

1. Interaction and Connectivity in the Greater Southwest: Introduction
Karen G. Harry and Barbara J. Roth 3

Part I: Diffusion

2. Beyond Trade and Exchange: A New Look at Diffusion
Catherine M. Cameron 15
3. Reframing Diffusion through Social Network Theory
Barbara J. Mills and Matthew A. Peeples 40
4. There and Back Again
*Kelley A. Hays-Gilpin, Dennis A. Gilpin, Suzanne L. Eckert,
John A. Ware, David A. Phillips Jr., Hayward H. Franklin,
and Jean H. Ballagh* 63
5. The Diffusion of Scarlet Macaws and Mesoamerican Motifs into the
Mimbres Region
Patricia A. Gilman, Marc Thompson, and Kristina C. Wyckoff 82

6. Maintenance, Revival, or Hybridization? Distinguishing between Types of Identity Reconstruction in the American Southwest
Suzanne L. Eckert 115

Part II: Social Units and Social Interaction

7. Identifying Social Units and Social Interaction during the Pithouse Period in the Mimbres Region, Southwestern New Mexico
Barbara J. Roth 133
8. House Variability during the Pueblo III Period in the Kayenta Region of the American Southwest
Tammy Stone 151
9. Jornada Formative Settlements in the Highlands and Lowlands: Contrasting Paths to Pueblo Villages
Thomas R. Rocek 177
10. The Hohokam House: Identifying Nested Social Groups during the Pioneer Period in the Tucson Basin
Eric Eugene Klucas and William M. Graves 199
11. Household Ritual and Communal Ritual: Kivas and the Making of Community in the Southern Chuska Valley
John G. Douglass, William M. Graves, David T. Unruh, Phillip O. Leckman, and Richard Ciolek-Torello 223
12. The Social Dimensions of Prehistoric Agavaceae Baking Pits: Feasting and Leadership in the Late Pithouse and Pueblo Periods of South-Central New Mexico
Myles R. Miller 251

Part III: Northern Periphery

13. The Northern Frontier in the History of the Greater Southwest
James R. Allison 281
14. Changing Patterns of Interaction and Identity in the Moapa Valley of Southern Nevada
Karen G. Harry 308
15. Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherer-Farmer Identities in Las Vegas Valley, Southern Nevada
Richard V.N. Ahlstrom 329
16. The Jackson Flat Reservoir Project: Examples of Culture Change at a Virgin Branch Settlement in Kanab, Utah
Heidi Roberts 353

17.	The Late Fremont Regional System	
	<i>Richard K. Talbot</i>	378
18.	Architecture and Social Organization in the Fremont World	
	<i>Lindsay D. Johansson</i>	406
19.	Fremont Ceramic Designs and What They Suggest about Fremont– Ancestral Puebloan Relationships	
	<i>Katie K. Richards</i>	433
	<i>List of Contributors</i>	459
	<i>Index</i>	461

COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL
NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Interaction and Connectivity in the Greater Southwest

Introduction

KAREN G. HARRY AND BARBARA ROTH

The chapters in this volume are the outcome of the 14th Southwest Symposium held in Las Vegas, Nevada, in 2014. Inaugurated in 1988, this biennial conference was established to provide a venue in which Southwestern archaeologists could present new research findings that “contribute to methodological, theoretical, and substantive issues in archaeology” (Nelson and Strawhacker 2011:1). The theme of the 2014 symposium was social interaction. In this volume, authors explore different kinds of social interaction that occurred prehistorically across the Southwest. The authors use diverse and innovative approaches to address how interaction took place and to examine the economic, social, and ideological implications of the different forms of interaction. Social interaction is examined from three perspectives: (1) its role in the diffusion of ideas and material culture, (2) the way that different social units, especially households, interacted within and between communities, and (3) the importance of interaction and interconnectivity in understanding the archaeology of the Southwest’s northern periphery. By approaching the topic of interaction using a variety of different data sets, the authors present new ways of examining how social interaction

and connectivity, at a variety of scales, influenced cultural developments in the Southwest. Although hardly a new subject matter, the chapters provide fresh perspectives on this enduring topic. In this introduction, we address the three approaches to social interaction—diffusion, social units, and the northern periphery—that organize the volume’s chapters. The discussion in the present essay sets the stage for the more detailed presentations in the chapters that follow.

