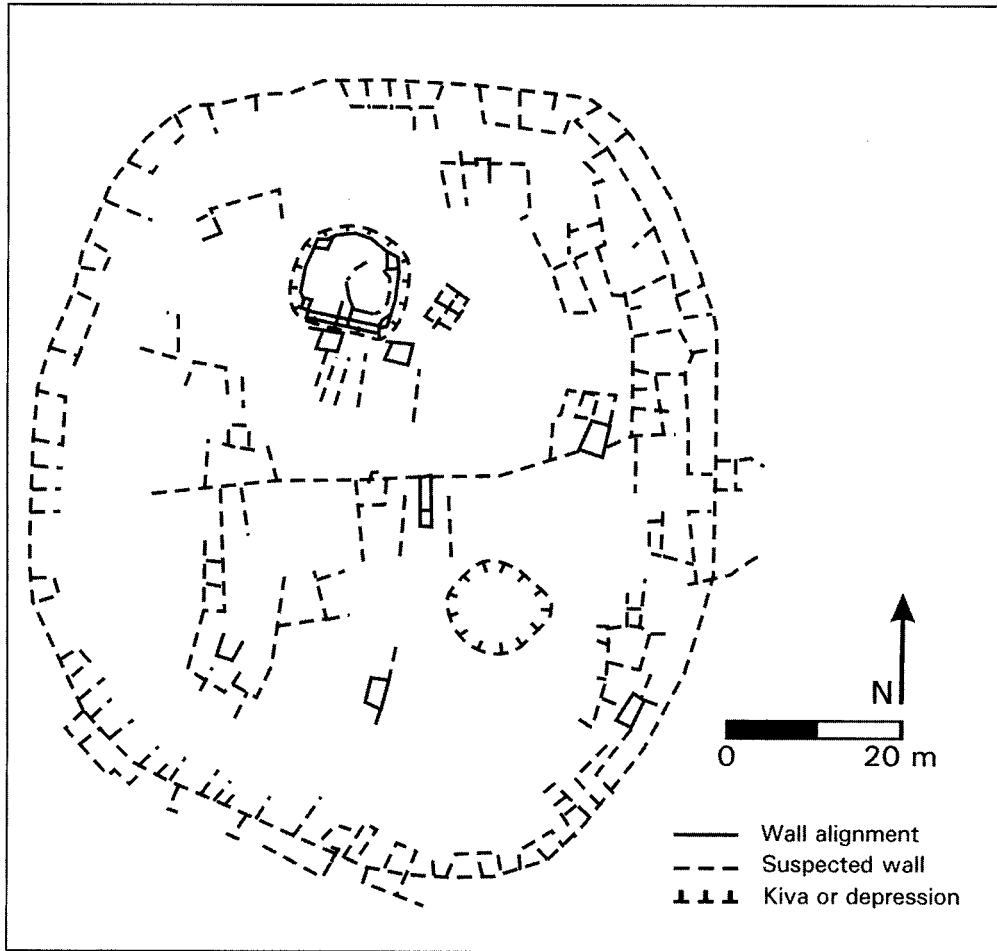


Figure 1.5. Mirabal Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985a, Fig. 4.24; Watson and others 1980, Fig. 6).

and others 1980). This expansion involved adding rooms within the plaza that partially covered abandoned, trash-filled rooms. A seep or well in the central part of the plaza, which gives the pueblo its name, is still evident.

CARP excavated 12 units at Cienega, placed mainly in trash-filled rooms within the room block and plaza. The excavations produced three tree-ring cutting dates of A.D. 1279, 1282, and 1287 (Watson and others 1980: 207). Ceramics indicate an occupation span of A.D. 1275 to 1375 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix).

Mirabal Pueblo

The pueblo of Mirabal (LA426; CS 141) is located about 300 m southwest of Cienega in the El Morro Valley (Fig. 1.1). It, too, is oval in shape, but has a unique east-west wall that bisects the pueblo (Fig. 1.5).

A D-shaped kiva is in the northern half of the plaza. Kintigh (1985a: 42) estimates that this pueblo contained as many as 743 two-story rooms. CARP placed excavation units in several rooms, the kiva, and plaza trash. One cutting date of A.D. 1260 and a cluster of four cutting dates between A.D. 1279 and 1286 resulted from the excavation (Watson and others 1980: 207). The main occupation appears to have been from some time around A.D. 1275 to about 1325 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix), although the sampled ceramic assemblage may date to the early end of this time period (Chapter 2).

