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**BORDERLAND IMAGES OF ATHAPASKAN NEW MEXICO,
1600-1900 CE**

Severin Fowles

7:30 pm Tuesday, April 20, 2021

At Your Computer, Tablet, or Smart Phone

When the Spanish ventured into the Rio Grande Valley during the sixteenth century, they encountered a pluralistic society composed not just of sedentary, village-based agriculturalists (the “Pueblos”) but also mobile bands of Athapaskan-speaking hunters, traders, and craft-specialists. The Spanish uneasily called the latter “barbarians” (*bárbaros*) – a reference to both their mobility and the significant military threat they posed – but they quickly came to appreciate their crucial role in the political life of the region. Not only did migratory Athapaskan bands prove vital allies in military campaigns, they also provided essential economic access to the bison resources of the Great Plains in the east. Moreover, Spanish missionaries found the Athapaskans unusually willing to adopt at least a superficial Catholicism, presumably as a result of their long history of pragmatically navigating intercultural relationships.

In this presentation, I consider the impact of Spanish colonization on Athapaskan image production in New Mexico, using rock art as a window onto the unfolding cultural exchanges between settler and Indigenous societies. I focus on two types of Athapaskan images: the so-called Biographic Tradition images pioneered by Apache artists during the late seventeenth century and the distinctive Mountain Spirit (*Gaan*) imagery, the latter of which may have begun to develop during the seventeenth or eighteenth century but only attained its classic form during the nineteenth century. Such images, I suggest, emerged in response to the new aesthetics of colonial occupation, among an Indigenous community with a long pre-colonial history of innovation, cultural appropriation, and creative reinvention.

Severin Fowles is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and Chair of the American Studies Department at Barnard College, Columbia University. For the past 25 years he has directed excavations and surveys in northern New Mexico, examining the history of Archaic hunter-gatherers through to the hippies of the 1960s. He is the author of *An Archaeology of Doings: Secularism and the Study of Pueblo Religion* and co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Southwest Archaeology*. His current research has been designed in collaboration with Picuris Pueblo and is focused on the tribe's ancestral landscapes and farming practices.

A day or so prior to the meeting, an email message will be sent to members with the link for the Zoom meeting. If you haven't joined us before – or even if you have – plan to join the meeting 10–15 minutes before the 7:30 start time to get familiar with Zoom (some procedures may have changed or differ from other Zoom productions) and say "Hi" to friends already in the meeting. All the participants except the speaker will be muted by the host when the presentation begins and until the question-and-answer session following the program.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH 16, 2021 VIRTUAL MEETING OF THE ALBUQUERQUE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Vice President Gretchen Obenauf called the meeting to order at 7:32 pm, standing in for President Evan Kay, who was unable to join this evening.

The February meeting minutes as published in the newsletter were approved as distributed.

Gretchen announced that Vice President Ann Braswell has recruited Severin Fowles as the April speaker, and Ann is working to get a speaker for May.

Treasurer's Report – Tom Obenauf: Since the February meeting we have had income of \$710 from membership renewals, a donation of \$25, and expenses of \$16.17 for the monthly Zoom fee and \$63.47 for office supplies. In February the board recommended, and the membership approved, \$500 donations each to the Albuquerque Museum of Art and History, the ASNM Scholarship Fund, and the Grant County Archaeological Society for its project of transforming the Wood House at the Mimbres Culture Heritage Site into the Mimbres Archaeological Research and Education Center. All 3 of those checks cleared in early March, and we received a nice thank-you letter from ASNM. The checking account balance is currently \$5,977.31.

Gretchen relayed the following reports:

Newsletter – Helen Crotty was absent. Gretchen thanked her for her work on the newsletters; she produces the ASNM newsletter as well.

Membership – Mary Raje: So far 87 members have renewed for 2021; reminders have been sent to those who haven't. Mary is contacting student members to find out if they want to remain on the membership list so that only interested current students will be carried on the list in the future.

Rock Art – Carol Chamberland: some fieldwork is being done but not on BLM land.

Lab, field trips, and seminars are all suspended at present due to COVID.

Pottery Southwest – Gretchen Obenauf: Mike Marshall has written an article about colonial wares (1600-1800) that will appear in the spring edition, which is in process.

