

Handbook of North American Indians

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General Editor

VOLUME 9

Southwest

ALFONSO ORTIZ

Volume Editor



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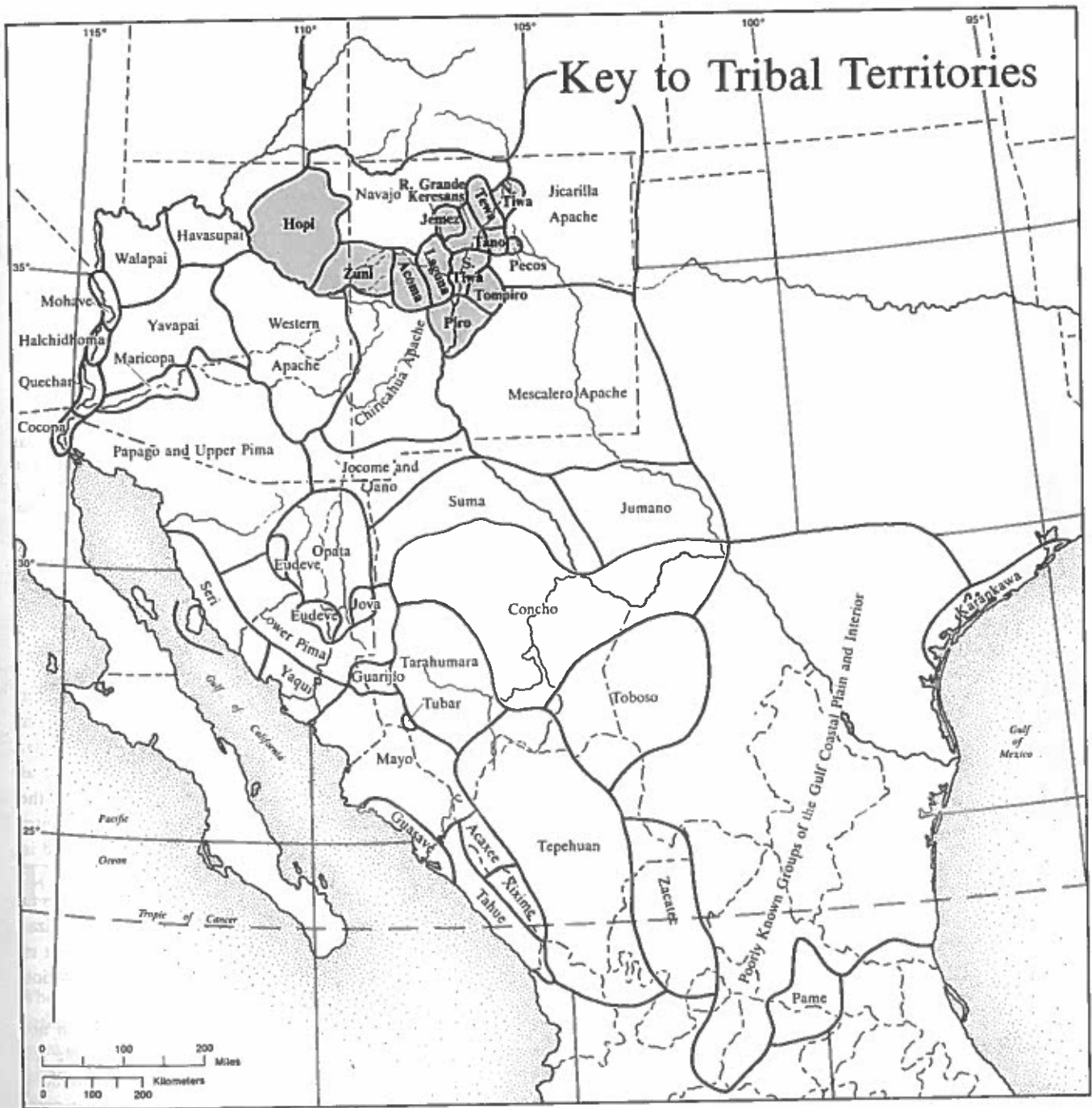
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Preface

This is the third volume to be published of a 20-volume set planned to give an encyclopedic summary of what is known about the prehistory, history, and cultures of the aboriginal peoples of North America who lived north of the urban civilizations of central Mexico. Volumes 5-8 and 11-15 treat the other major culture areas of this region.