PART I: RETHINKING DIFFUSION

The chapters in part I reintroduce the concept of diffusion to Southwestern archaeology. Although once a dominant paradigm in the discipline, diffusion fell out of favor during the rise of processual archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s. Loss of interest in the subject resulted not so much from a lack of belief in diffusion, but from a conviction that such studies were unable to contribute to the types of questions considered important at that time. The diffusion studies that dominated North American archaeology in the early twentieth century had been largely restricted to identifying the origins and distributions of cultural traits; because early scholars considered the spread of behaviors to be an inevitable byproduct of cultural contact, they made no effort to explain *why* individuals might have been motivated to adopt practices with which they came in contact. With its emphasis on systems theory and on identifying the function of objects and behaviors in sustaining the social group, processual archaeology eschewed diffusion as having little to offer the discipline’s new anthropological orientation.

More than 50 years have passed since the advent of processualism, and the focus of Southwestern archaeology has long since moved beyond the functionalist approaches of that era. As well, methodological advances (e.g., chemical sourcing techniques and the application of social network analysis) have made it possible to examine the transmission of behaviors in the archaeological record with greater nuance and detail than ever before. Despite these changes, the concept of diffusion has remained largely ignored and theoretically underdeveloped. In chapter 2, Catherine Cameron challenges us to reconsider the utility of this concept and to develop new approaches that investigate not only *whether* diffusion occurred but *how* and *why* it happened.

The case studies presented in part I provide examples of how, when approached through a more comprehensive and contemporary lens, the study of diffusion can stimulate new ways of thinking about the archaeological record. One useful contribution from these studies derives from their focus on the mechanisms by which diffusion occurred. The chapters consider both the nature of the social groups involved in the transmission and the contexts in which the encounters took place. In some instances transmission accompanied the relatively large-scale relocation of people into new areas. In chapter 3, Barbara Mills and Matthew Peebles argue that this was the case for the spread of Salado

polychrome ceramics, which they suggest were introduced into the central and southern Southwest by migrants from the Kayenta/Tusayan region. Settling in scattered locations, these migrants maintained broad social connections that contributed to the diffusion and widespread adoption of Salado polychromes.

In other instances practices appear to have been transmitted by specific subsets of people within the societies. Cameron (chapter 2) discusses the role that captives, obtained during raiding and warfare, could have had in the transfer of knowledge, and Kelley Hays-Gilpin and colleagues (chapter 4) propose that ritual specialists were responsible for the transmission of Sikyatki style designs in the Puebloan region. In the latter study, the authors argue that Sikyatki-style imagery, which appears on ceramics and murals at Awatovi (Hopi Mesas) and Pottery Mound (Rio Grande), was associated with a ritual sodality. Transmission of the style, they suggest, occurred when individuals acquired sodality membership and knowledge from one area and introduced it to the other. Ritual specialists are similarly proposed to have been responsible for the transmission of macaws and the Hero Twins saga from Mesoamerica to the Mimbres area. In chapter 5, Patricia Gilman and her colleagues outline a scenario in which the birds and ritual knowledge were acquired by select individuals who, for spiritual purposes, undertook the long trip from the Mimbres area to central Mexico in order to acquire macaws, the knowledge of how to care for macaws, and ideological training.

Finally, Suzanne Eckert (chapter 6) uses three case studies to examine the ways that the diffusion of people and ideas influenced identity formation during different periods in the northern Southwest. She shows how identity was maintained during the thirteenth century in the northern Rio Grande region despite extensive interaction with outside groups, how past aspects of identity were revived in the Zuni region following Spanish missionization efforts, and how a hybrid identity developed in groups at Pottery Mound Village in the Rio Grande region following extensive population movements during the 1400s and 1500s.