Heshotauthla Pueblo

Heshotauthla Pueblo (LA15606) is about 20 km (12.4 miles) east of modern Zuni (Fig. 1.1), is roughly oval in overall plan (Fig. 1.6), and contained approximately 875 rooms (Kintigh 1985a: 56). Frederick Webb

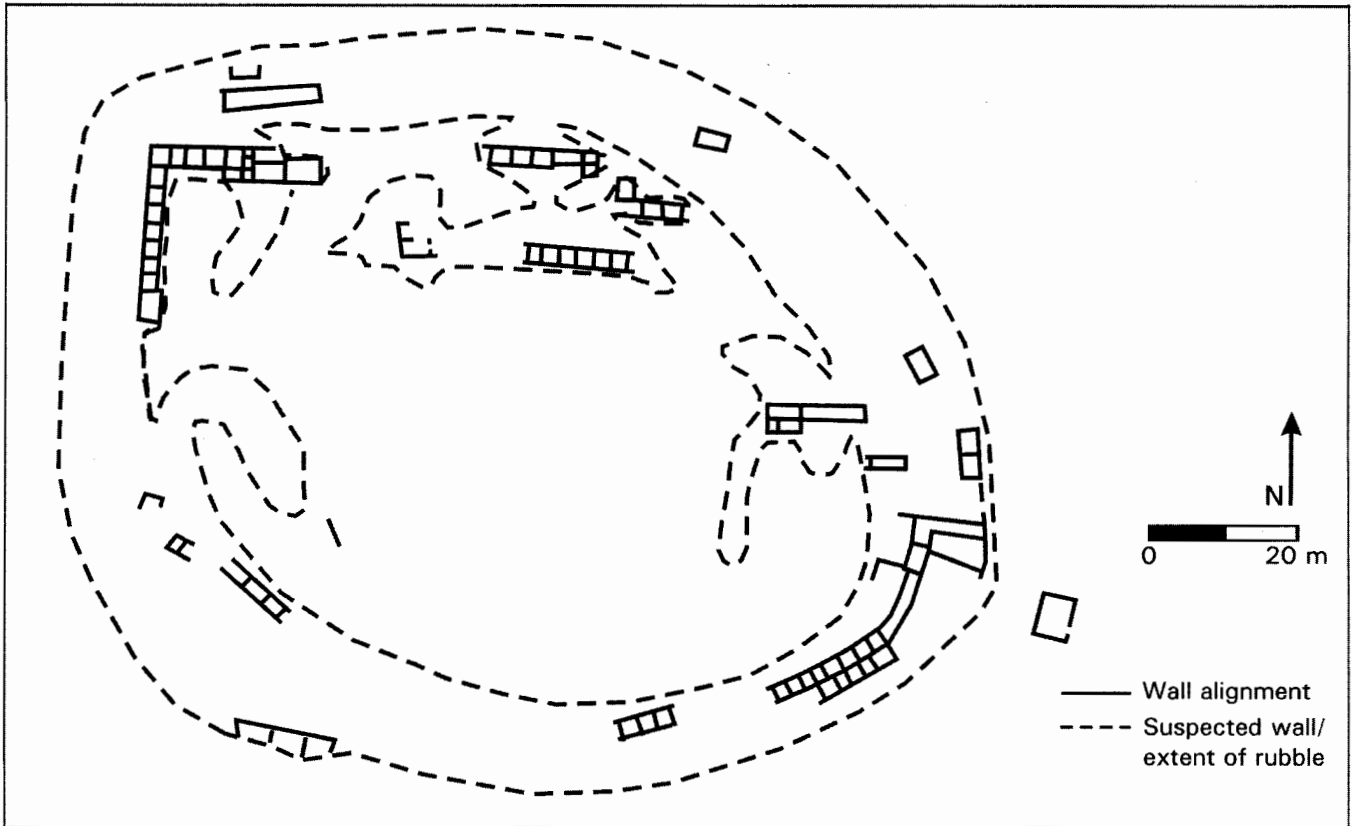


Figure 1.6. Heshotauthla Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985a, Fig. 4.28 after Fewkes 1891).