The Southwest is the only culture area requiring two volumes. This is because of the great amount of anthropological knowledge of the many peoples of this region, due in part to the fact that distinctive traditional cultures have survived here to a greater extent than elsewhere on the continent. The present volume covers the prehistory, general history, and languages of the entire Southwest, and the cultures and histories of the Pueblo peoples. Volume 10 covers the non-Pueblo peoples of the Southwest and also includes a few surveys of special topics over the entire Southwest. Each volume is separately indexed.

Some topics relevant to the Southwest area are excluded from volumes 9 and 10 because they are more appropriately discussed on a continent-wide basis. Readers should refer to volume 1, Introduction, for general descriptions of anthropological and historical methods and sources and for summaries for the whole continent of certain topics regarding social and political organization, religion, and the performing arts. Volume 2 contains detailed accounts of the different kinds of Indian and Eskimo communities in the twentieth century, especially during its third quarter, and describes their relations with one another and with the surrounding non-Indian societies and nations. Volume 3 gives the environmental and biological backgrounds within which Native American societies developed, summarizes the early and late human biology or physical anthropology of Indians and Eskimos, and surveys the earliest prehistoric cultures. (Therefore the Paleo-Indian or Early Man period in the Southwest receives major treatment in volume 3 rather than in this volume.) Volume 4 contains details on the history of Indian-White relations. Volume 16 is a continent-wide survey of technology and the visual arts—of material cultures broadly defined. Volume 17 surveys the native languages of North America, their characteristics and historical relationships. Volumes 18, and 19 are a biographical dictionary; included in the listing are many Southwest Indians. Volume 20 contains

an index to the whole, which will serve to locate materials on Southwest Indians in other volumes as well as in this one; it also includes a list of errata found in all preceding volumes.

Preliminary discussions on the feasibility of the *Handbook* and alternatives for producing it began in 1965 in what was then the Smithsonian's Office of Anthropology. A history of the early development of the *Handbook* and a listing of the entire editorial staff will be found in volume 1. Detailed planning for the Southwest volumes was undertaken at a meeting of the General Editor and the Volume Editor with a specially selected Planning Committee (listed on page v) held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 7-9, 1971. At that time a tentative table of contents was drawn up, and qualified specialists on each topic were listed as potential authors. The chapter headings in the final volumes reproduce almost exactly the list decided upon at that meeting, and about two-thirds of the authors were those first invited. Inevitably, some replacements had to be made as people were unable to accept invitations or later found that they could not meet their commitment to write. We especially regret the death on May 2, 1971, of Edward P. Dozier, before he could begin work on several chapters he enthusiastically agreed to prepare. We are fortunate that the organization of the two volumes and the selection of many authors do reflect his important aid during the Planning Committee's discussions.

At the time they were invited, contributors were sent brief indications of the topics to be covered, prepared by the Volume Editor (with the assistance, for the prehistory chapters, of Richard B. Woodbury and Douglas W. Schwartz; for the Yuman chapters of Kenneth M. Stewart; for the Navajo chapters of Gary Witherspoon; and for the Piman chapters of Donald M. Bahr). They were also sent a "Guide for Contributors" prepared by the General Editor describing the general aims and methods of the *Handbook* and the editorial conventions. One convention has been to avoid the present tense, where possible, in historical and cultural descriptions. Thus a statement in the past tense, with a recent date or approximate date, may also hold true for the time of writing. As they were received, the manuscripts were reviewed by the General Editor, the Volume Editor, and usually one or more referees (frequently including a member of the Planning Committee). Suggestions for

changes and additions often resulted. The published versions frequently reflect more editorial intervention than is customary for academic writings, since the encyclopedic aims and format of this publication made it necessary to attempt to eliminate duplication, avoid gaps in coverage, prevent contradictions, impose some standardization of organization and terminology, and keep within strict constraints on length.