The studies presented here contrast with early twentieth-century approaches to diffusion in their consideration of the factors that influence whether a particular trait or practice will be adopted. Most often, as Cameron (chapter 2) points out, people adopt the practices of others whom they admire or consider successful. The transfer of ritual knowledge in the Puebloan and Mimbres regions appears to fall in this category. In some instances, however, diffusion occurs in the direction of the lower- to the higher-status group. Although of low status compared to their subjugators, captives can sometimes successfully introduce practices to their captor community. Cameron discusses several factors that can encourage the adoption of captive practices, including instances in which captives have a set of skills or knowledge desired by the dominant society. Finally, factors other than status can affect whether a practice will be adopted. For

example, Mills and Peebles (chapter 3) propose that in the case of Salado polychrome ceramics, the relative lack of complexity of the technology and the high visibility of the vessels were factors that contributed to their adoption.

The chapters in this section demonstrate that the concept of diffusion retains strong explanatory power and has the potential to address the types of questions that archaeologists are asking today. By focusing on the *processes* of diffusion—who is involved and why it occurred—archaeologists can reclaim this concept and reintegrate its study into the discipline in a meaningful way.

PART II: SOCIAL UNITS AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The chapters in part II address the varying kinds of social units that existed in prehistoric Southwestern societies and the role that they played in social interaction both within and between communities. As Barbara Roth (chapter 7) notes, for archaeologists interested in reconstructing social units and forming any meaningful understanding of social interaction and culture change, the challenge is to link the static material remains found at archaeological sites to the living, active social beings who lived there. Fortunately, following pioneering work by Rapoport (1969, 1990) and others, we recognize that social units are often visible in the built environment, from domestic architecture to landscapes. Different social units (nuclear families, extended families, immigrants) were linked in different ways into households, communities, and regional social networks. The array of social units present at sites across the Southwest also formed the basis for different kinds of identities, with some households, communities, and regions exhibiting strong identity signatures linked to maintaining social cohesion, status, and power, and others more fluid and changing.

These chapters reveal both the variable nature of social units in different environmental and social settings across the Southwest and the diversity of approaches that can be used to reconstruct them. Most of the chapters rely heavily on architectural features as the basis for reconstructing social units, but draw on other material evidence in inferring the nature of the individuals and groups who occupied and used these features.

Households formed the basic social unit for many Southwestern prehistoric societies and, in fact, for many prehistoric Neolithic societies worldwide (Blanton 1994; Douglass and Gonlin 2012; Hendon 1996; Parker and Foster 2012). Households were configured in multiple ways, and variability in the ways they were organized and interacted had repercussions across all levels of society. Delineating differences between households, be they tied to economic pursuits, social status, ritual practices, and/or identity, can be a powerful tool for examining the nature of social interaction and social change within past societies.

In chapter 7, Roth compares household composition and the nature of social interaction and integration at two sites in the Mimbres region of southwestern

New Mexico: the Harris site, a large pithouse village located along the Mimbres River, and La Gila Encantada, a smaller pithouse settlement located in an upland setting away from the river. She shows that despite the fact that the two sites had similar architectural features (pithouses), they were occupied by different social units, with clusters of pithouses at the Harris site representing the development of extended-family households that played important social and ritual roles in village integration. In contrast, independent, autonomous households occupied La Gila Encantada. Roth documents that these household differences represent contrasting forms of interaction and integration. Tammy Stone (chapter 8) uses the spatial layout of late pithouse and pueblo rooms to examine differences in contemporary households in the Kayenta region of northern Arizona. She views these differences in domestic architecture as reflecting occupation by distinct social units present within a single settlement, illustrating the complex and dynamic nature of social interaction in the Kayenta region. These two chapters illustrate that architectural features can be used as a starting point for addressing social organization and interaction, and more nuanced interpretations can be made when other lines of evidence are used to supplement architectural data.