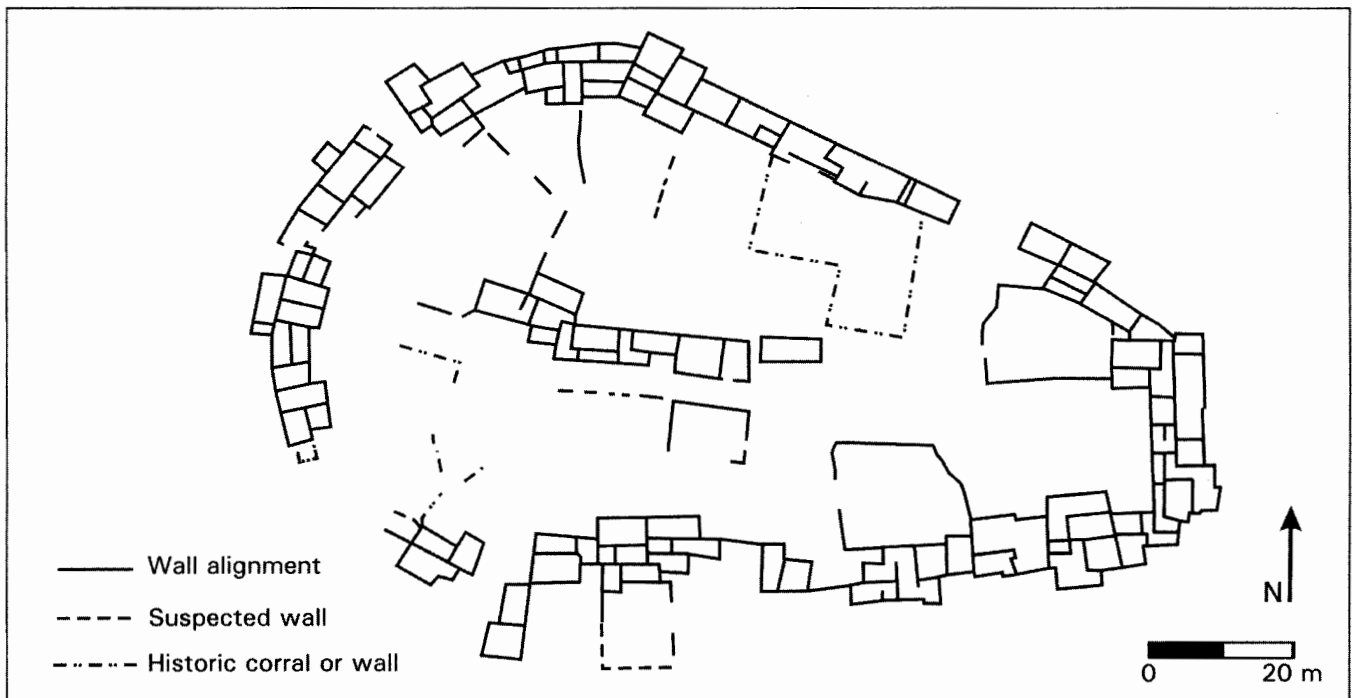


Figure 1.7. Lower Pescado Village site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1985a, Fig. 4.35; Mindeleff 1891, Fig. 18).