The editors have adopted a conservative position on the names of Pueblos, sometimes over the objections of authors. We have not replaced official and recognized English names for Pueblos with new borrowings from native names, even when the ordinary names are considered by some to be inappropriate; however, we have attempted to follow the preferences of members of the groups themselves for the standard English spellings of accepted names of tribes.

Many archeological sites have been designated by names borrowed from Indian languages. In a few cases, where it was possible without introducing confusion, the etymologically most appropriate English spellings for such site names have been adopted here, but for the most part the names traditionally used by archeologists have been retained. Many of these names are not the traditional Indian designations, few if any are accurate transcriptions, and a number have not been confirmed by linguistic study.

The first manuscript submitted was received on March 22, 1972, and the last on November 20, 1978; the first final acceptance of an author's manuscript was on May 5, 1972, and the last on November 20, 1978. Edited manuscripts were sent from the Washington office to authors for their approval between October 17, 1977, and January 17, 1979. These dates for all chapters are given in the list of Contributors. Late dates may reflect late invitations as well as late submissions.

Linguistic Editing

All cited words in Indian languages were referred to consultants with expert knowledge of the respective languages and, as far as possible, rewritten by them in the appropriate technical orthography. The consultants and the spelling systems are identified in an orthographic footnote to each tribal chapter or set of chapters; these footnotes were drafted by the Linguistic Editor, Ives Goddard.

Statements about the genetic relationships of Indian languages have also been checked with linguist consultants, to ensure conformity with recent findings and terminology in comparative linguistics and to avoid conflicting statements within the *Handbook*. In general, only the less remote genetic relationships are mentioned in the individual tribal chapters; the chapter "Historical Linguistics and Archeology" treats more remote rela-

tionships, and further information will be found in volume 17.

The Linguistic Editor served as coordinator and editor of these efforts by linguist consultants. A special debt is owed to these consultants, many of whom took time from their own research to check words with native speakers, for all provided advice and assistance without compensation. The Linguistic Editor is especially grateful to Joe S. Sando and Velma Garcia-Mason for the time they spent providing words in their native languages (Jemez and Acoma, respectively).

In the case of words that could not be respelled in a technical orthography, an attempt has been made to rationalize the transcriptions used in earlier anthropological writings in order to eliminate phonetic symbols that are obsolete and diacritics that might convey a false impression of phonetic accuracy. Lack of accurate transcriptions was particularly a problem in the case of the phonetically complex dialects of Keresan. For many of these no scientific linguistic information was available, and even for those that have been studied religious and ceremonial terms, which are the words most frequently cited in the tribal chapters, were often not obtainable.

In a number of cases words from Indian languages have been used as the standard English designations of certain cultural features in all societies in which these features occur, even though the words were originally borrowed from specific languages and variants or different words may be used in societies speaking other languages. This has seemed especially appropriate for cultural features that have similar designations (clearly historically related) among all or a number of groups, such as Koshare and Quirana (the clown societies), kachina, Sipapu (the Earth Navel or Hole of Emergence from the Underworld), and sipapu (the symbolic representation of Sipapu in the kiva), and for certain other well-established words, such as kiva. In some cases English spellings based on more than one language have been used in order to ensure consistency with the spellings of associated terms, so we write, for example, (Hopi) Koyimse beside (Zuni) Koyemshi, because these forms also appear in the names of ceremonial figures within the respective descriptions of the Hopi and Zuni cultures.

Synonymies

Toward the end of each tribal chapter (or, sometimes, in an early chapter of a set covering a single tribe or several closely related tribal groupings) is a section called Synonymy. This describes the various names that have been applied to the groups and subgroups treated in that chapter (or set of chapters), giving the principal variant spellings used in English and in Spanish, and often the names applied to the groups in neighboring Indian languages.