The business portion of the meeting ended at 7:46 pm.

SPEAKER

Vice President Ann Braswell introduced Rob Weiner, a PhD candidate at the University of Colorado Boulder, research affiliate of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, and research associate with the Solstice Project, who spoke about recent research on his dissertation project, Chacoan roads. Mr. Weiner provided the following synopsis of his talk.

Respectfully submitted by Susan King

MONUMENTAL ROADS OF THE CHACO WORLD: NEW UNDERSTANDINGS FROM FIELDWORK AND BEYOND

By Robert Weiner

“Chacoan roads.” The phrase has become standard terminology in Southwestern archaeology, but how much do we really know about these enigmatic features, nearly invisible on the ground and glimpsed from the air only in the fleeting hours of dawn and dusk? Pioneering research by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in the 1980s revealed clear patterns among the Chacoan roads in the San Juan Basin: most were short, spoke-like segments emanating from outlier Chacoan Great Houses with no clear destinations. They did not lead to large domestic communities or resource areas, and they showed minimal evidence of use. Some connected Great Houses with Great Kivas, and others led to striking topographic features such as buttes and springs. Other roads, dubbed “time bridges,” linked sites of different eras. The BLM researchers concluded, therefore, that Chacoan monumental linear earthworks were not “roads” in the conventional sense of corridors abuzz

with traders, travelers, and activity. So then, what were they? There has been minimal follow-up research in the intervening decades to address this burning question, or others, regarding their relationship to monumental developments in Chaco Canyon. What role did these linear earthworks play in the religious fervor of the Chaco era – and, we are finding, before and after – period(s) characterized by explicit social inequality and regional integration across an area the size of Ohio?

My dissertation research at the University of Colorado Boulder is addressing these questions through a revived large-scale investigation of monumental roads in multiple regions of the Chaco world spanning the Basketmaker III through Pueblo III periods. My research team – blessed with the expert insights of John Stein, Rich Friedman, and Andrew Fowler – and I are employing a combination of Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) technology, drone photography and mapping, Structure from Motion (SfM) photogrammetry, and on-the-ground GPS mapping to assess the destinations, uses, and meanings of roads throughout the ancient history of the Four Corners. Our fieldwork is taking place in collaboration with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Division, BLM, the Archaeological Conservancy, and various private landowners.

To the north of Chaco, I have GPS'ed and analyzed hundreds of shattered ceramics along a segment of the North Road in what appears to be large-scale ritual breakage of vessels, perhaps in practices of offering. Also, to the north, we have mapped multiple avenues at the Holmes Group north of Farmington, New Mexico, an outlier with two Great Houses encircled by a massive circular road, that was recently acquired by the Archaeological Conservancy. Was this circular road a symbolic boundary? A racetrack? We have also identified and documented two additional circular roads in the Chaco world, one near Cortez, Colorado and one near Ganado, Arizona to further investigate the purpose(s) of non-linear Chacoan roads.

Much of my fieldwork has focused on the region south of Chaco Canyon, where countless Chacoan roads are present but have received little attention since the BLM roads project. Resurveys of the Kin Nizhoni, Dittert, and Andrews Great House landscapes have revealed many previously undocumented roads and new insights into their clear role in addressing prominent landforms – especially Tsoodzil (southern sacred mountain of the Diné, also known as Mt. Taylor). I am honored to be collaborating with the Navajo Nation to document Chacoan roads on their ancestral, sovereign lands at Great House sites including Skunk Springs, Chambers, and Navajo Springs. We have also recorded numerous monumental roads and associated architectural features at Basketmaker III sites in Navajoland, a finding that challenges the usual conceptualization of roads as “Chacoan” features. Another facet of my research involves work with Dr. Klara Kelley to conduct interviews with knowledgeable Diné to respectfully incorporate traditional knowledge about Chacoan roads into this renewed investigation.