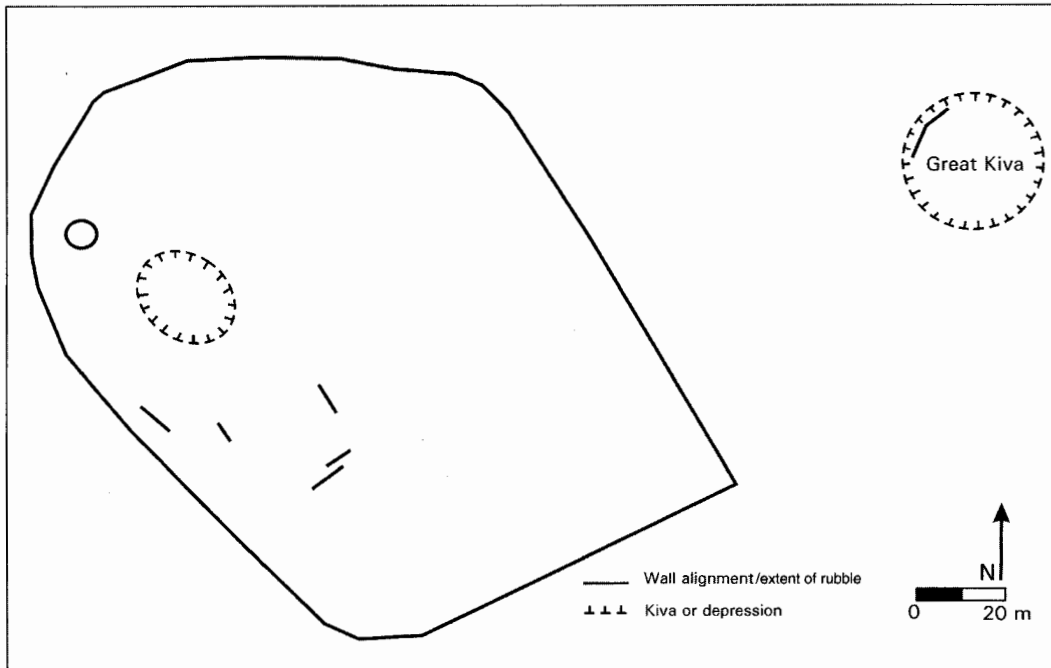


Figure 1.8. Box S Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 1997).

Hodge, under the direction of Frank Cushing, conducted the first excavations at Heshotauthla in 1888–1889 as part of the Hemenway Expedition. Keith Kintigh later directed the Heshotauthla Archaeological Research Project (HARP) as part of an Arizona State University (ASU) field school in 1990 and 1991. The ASU team excavated 16 test units in trash-filled rooms, a kiva, trash midden, and extramural contexts. There are no tree-ring cutting dates for Heshotauthla, but non-cutting dates cluster between A.D. 1247 and 1291. Available ceramic evidence suggests that Heshotauthla was occupied from about A.D. 1275 to 1385 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix), although the ASU excavations uncovered evidence of an earlier occupation beneath portions of the pueblo (see also Kintigh and others 2004; Zier 1976).

Lower Pescado Village

Lower Pescado Village (ZAP:NM:12:I3:109) is located along the Pescado River just east of Heshotauthla Pueblo and 25 km (15.5 miles) east of modern Zuni Pueblo (Fig. 1.1). Nan Rothschild and Susan Dublin directed excavations at this pueblo in 1990 as part of the Columbia University/Barnard College Archaeological Field School (Rothschild and Dublin 1995). These excavations focused on areas of the pueblo that were threatened by erosion. Ten units were placed in rooms,

trash middens, and other prehistoric and historic features (Rothschild and Dublin 1995, Table 11).

Lower Pescado Village differs from the other pueblos included in this study in that the prehistoric component is overlain by a substantial historic occupation. For this reason, its prehistoric configuration is difficult to determine, although it appears to have been roughly oval in shape (Fig. 1.7). The number of prehistoric rooms is estimated at around 420 (Kintigh 1985a: 53), and the Columbia excavations indicate that the prehistoric component of the pueblo may date as early as the twelfth century and certainly to the fourteenth century (Rothschild and Dublin 1995: 19). Dating of the prehistoric component is based entirely on ceramics; no tree-ring dates are available (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix).

Box S Pueblo

Box S Pueblo (LA5538), in the northern portion of the Zuni reservation (Fig. 1.1), is roughly rectangular (Fig. 1.8) and apparently contained more than 1,000 two-story rooms (Kintigh 1997). Keith Kintigh directed a mapping project in 1997 to document the extent of looting present at this pueblo, during which the field crew made the following observations. The site's perimeter was apparently formed by a row of rooms that were two stories high in most places. On the eastern side