Introduction

ALFONSO ORTIZ

"We have lived upon this land from days beyond history's records, far past any living memory, deep into the time of legend. The story of my people and the story of this place are one single story. No man can think of us without thinking of this place. We are always joined together" (Henry et al. 1970:35). This is the statement of a Taos Pueblo man.

So it is in much of Southwestern North America. Here Indian people remain in their traditional homelands, and much that is vital in life remains as it was, timeless. Here is the oldest continuous record of human habitation on the continent outside of Mesoamerica, a habitation that has fashioned this region into a humanized landscape suffused with ancient meanings, myths, and mysteries. Here, as well, is a land of diversity, both of landscape and of ways of life upon that landscape. Volumes 9 and 10 attempt to convey something of the diversity of those ways of life and to give a sense of the timelessness, the meanings, and the mysteries.

When the Southwest was first seen with European eyes, those of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and the men of his expedition of 1540, both the land and the people of the Southwest were already very diverse and very old. One has only to think of the great multi-hued gaps in the earth, such as Bryce and the Grand Canyon, Zion and Canyon de Chelly, or of the gigantic and majestic spires of red sandstone comprising nature's own sculpture in Monument Valley, to slip into a geological time perspective. One's spatial sense as well as one's temporal sense grows immense in the Southwest before the vast distances and topographical diversity that open out before one's eyes when looking down from any high vantage point. Here, truly, the imagination soars and the very spirit is set free. The spirit is further moved, and the temporal sense further broadened, by contemplation of the various native groups upon this land, many of whom were encountered in 1540 near where they are, and living very much as they do in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

These various peoples have their own rhythms to complement the diverse rhythms of the variegated Southwestern landscape. Within this region one can move, for example, from the Seri fishermen on Mexico's far northwest coast to Yuman, Piman, and Pueblo farmers who live along each of the great watercourses, from a few hundred feet above sea level to more than 7,000 feet

above. Over all of this and beyond, up close to timberline, roamed the hunters, gatherers, and raiders, most of whom mixed the three pursuits with bravado. There are the Yavapai and Walapai, known as the Upland Yumans to distinguish them from the agricultural Riverine Yumans, and the Athapaskan-speaking Apache and Navajo. These groups have been able to retain a somewhat nomadic existence even in contemporary life, through sheep and cattle raising and social events such as dances and rodeos.

Interspersed among these contemporary groups, the evidence of the most ancient inhabitants is everywhere. Some artifacts, like petroglyphs and chipped stone, may date back untold millennia; others, like potsherds and pit houses, may go back only to the time of Christ. Although the knowledge of human events in this area beyond a few millennia removed is as yet far from complete, it is known that cultigens and the knowledge of pottery making had come up from Mexico centuries before the dawn of Christianity. These and other Mesoamerican imports were embraced by the hunting and gathering peoples of the Southwest in diverse ways, which coalesced into four distinctive prehistoric civilizations. These four—Anasazi, Mogollon, Hohokam, and Hakataya—were in the process of formation by the beginning of the European Christian era. It is, indeed, the presence of Mesoamerican influence, in belief systems as well as more tangible realms, that most clearly gives the Southwest an underlying continuity beneath its diversities and distinguishes the Southwest from the areas surrounding it.

This is not to imply that the Southwest can be understood as a frontier or periphery of Mesoamerica. While it is important to trace continuities between Mesoamerica and the Southwest, it is essential to stress that the various peoples of the Southwest fashioned unique cultural syntheses from elements of diverse provenance. This synthesizing activity continues today, in contemporary efforts to combine the eternal verities of native life with the benefits and unavoidable impositions of the encompassing American and Hispanic societies.