Social units also form the basis of communities that served to integrate and coordinate individuals and households. Communities formed for a range of reasons, such as for integrated labor, defense, or ritual. They can be observed at the scale of sites, valleys, or larger regions—and the communities themselves interacted on varying scales. The role of ritual in creating and reinforcing community is one of the key similarities observed in the development of communities across the Southwest.

The concept of community and its constituent social units is explored in several of the chapters in part II. In chapter 9, Thomas Rocek compares settlements in highland and lowland settings in the Jornada Mogollon region and explores the development of different kinds of communities in these two settings. He argues that the observed differences between the highlands and lowlands result from a shift in land use. Lowland settlements became larger and more substantial over time as a result of increasing maize dependence, while highland settlements shifted from temporary field sites associated with lowland sites to independent, agriculturally based communities. In chapter 10, Eric Klucas and William Graves show that Hohokam community organization in southern Arizona comprised a series of nested social units from domestic structures to the community. They argue that these nested units formed the basis of Hohokam social identity that appeared early and influenced social relationships and interaction throughout the Hohokam cultural sequence.

John Douglas and colleagues (chapter 11) use data from the Chuska Valley of northern New Mexico to explore the fundamental role of ritual in integrating households into communities. They show that households used ritual

performance to “create and maintain relationships between households” (Gilman and Stone 2013:610). This became increasingly formalized over time, as observed in the development of kivas and great kivas to house these rituals. Using a different approach to examine community interaction and integration, Myles Miller (chapter 12) discusses the important role that agave-baking pits played in the Jornada Mogollon region of southern New Mexico. He argues that these features were used to produce fermented beverages for feasts that served to create and enhance social ties across communities and explores the implications that this had for status, power, and ritual integration across the Jornada region.

These chapters illustrate the range of approaches that can be used to address the nature of social units and the importance of including them in reconstructing social interaction. The varying nature of social units across time and space influenced how prehistoric Southwestern societies interacted, coalesced, and formed into communities. Like the chapters in part I, these chapters show the significance of asking new questions of the data—in this case, by looking at how architecture, features, and landscapes, supplemented with other lines of data, can contribute to our understanding of how past societies were organized and interacted.

PART III: THE SOUTHWEST'S NORTHERN PERIPHERY

The last section of the book presents a series of chapters that deal with the events that unfolded along the far northern edge of the North American Southwest. This area included the Virgin Branch Puebloan (VBP) culture and the Fremont culture, both of which sometimes have been considered a part of the Southwestern culture area and sometimes have been considered external to it (see James Allison, chapter 13 for a discussion of the history of their classification). In short, both of these cultures have received far too little attention by Southwestern archaeologists. As the chapters presented in part III demonstrate, this situation has impacted not only our understanding of these cultures but also of events and trends that occurred in other regions. The chapters consider the role of social interaction in shaping the VBP and Fremont cultures, as well as how this interaction influenced developments in adjacent regions. They demonstrate that these edge areas had vibrant culture histories in their own right, and that their geographic marginality (relative to the Southwestern heartland cultures) does not necessarily equate to other types of marginality (e.g., in terms of their impacts on developments in the heartland, or in terms of their economic, political or social lives; see Harry and Herr 2018).

Several recurrent themes related to this issue emerge from the chapters. First, they illustrate that the cultures of the northern periphery cannot be reduced to simply less populated, socially simpler versions of the core cultures found to the south, as peripheral regions have often been viewed in the past (Lightfoot