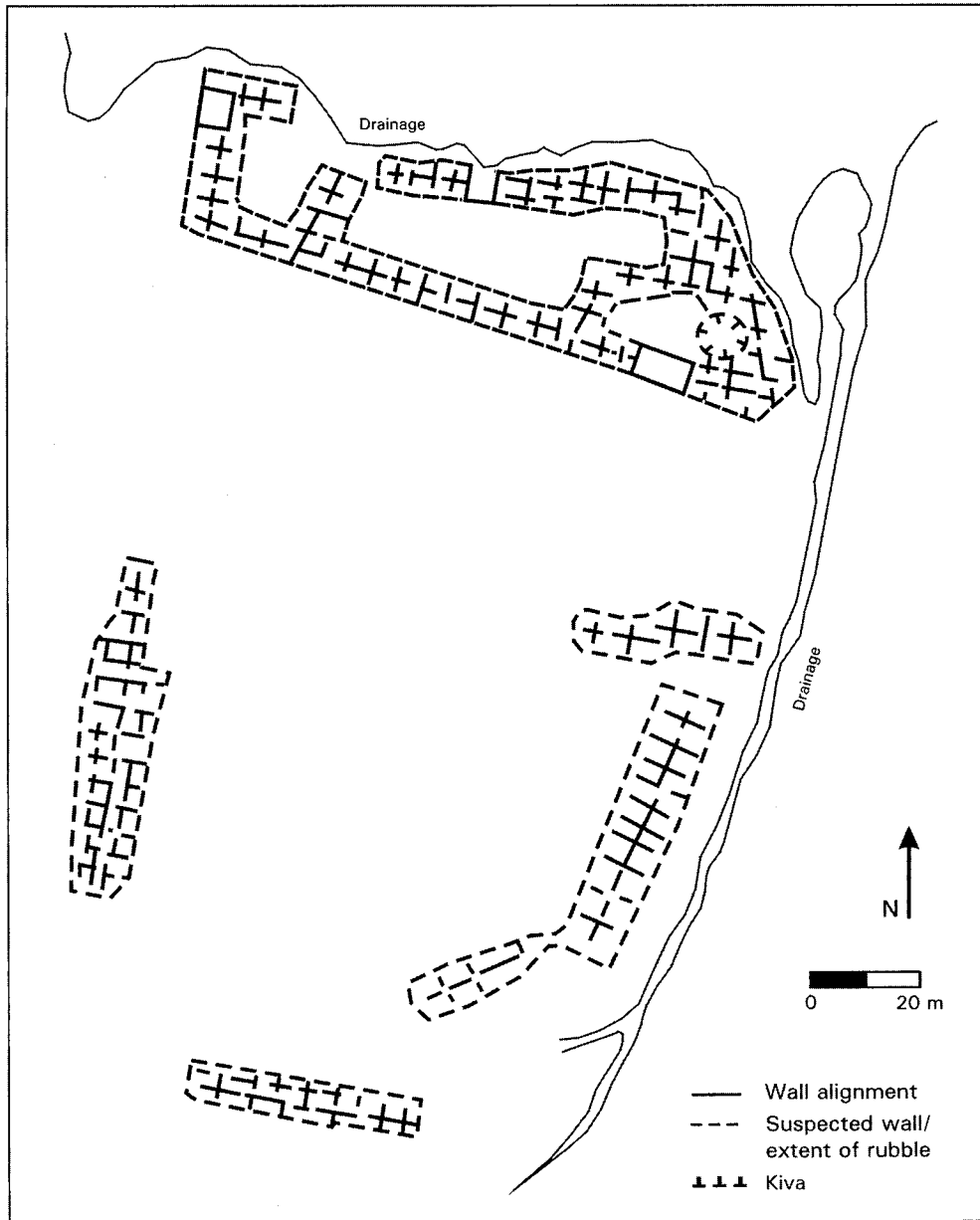


Figure 1.9. Ojo Bonito Pueblo site plan (redrafted from Spier 1918, Fig. 6a). Scale and orientation are approximate.

of the pueblo there was a double wall, as well as an architectural addition outside the exterior wall. An unroofed, oversized great kiva some 28 m in diameter was located across the arroyo and about 70 m east of the main room block. Based on surface ceramics (no tree-ring dates are available), the pueblo's large size, and the presence of the oversized great kiva, Box S probably dates from about A.D. 1225 to 1290 (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix).

Ojo Bonito Pueblo

Ojo Bonito (LA11433) consists of a rectangular, plaza-oriented room block and four smaller additional linear room blocks (Fig. 1.9; Fowler and others 1987: 152). The main room block is situated at the edge of a bench above a walled-in spring along Jaralosa Draw in the southwestern portion of the Zuni reservation (Fig. 1.1). Ojo Bonito was probably occupied between A.D.