The boundaries and characteristics of the Southwest and its status as a culture area have long been debated (Kirchhoff 1954; "Prehistory: Introduction," this vol.). It is important to recognize that, because of the very diversity of the Southwest, various subareas within it, as well as the inhabitants of these subareas, may have more

in common with the land and people of regions adjoining them than they do with other tribes within the Southwest. Boundaries should be treated with caution, as they tend to limit and rigidify thought, as is shown by the earlier acceptance of the United States-Mexico boundary as the southern border of the Southwest, despite broad continuities in geography and culture that extend across the border and well into Mexico. The west, which is defined principally by the Colorado River, forms the closest geological and cultural break that there is in the Southwest, but it is only a relative one because there is such a vast expanse of desert west of the river itself. To the northwest, well away from the western slope of the Rockies, the land is very much like the Great Basin, and the people who adjoin it, such as the Hopi, have linguistic and other cultural affinities with tribes of the Great Basin. To the northeast and east, where the Southwest gradually merges with the Plains, the peoples who adjoin also have much in common. Hence the people of the northern Rio Grande Pueblos and the Jicarilla Apache manifest many Plains-derived customs, from arts and adornment to songs and ceremonies. There is, and has always been, free and frequent movement among the peoples of these adjoining areas, whether it be for trading, courting, religious and healing ceremonies, or some other purpose.

An appropriate gateway to the Southwest, and to a closer look at the various peoples and landscapes of the area, is from the northeast through Raton Pass. This pass lies high on the east side of the great continental divide, which runs like a backbone down the middle of the Southwest. Here one may break free of the Colorado Rockies and look down upon the vast expanse of small mountain ranges, mesas, and valleys that make up the northern region of the Southwest. The immense and diverse landscape that opens out before the eye here is truly one of the most breathtaking views in North America. Upon descending Raton Pass one enters the northern region of the Southwest, a landscape of multi-hued bluffs, spires, and canyons. At dawn and dusk, especially, these present a dazzling array of colors and shadows. This northern country is one face of the Southwest, which the Pueblo peoples and, later, the Navajo and Apache have made their own.

Another face of the Southwest is that of the watercourses of the arboreal desert on the west side of the continental divide, principally the Gila and the Salt rivers, where the prehistoric Hohokam culture flourished. The Hohokam adapted very well to the challenges of life on this searing landscape that, apart from the few watercourses that thread their way through, can be most inhospitable. The land is so hot in the summer that the air just above it quivers before the naked eye, as if there were ghostly presences about in broad daylight. At the hottest time of day the vibrations of the earth can cause objects in the distance, or even the horizon itself, to waver so much that one cannot trust one's own eyes. Sometimes

the pressures of air, heat, and sand unite in an explosive combination that may send as many as six whirlwinds at a time dancing off across the landscape.

The Hohokam peoples contemplated these whirlwinds and recorded their impressions on petroglyphs and pottery. Before their civilization began to fade early in this millennium they constructed an extensive and efficient system of irrigation canals along both the Gila and Salt rivers. This waterworks system remains their most impressive monument and legacy. The agricultural Pimas and river Yumans, who succeeded the Hohokam on their land and are probably direct descendants of them, also contemplate the whirlwind in song and myth, and they record their own impressions on basketry as well as on pottery. They further respond and give meaning to this otherwise forbidding landscape in dreams and dream journeys, their distinctive form of spiritual expression.

A third face of the Southwest is provided by the rugged Gila Mountains of southwestern New Mexico, where arose the Mimbres culture, a branch of the more far-flung Mogollon prehistoric culture. From here, high up on the Gila River's watershed, one can look over what is the most concentrated topographical diversity in the Southwest. Early in the morning at first light, and at night, one may be treated to sights on these mountain slopes that stir the imagination. In the morning the evergreens appear as if they have wrapped themselves in splendid white garments, for the silver-hued frost shimmers like satin before the gathering light of day. And, during clear nights, one can watch ethereal white fingers of mist creep down the mountain slopes or between canyon walls silently, ever so silently.