and Martinez 1995; Rice 1988). In fact, in several instances they do not appear to have been socially simpler at all or any more isolated than contemporaneous social groups living in the core regions. For example, in southern Nevada, the Virgin Branch site of Main Ridge is the largest known settlement in the western Puebloan region during the Pueblo II period. The site has yielded substantial quantities of nonlocal goods, suggesting that its inhabitants participated in thriving trade networks (Karen Harry, chapter 14). Similar evidence of extensive exchange can be found at Virgin Branch sites in Kanab, Utah (Heidi Roberts, chapter 16) and in the Fremont region (Richard Talbot, chapter 17). During the Late Fremont period, Fremont sites were organized in a settlement hierarchy that suggests some level of organizational complexity (Talbot, chapter 17). Katie Richards's design analysis of Fremont and Virgin ceramics (chapter 19) shows that their material cultures were not simply diluted versions of their nearest Puebloan neighbors. Her study indicates that, contrary to what is commonly assumed, Fremont design styles were more similar to those of the eastern Puebloan region than they were to those of the nearer, Virgin region. However, while the Fremont adopted certain aspects of eastern Puebloan designs, they only adopted selected aspects and even those were modified and adapted to make them distinctly Fremont. Thus, while the Fremont appear to have been linking themselves with the eastern Puebloan world, at the same time they actively signaled their uniqueness.

The Virgin and Fremont cultures were clearly influenced by the Ancestral Puebloan cultures, but their trajectories cannot be reduced to those of the latter. Some Fremont sites have yielded oversized pit structures that, as Lindsay Johansson demonstrates in chapter 18, appear to have functioned much like kivas as private spaces for male-oriented activities. However, Fremont sites often also contain central structures that appear to have been used for community-wide activities or gatherings (Johansson, chapter 18), an architectural form that has no precedent in the Ancestral Puebloan heartland. Similarly, although the Virgin Branch culture most closely resembles that of the Kayenta, it differs in significant ways that Harry (chapter 14; see also Harry and Watson 2018) suggests reflects a desire by the VBP people to retain aspects of their ancestral, Great Basin-related, heritage.

A second theme that emerges from the chapters here is that the cultures of the far northern periphery played an active role in events that unfolded in the Ancestral Puebloan region, particularly during the Archaic-to-agriculture transition. Roberts (chapter 16) reports on the recovery of maize dating to more than 3,000 years ago from the Jackson Flat Reservoir in Kanab, Utah. As Roberts notes, this date "is significantly older than the earliest maize in the Kayenta region, which traditionally has been considered the route of cultigen introduction," and raises the possibility that maize was introduced to the western Colorado

Plateaus from the Virgin Branch region rather than the other way around. In Nevada, Richard Ahlstrom (chapter 15) reports that the earliest-known maize comes not from Basketmaker sites in the Moapa Valley, but from sites that pre-date the Basketmaker period in the Las Vegas Valley. These data, he suggests, raise the possibility that agriculture entered southern Nevada not from the Kayenta region as traditionally thought, but from the Hohokam region via the Colorado River (a possibility also discussed by Allison and Harry in chapters 13 and 14, respectively).

In chapter 14, Harry argues that southern Nevada likely played an active role, not only in the transmission of agriculture to the Kayenta region, but in the actual formation of the Basketmaker culture. Specifically, she rejects the notion that the lowland Virgin Branch culture was established by Basketmaker immigrants from the Kayenta region, and argues instead that it was an in situ development established by the descendants of local Archaic-period populations. Thus, rather than being mere recipients of practices originating on the Colorado Plateau, she argues these descendants were actively involved in the emergence and creation of the Basketmaker culture.

A final theme suggested by these chapters is that far from being insulated by events that occurred in other regions, the inhabitants of the far northern periphery were often impacted, and sometimes even substantially transformed, by them. Although examples of this can be found in several chapters, the most substantial argument is presented by Allison (chapter 13), who proposes that both the Fremont and the Virgin Branch regions experienced substantial changes triggered by the rise of Chaco in the Pueblo II period. These changes included population increases, the establishment of new settlements in formerly unoccupied areas, and an intensification of intraregional interaction. Allison suggests these changes were triggered by the expansion of Chaco Canyon, which drove people of adjacent areas to resettle into the Fremont and Virgin Branch regions. This, he suggests, created a “shatter zone” in the northern periphery, where people of diverse backgrounds who were fleeing the Chaco expansion came to settle.