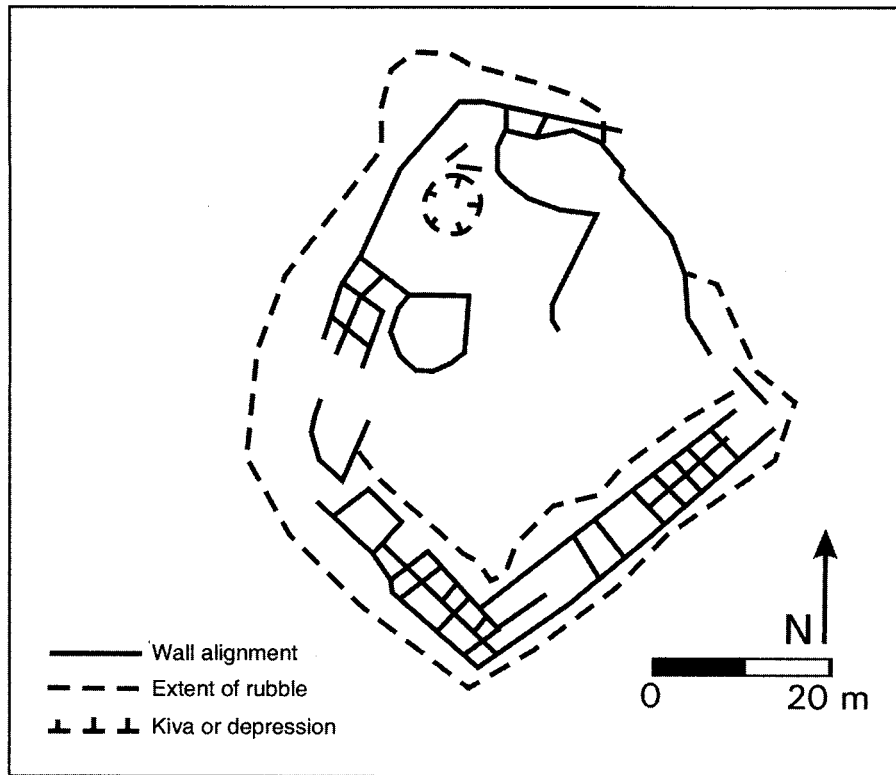


Figure 1.10. Spier 170 site plan (redrafted from Kintigh 2003).

1300 and 1385 and contained around 225 rooms (Table 1.1; Huntley and Kintigh 2004, Appendix). Ceramics from Ojo Bonito came from limited test excavations and surface collections conducted by ASU in 1987 and 1994. I include this pueblo and Spier 170 because Duff (1999, 2002) performed compositional analysis on ceramics from these collections as part of his dissertation research.

Spier 170

Spier 170 (no LA number) is a large sandstone masonry pueblo located along a major side drainage to Jaralosa Draw (Fig. 1.1). The pueblo is well preserved and consisted of a single room block with what appears to have been a central plaza (Fig. 1.10). The overall layout was roughly trapezoidal in shape with a base (southeast side of room block) about 36 m in length, a southwest side approximately 24 m long and a northeast side about 48 m long. The northwest side was bounded by an irregular outer wall about 56 m long. The pueblo was probably occupied between A.D. 1300 and 1385 and contained approximately 200 rooms (Table 1.1; Huntley

and Kintigh 2004, Appendix). ASU researchers led by Keith Kintigh mapped and collected surface samples at Spier 170 in 1988.

PUEBLO IV ORGANIZATIONAL SCALE

Various explanations have been advanced for the organizational parameters of Pueblo IV period regions. They revolve around three major organizational scenarios: autonomy, alliances or polities, and centralization. Although some of these scenarios are commonly used by scholars working outside the Zuni region, they nevertheless provide general heuristic models for interpreting the analyses presented here in subsequent chapters.

Some scholars propose that the architecturally bounded, inwardly focused layout of Pueblo IV period nucleated pueblos reflects a desire to define social group boundaries and promote community integration (Bernardini 1998; Potter 1998). That desire may have been achieved by fostering a strong sense of group identity that emphasized internal solidarity and deemphasized external relations (Bernardini 1998; LeBlanc 1998; S.

Plog and Solometo 1997; Reid and Whittlesey 1999). For example, Bernardini (1998) uses an analysis of the structure of Pueblo IV architectural space to argue that early nucleation (about A.D. 1280–1400 according to Bernardini), particularly in the Western Pueblo area, was characterized by control over both internal and external interactions. Architectural features found at many nucleated pueblos, such as a central plaza surrounded by room blocks, continuous outer walls, and defensive locations, point to a concern with monitoring outside contact. The emphasis on community solidarity may also have been reinforced by the development of the Kachina religion, with its focus on community integration through ritual activities (Adams 1991; Crown 1994).