If one follows out the many narrow, sparkling, serpentine streams that gather themselves together as the Gila River on the eastern flank of the continental divide, one can, in a relatively short time, traverse through several life-zones, from the snow pack of the Canadian life-zone to the desert of the Lower Sonoran. The floral and faunal life also change, of course, and abruptly. The ancient Mimbres people were quite aware of these topographical, floral, and faunal differences, for they moved regularly through all of them, and their imaginations dwelled upon them. And in this imaginative dwelling lies one key to understanding their greatest cultural legacy, their pottery. They had not much that was impressive in the way of habitations or other cultural artifacts, but they more than made up for it with their pottery, which in design was the finest produced by Indians north of Mexico. The many delicate, graceful, conventionalized designs of beetles, rabbits, turtles, bears, and other animals and insects attest to much imaginative musing on the varied fauna of their ever-changing land. They were equally skilled in executing abstract designs, but, centuries and centuries removed, no one can really be sure what brought these forms into being.

By the beginning of the second millennium A.D., even

before the passing of the Hohokam, the Mimbres people were absorbed by the expanding and closely related Pueblo peoples to the north. Some may have also migrated to the south, into modern-day Mexico. The Mimbres people, of unquestionable artistic genius, would remain much more of an enigma to scholars if their continuing influence were not so readily apparent in the pottery made by Pueblo people in every generation since their own passing.

The Pueblo peoples are the only one of the cultural groups identifiable as long ago as two millennia that have survived with clearly unbroken cultural continuity into the last quarter of the twentieth century. In their greatest time, from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, they built and occupied the great architectural wonders at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Casa Grande, and numerous other places spread out over what are now five large states. During this time they ranged from mountain to canyon and even to the higher desert elevations. During the persistent drought that haunted the Southwest in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the Pueblo people began contracting into the great valley of the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Only the Hopi, then as now, enigmatically hung on and persisted in farming successfully in a region with no permanent or semipermanent watercourses.

The other Pueblo groups maintained their way of life—characterized in essence by intensive horticulture, an elaborate ceremonial cycle, and a cohesive social organization—in the villages of adobe and stone that, for the most part, are strung along the Rio Grande and its tributaries like beads upon a crooked string. These villages all blend in with their surroundings so that one never knows one is approaching a Pueblo until one is right upon it. The architecture of the Pueblos is gentle and unobtrusive, as, indeed, are the Pueblo peoples' very character, customs, institutions, and art forms. The Pueblo peoples have shown a genius for maintaining that which is most essential to their lives while also receiving, absorbing, and reinvigorating the decaying "vines"—to use the appropriate and evocative Tewa metaphor—to other ways of life. Hence, the Pueblo legacy has been to endure.

In addition to these four identifiable prehistoric cultural traditions of the northern Southwest, there were others in northern Mexico, but these, with the exception of the Casas Grandes region, are not at all well known. These prehistoric hunter-gatherers and small-scale farmers remain opaque to scholars for the most part because they have been little studied. A major additional group in the Southwest are the late-coming Southern Athapaskans, who arrived in the Southwest as hunters and gatherers not more than a century before the first Europeans.

These Athapaskans came into the Southwest from the north, "threading the labyrinthine canyons with their

eyes on the stars" (Waters 1950). Once in the Southwest they divided, with most of the Navajos staying in the northwest country of sandy washes and red bluffs and box canyons. In this dry country, after even a mild rainfall, such fragrances emanate from the land that the earth itself seems to smell grateful for the moisture. The small mountain ranges are widely scattered, and red or pale green limestone bluffs may run for miles. These cliffs gleam at eveningtide, as the shadows skirt their folds. Appropriately enough, one of these long high bluffs is named by the Navajo, Woman's Skirt Mountain.