Although closely related to the Southwestern cultures, the Virgin and Fremont cultures have traditionally been outside of the mainstream of Southwestern archaeological research. As Talbot (chapter 17) reports, these areas are often considered with other Great Basin cultures, a circumstance that has impacted the types of questions and investigations that have been conducted in the region. By giving careful consideration to the social relationships that the Fremont, Virgin Branch, and other people living in the far northern edge areas had with Southwestern groups and with one another, we will be able to gain a more complete understanding of both these cultures and the cultures of the Southwestern heartland.

DISCUSSION

This volume highlights innovative approaches used to look at social interaction, connectivity, and social integration across the Southwest. The chapters document diverse ways that these topics can be examined, via a focus on architecture, material culture, iconography, and landscapes. Some underlying themes crosscut these varying approaches. First, the chapters in this volume illustrate the importance of examining social interaction through a focus on cultural processes rather than on cultural traits. This is most clearly exemplified in the nuanced approaches to diffusion presented in part I and to the examination of northern periphery cultures in part III, but it is also manifest in the case studies presented in part II, which explore the variability of social units over time and space and their influence on social interaction and community formation. The chapters in this volume illustrate the insights that can be gained by looking at the *whys* and complex *hows* of social interaction and connectivity versus focusing only on discrete material culture traits that could be configured in a diversity of networks, communities, and identities in the past.

The second crosscutting theme is a movement away from strictly economic-driven models of social connectivity and interaction. The authors in this volume recognize that economics was one of many factors that influenced how and to what degree individuals, social groups, and communities interacted. However, they also demonstrate that by incorporating the role of ritual, households, individuals, immigrants, and captives into the study of the topic, we can build on previous economic-based approaches and expand our understanding of how and why interaction impacted the lived experiences of past peoples.

Finally, the chapters illustrate that new approaches can provide significant insights into long-studied prehistoric groups. Members of these groups lived in dynamic social situations that did not always have clear cut and unwavering social boundaries. Rather, social connectivity and interaction was often fluid and changed over time. The studies in this volume highlight that much remains to be learned from the Southwestern archaeological record.

REFERENCES

- Blanton, Richard E. 1994. *Houses and Households: A Comparative Study*. New York: Plenum Press. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4899-0990-9>.
- Douglass, John G., and Nancy Gonlin, eds. 2012. *Ancient Households of the Americas*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Gilman, Patricia A., and Tammy Stone. 2013. "The Role of Ritual Variability in Social Negotiations of Early Communities: Great Kiva Homogeneity and Heterogeneity in the Mogollon Region of the North American Southwest." *American Antiquity* 78(4):607–623. <https://doi.org/10.7183/0002-7316.78.4.607>.

- Harry, Karen G., and Sarah Herr, eds. 2018. *Life Beyond the Boundaries: Constructing Identity in Edge Regions of the North American Southwest*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Harry, Karen G., and James T. Watson. 2018. "Shaping Identity in the Prehispanic Southwest." In *Life Beyond the Boundaries: Constructing Identity in Edge Regions of the North American Southwest*, ed. Karen Harry and Sarah Herr, 122–56. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Hendon, Julia A. 1996. "Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25(1):45–61. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.25.1.45>.
- Lightfoot, Kent G., and Antoinette Martinez. 1995. "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24(1):471–492. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.002351>.
- Nelson, Margaret C., and Colleen Strawhacker. 2011. "Changing Histories, Landscapes, and Perspectives: The 20th Anniversary Southwest Symposium." In *Movement, Connectivity, and Landscape Change in the Ancient Southwest*, ed. Margaret C. Nelson and Colleen A. Strawhacker, 1–13. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Parker, Bradley J., and Catherine P. Foster, eds. 2012. *New Perspectives on Household Archaeology*. Indiana: Eisenbrauns Publishing.
- Rapoport, Amos. 1969. *House Form and Culture*. California: Prentice Hall.
- Rapoport, Amos. 1990. "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings." In *Domestic Architecture and Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. Susan Kent, 9–20. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rice, P. 1988. "Contexts of Contact and Change: Peripheries, Frontiers and Boundaries." In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, ed. James G. Cusick. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper No. 25. Chicago: Southern Illinois University.