Ultimately, I seek to understand the meaning of Chacoan roads as elements within the Chacoan religious system through better understanding of their destinations (or, more realistically, the features they address but usually do not physically connect with) and the practices carried out along them. At this point, it is clear that a primary purpose of many roads is to physically demarcate alignments to meaningful landforms, to connect sites across eras, and to prescribe circulatory ritual movement through highly structured Great House landscapes. In addition, I have documented the presence of many shrine-like features along roads (including, but not limited to, well-known *herraduras*), earthen platforms ascended by staircases, large- and small-scale ceramic breakage, and ritual closures with a single-coursed masonry alignment across a road and repeated with fireboxes, perhaps the latter indicating nighttime ritual movements along these monumental corridors. Furthermore, we have documented clear evidence of monumental roads in periods pre- and post-dating the construction of multistoried Great Houses in Chaco Canyon, suggesting the role of roads in the dynamics of ancient Four Corners society well beyond the confines of the so-called “Chaco Phenomenon.”

By anchoring buildings in auspicious locations ringed by mountains and springs, channeling movement within the set-apart space of Great House landscapes, connecting peoples of multiple eras with the constructions of their ancestors, and providing physical corridors for offerings and other ritual acts, Chacoan roads, it would seem, allowed the Chaco people to *make a place* in the cosmos and maintain an existence—at times harmonious, at others tumultuous.

MAY 8 ASNM VIRTUAL ANNUAL MEETING SPEAKER ANNOUNCED

The Bandelier lecture for the mini ASNM Annual Meeting to be held Saturday, May 8 will be delivered by Bruce Huckell, UNM Associate Professor of Anthropology, who will speak about “Paleoindians in New Mexico.” The Zoom meeting, hosted by AAS, is free and open to all members of ASNM and its Affiliate Societies. It will begin at 7 pm with awards for 2020 and 2021 to ASNM annual volume honorees archaeologist Mike Marshall (2020) and James Conner, founder of Friend of Coronado Historic Site (2021). Then on to winners of the Richard A. Bice Archaeological Achievement Awards and ASNM Scholarships, among them AAS members Hayward Franklin (2020 Bice), Steven and Donna Rospopo (2021 Bice) and Thatcher Rogers (2020 Scholarship). The Bandelier Lecture will follow the awards around 8 pm. Details on accessing the meeting will be emailed to all AAS members a day or two before May 8.

BOOK REVIEW

Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans: Indigenous Communities and the Revolutionary States in Mexico's Gran Nayar, 1910-1940, by Nathaniel Morris. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2020. xx+268 pp., 1 table, 10 figures, 4 maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 hardcover (ISBN 9780816541027).

Reviewed by Thatcher A. Rogers

Anthropological investigations of West Mexico have ebbed and flowed since publication of Carl Lumholtz's famed *Unknown Mexico* (1903). The lingering impacts of the descriptions of the *Wixárika* (Huichol), *Náayari* (Cora), and *O'dam* (Southern Tepehuano) by Lumholtz and Robert Zingg (1938) have become useful – although I would argue oftentimes misleading – analogies in Southwest archaeology for shamanism, rituality, and *cacique* (local political/spiritual leaders) leadership. Yet aside from outstanding works on the *O'dam* revolts in the seventeenth century (Gradie 2000), few modern ethnographic studies have investigated the historical and still-present Indigenous groups who live in the *Gran Nayar* region of mountainous Nayarit, Jalisco, and Zacatecas. In this work, Nathaniel Morris (Research Fellow at University College London) investigates the roles of these Indigenous groups and, to a lesser extent, a fourth Indigenous group, the *Mexicanero*, during and after the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). Morris approaches this topic through ethnographic recording and analysis of oral histories within local communities in the Gran Nayar, as well as archival research in state and national institutions.

The introduction sets forth the geographic and cultural setting by describing the ambush of federal soldiers in the mountains of southern Durango before detailing the objectives of the volume and mentioning previous research efforts in the area. The first chapter builds on this introduction and describes the geography and cultural ecology within the Gran Nayar, as well as the historical people and events, from the arrival of Spanish conquistadors in the 1530s to the onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Important topics include: the increased local autonomy that arose from the Mexican War of Independence in 1810; the incorporation of modified Catholic religious iconography and observances into local practice; and the cultural and economic impact of settlement and cattle ranching in the area by *mestizo vecino* (individuals of both Spanish and Indigenous ancestry) who more readily aligned with national interests and who were viewed as outsiders by Indigenous communities in the Gran Nayar. Of note is that in the decades leading up to the Mexican Revolution, Indigenous groups in the Gran Nayar maintained greater autonomy in relation to both the federal government and the Catholic church than did other Indigenous communities in Mexico, meaning that they were able to maintain crucial religious practices that underpinned their worldviews and structured their descendant groups.