Yet, the land of the Navajo does not differ from that of the Pueblos along any absolute dimension; the two peoples differ, rather, in how they live upon the land. Unlike the Pueblos, the Navajo remain thinly spread out within the box canyons, or at the base of the cliffs, of their far-flung land. While they have proved themselves to be extremely adaptable, with many becoming quite successful cultivators, sheep herding and raiding were more amenable to them, and they moved about a great deal. In addition to agriculture, the Navajo absorbed many other Pueblo ideas and institutions, along with quite a few Pueblo people themselves, mainly refugees from the Spaniards. What the Navajo have learned from the Pueblos and, later, from the Spaniards and Americans, has been blended with their still seminomadic life-style to form a unique, flexible, and vital synthesis.

What is most distinctive and striking about the Navajo people and their culture is their aesthetic tradition. The woven rugs and silver jewelry, impressive as they are by themselves, ultimately have their roots in the traditional dry paintings of Navajo religion. And the dry paintings, in their turn, are but concrete pictorial representations of the great sings or chants that comprise the living vitality of Navajo religion. Hence, the entire Navajo aesthetic tradition is inspired by what are at once prayers, myths, poetry, and sacred scripture rendered into song.

Their Athapaskan sibs, those who were to be called Apaches, moved onto the higher mountain vastnesses after centuries of raiding with impunity all over the Southwest. There they, in their turn, have stayed, as guardians of the watersheds of some of the major feeder streams of the great rivers.

The diversity of the Southwest was both increased and threatened by the arrival of the Spaniards in 1540 and, further, by the American onslaught beginning in the early nineteenth century. The Coronado expedition into the Southwest was inspired by Fray Marcos de Niza's exaggerated 1539 report of the riches of the region. De Niza had spotted the Zuni Pueblos from afar, presumably at dawn or in the late afternoon sun, when the Pueblos may glow with a golden hue, and assumed he was near the famed cities of gold.

Coronado explored the Pueblo country for two years without finding the hoped-for riches, and his report

dispelled Spanish enthusiasm for the region for a half-century. It was not until 1598 that Juan de Oñate set up a colony in Pueblo country, after several exploring expeditions headed by others. The Spanish government demanded labor and tribute from the Pueblos and vigorously attempted to suppress native religion. These practices eventually led the Pueblos to unite in revolt in 1680, and they managed to expel the Spaniards until 1692. In that year Diego de Vargas re-entered Pueblo country, though it was not until 1696 that he gained control over the entire Rio Grande Pueblo area. The Spaniards had learned from the Pueblo Revolt and were gentler in their demands in the next century and a half. However, the Pueblos had learned as well and maintained their ceremonial life out of the view of the Spaniards, while adopting the veneer of Roman Catholicism.

The nomadic tribes and the Hopi were considerably more independent during this postrevolutionary Spanish period and the Mexican period that ensued, from 1821 until 1846. In 1846 the United States took control over that portion of the Southwest north of the Rio Grande and began campaigns to settle the nomadic tribes upon reservations. By 1863 most of the Mescalero Apache had fled into Mexico or submitted to imprisonment at Fort Sumner. Most of the Navajo were forced to join them

there in 1864 after Kit Carson's siege upon Canyon de Chelly. Their journey to Fort Sumner is the tragic Long Walk to which they still refer in their stories of those times. In 1868, after four years of heartbreak and starvation, the Navajo were allowed to return to a reservation on their homeland, and four reservations were set aside for the various bands of Apaches. However, few Apaches would submit to settlement, and it was not until 1875 that those Apaches who had not fled to Mexico were confined on reservations.

The other native groups in the Southwest have also retained at least portions of their homelands, though the struggle to gain and keep these lands has been a continuous and often a bitter one. Missionaries and government programs have had an impact upon the native peoples of the Southwest to varying degrees, but this and other historical considerations are explored in depth in volume 4. Contemporary issues are discussed in volume 2. The focus in the two volumes of *Southwest* is on the impressive tenacity with which Southwestern Indians have held on to their homelands, religions, languages, social institutions, and aesthetic traditions. It is this tenacity that attracted the interest of anthropologists, writers, artists, and tourists to the Southwest initially, and it is this very tenacity that makes the detailed accounts in the pages to follow possible.