A related hypothesis is that concentration of Pueblo IV populations into nucleated pueblos and an emphasis on community integration were responses to increasing population density and conflicts over resources (LeBlanc 1989, 1999, 2001; S. Plog and Solometo 1997; Wilcox and Haas 1994). For the Zuni region in particular, some scholars argue that competition over limited resources and the threat of violent intergroup conflicts led to population nucleation as a defensive mechanism (LeBlanc 1978, 1999, 2000, 2001; Watson and others 1980).

Alliance models (as I broadly categorize them here) take various forms; most focus on the potential for regional integration in the absence of centralized political authority. Such regional integration is conceptualized as relatively fluid, informal, and nonhierarchical, with social interactions designed to buffer subsistence risk, mediate conflict, and foster intergroup cooperation (Habicht-Mauche 1993; Levy 1994; Spielmann 1994). Archaeological evidence exists for multipueblo alliances at a number of scales, including entire archaeological regions and pueblo clusters within regions (Adams and Duff 2004; Hegmon 2000).

Habicht-Mauche (1993) argues that a process of tribalization involving informal social and economic ties among large pueblos arose in the Rio Grande Valley as a means to buffer subsistence uncertainty. Similarly, Spielmann (1994) proposes that informal political alliances, or confederacies, involving clusters of Rio Grande pueblos may have developed as a means of mediating conflicts over resources. LeBlanc (2000) emphasizes warfare in making his case for alliances among nucleated pueblos. He argues that a number of independent polities existed within the Zuni region

during the late prehistoric period. These polities supposedly integrated several nucleated pueblos within pueblo clusters into relatively weak and transitory alliances for defensive purposes. Other researchers postulate more hierarchical alliance organization based on interactions among unequal polities (for example, Wilcox 1981, 1991 for the Rio Grande pueblos).

Complementarity represents a particular kind of alliance between pairs (or perhaps small groups) of nucleated pueblos. In this case, pueblo clusters are made up of autonomous “mother” pueblos and dependent colony pueblos with variable local histories. “Mother” and “daughter” pueblos may also differ in size. This type of organization has been described for ethnohistoric pueblos such as Hopi (Whiteley 1988) and also appears to have existed among Pueblo IV nucleated pueblos in the Jumanos cluster east of the Rio Grande Valley (W. Graves 1996, 2002). A more symmetrical form of ritual complementarity is appropriate for Pueblo IV Zuni region pueblos, which do not appear to have varied dramatically in size.

Potter (1997), focusing on changes in status differentiation during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition (A.D. 1250–1300), suggests that pairs of nucleated pueblos in the eastern part of the Zuni region were characterized by close social and political relationships resulting from ritual interdependency. Evidence for interdependency includes differential distributions of ritually significant avifauna, that is, waterfowl at oval pueblos versus raptors at rectangular pueblos (Potter 1997; Potter and Perry 2000). The pairing of oval and rectangular pueblos is interpreted as a symbolic representation of dualistic (although not necessarily equal) ritual relationships (Potter and Perry 2000: 75).

Upham (1982) and others (Upham and Reed 1989) have advanced a centralized model for Pueblo IV sociopolitical organization. According to their interpretation, regional sociopolitical entities, or alliances, consisted of several nucleated pueblos that were integrated by a centralized political and economic organization managed by elites. Decorated pots produced at the center of each alliance served as status markers for elites, who managed the exchange of these items.

The validity of a centralized model, as it was originally conceived by Upham (1982), has been repeatedly questioned, largely due to misinterpretations of the available archaeological evidence. In particular, the apparent differential distribution of decorated pottery among pueblos within particular regions was based on

the assumed contemporaneity of many pueblos that now are believed to date to different time periods (Duff 1999, 2002). Nevertheless, the centralized model is still present in the Southwestern literature, and various scholars continue to critique it (Duff 1999, 2002; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Neitzel 1999). For this reason I include it here in hopes of addressing its applicability (or lack thereof) to the Zuni region.

One characteristic that various organizational scenarios have in common is that they tend to focus on the political and economic components of intergroup relationships. Thus, to predict or assess those kinds of interactions in prehistory requires archaeologically detectable material correlates such as evidence for inter-pueblo exchange transactions or similarities in the physical properties of material culture, like pottery.