The entirety of the Mexican Revolution and its manifestation within the Gran Nayar form the second chapter, which ends in 1920. It is in this section that Morris describes the chaotic shifting alliances and the power struggle that defined the Mexican Revolution. Although many accounts of the Mexican Revolution emphasize the struggle between peripheral states, such as Sonora and Chihuahua, and the central government, this chapter emphasizes the community-based – as opposed to ethnic – alliances that required successive national factions to tolerate the heightened autonomy of *caciques* and their local militia. Another key focus of this book is on

internecine conflict within and between different ethnic groups and communities and how these conflicts left control over much of the Gran Nayar in the hands of only a few individuals.

Beginning with the final struggle of the Mexican Revolution and the success of the so-called Sonoran dynasty of leaders that began with General Álvaro Obregón, the third chapter investigates how Sonoran state-building occurred in the Gran Nayar and local responses to it. Two key methods of cultural integration in the Sonoran state-building project were education and the management of agrarian reform such that a new system of state land tenure (as opposed to community-owned agrarianism) would be instituted. The objective of school construction and regional control over education was to eliminate or greatly weaken Indigenous cultural and religious identities with the intention of producing a fundamentally *mestizo* nation-state. Repeated overt struggle against these federally regimented objectives occurred throughout this five-year period (1920-1925), resulting in several instances of violence led by local community *caciques*, increasing instability that would characterize the Cristero Rebellion, and continued political and cultural autonomy.

The start of a new conflict, the Cristero Rebellion, (1926-1929) frames the fourth chapter. The Cristero Rebellion arose out of tensions between the Catholic Church and the fragile revolutionary Mexican government and politically-aligned state governments that supported anticlerical laws. The Gran Nayar, located along a main access corridor between the states of Zacatecas and Jalisco, became a focus of this open conflict. Similar to the actions during the Mexican Revolution, community-based affiliations, tensions between *caciques*, and agrarian conflicts between Indigenous and *mestizo* groups drove factionalism.

Following the subjugation of the costly Cristero Rebellion, the federal government attempted again to integrate Indigenous communities through federally managed education and overt efforts to ingratiate local Indigenous military and political leaders. These actions were partially successful, they also exacerbated divisions that had been building within and between communities during the Mexican Revolution and the Cristero Rebellion. As a result, the emergence of repeated acts of violent retribution define this time period. Meanwhile, federal and state officials increased their efforts at agrarian reform and, in response to intercommunity violence, stamped down hard on Indigenous groups that had supported the Cristero Rebellion and were previously amnestied. A consistent trend up to 1935 described in this chapter is the unintended, devastatingly destabilizing impacts of federal efforts at Indigenous integration.

The final chapter discusses the Second Cristero Rebellion between 1935 and 1940. Resurgent conflict emerged between communities aligned with the Catholic Church and federal and state governments. One outcome of this conflict was the death of many local Indigenous leaders from the Gran Nayar and the inability of local communities to militarily resist federal state-building efforts. Another outcome was that the federal government was forced to institute agrarian reforms requested by local Indigenous groups, allowing them to maintain more cultural autonomy than other parts of Mexico. Nevertheless, nearly 30 years of constant conflict had left villages in the Gran Nayar decimated and significantly disrupted traditional ritual practices. The weakening of the Indigenous culture allowed *mestizo* settlers to make gains. Consequently, local Indigenous communities began to view with suspicion both federal/state officials and local *caciques* or other Indigenous leaders who had aligned with the state. New leaders and practices of constant resistance and accommodation enabled bicultural attitudes and practices to proliferate while at the same time maintaining many aspects of cultural and political autonomy that are visible in the variability that defines inhabitants of the Gran Nayar today. In contrast many other Indigenous groups in Mexico were unable to maintain such autonomy over the course of decades of intermittent conflict, forced national integration in the form of state-building, and Catholic efforts to terminate ancestral ritual practices.

Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans is a wondrous addition to the literature of West Mexico and its scholarly contributions are not restricted to historical investigations of twentieth century Mexico. Whereas it focuses primarily on the Mexican Revolution and the post-Revolutionary era, descriptions of Indigenous practices, organization strategies, and lifeways are abundant. These descriptions build on earlier works, such as those by Robert Zingg, and provide additional details on ethnographic case studies often (mis)applied here in the American Southwest (e.g., models of *caciques*). The volume, though, can be daunting to those unfamiliar with the complex events and rapidly shifting alliances of the Mexican Revolution and the complicated development of the nation-state of Mexico as we see it today. Conveniently, however, Morris provides a listing of the

caciques of the Gran Nayar by group in the beginning of the book and keeps the chapters temporally focused. Morris delivers a truly insightful discussion of efforts by dynamic, multidimensional Indigenous and *mestizo vecino* communities to maintain their heritages and political autonomy. I found it unexpectedly entertaining and intellectually stimulating, and I look forward to revisiting my own use of Indigenous West Mexico ethnographic data in the light of Morris's work.

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2000 *The Tepehuan Revolt of 1616: Militarism, Evangelism, and Colonialism in Seventeenth-Century Nueva Vizcaya*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Lumholtz, Carl

1903 *Unknown Mexico: A Record of Five Years' Exploration among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre; in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco; and among the Tarascos of Michoacan*, 2 volumes. MacMillan and Co., London.

Zingg, Robert M.

1938 *The Huichol: Primitive Artists*. G. E. Stechert, New York.

NEWS AND NOTES FROM HERE AND THERE

AAS President Evan Kay is now back at UNM's Office of Contract Archaeology on a full-time basis. He has been promoted to Field Director, and is the Lab Manager, as well.

Thatcher Rogers, AAS Assistant Webmaster and book reviewer, has been awarded two more research grants. From the Grant County Archaeological Society, the Nancy Coinman Grant for 2021 for \$1000 for his work on neutron activation analysis of 25 ceramic sherds from a late prehispanic site in far northeastern Sonora, Mexico. This research project is related to his dissertation "Between Casas Grandes and Salado: Community Formation and Interaction in the Borderlands of the American Southwest/ Mexican Northwest Region, AD 1200-1450." A second grant is from Friends of Coronado Historic Site, \$1000 for radiocarbon dating of the Chamisal Pueblo, a classic period middle Rio Grande village. This is in connection with his work at the Office of Contract Archaeology, where he is helping to co-edit and write up chapters on the Chamisal site. Long-time AAS members will recall that the Chamisal site is on property formerly owned by AAS members, the late Kit and Arnold Sargeant. The site was excavated with the help of AAS volunteers.

Thatcher will be presenting a Zoom lecture for the Friends of Tijeras Pueblo on May 27. See Calendar Check below.

CALENDAR CHECK

"It's Not Always Black and White: Investigating Mimbres-Casas Grande Relationships" by Thatcher Rogers, Tuesday, April 27 at 6:30 pm by Zoom for the Friends of Tijeras Pueblo Those interested in the Zoom meeting and not on the FTP regular mailing list, please send a Zoom-link [REQUEST](#) to friendsoftijeraspueblo.org. (Regular FTP members will receive a reminder and link for the meeting on Monday, April 26.)

"Paleoindians in New Mexico by Bruce Huckell" Saturday May 8 at 8 pm by Zoom following the awards presentations beginning at 7 pm at the **ASNM Mini Annual Meeting**

For other online presentation on archaeological subjects:

Crow Canyon weekly webinars (crowcanyon.org) Past lectures are uploaded to their YouTube page (many other sites also offer past lectures on YouTube).

Maxwell Museum's special department for home viewers (maxwell@home@maxwell@unm.edu) offers brief glimpses into their collections, educational resources, ongoing research, online exhibitions, and Maxwell Museum history and an option to "Ask the Maxwell" questions about the Museum, anthropology, museum careers, etc.

Ruggeri's Ancient America's Events (mikeruggerisevents.tumblr.com) presents a useful and constantly updated compendium of live online events for each month. Also on the site is a list of links to previous Zoom lectures that can now to be found on YouTube.

Most museums offer free viewing of exhibitions and/or collections on their websites.

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