

Glazing Over Differences: Picuris Pueblo and Rio Grande Glaze Ware

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Located in the northeastern corner of the Pueblo world, Picuris Pueblo exists on the fringe not only geographically but also archaeologically. In many ways, Picuris culture is unique, combining aspects of both Pueblo and Plains life and is one of only two Northern Tiwa-speaking communities. Once one of the largest settlements in the area, Picuris contains numerous opportunities for what is now New Mexico's smallest pueblo to celebrate and promote their archaeological heritage. However, much of the northern Rio Grande remains under studied and new research can highlight the unique cultures of this region. While many of the ground-breaking studies in the early days of Southwestern archaeology took place in this region, it has not received as much attention in more recent times. Currently, Alfred Kidder's century-old work on Pecos Pueblo is the primary source of information for the area, and the ceramic typology it includes is applied across the region. This research attempts to apply the Pecos typology to a small collection of 40 Rio Grande Glaze Ware rims collected from Picuris and notes differences and incongruities that distinguish the two. This research finds that the ceramic typologies as they stand are not fully transferable across the diverse groups of the northern Rio Grande region, even when there are not vast distances separating them. In discovering where the current system falls short, this paper opens the door for further research into tailoring the typology to suit sites across the area. Once a baseline is established for differences at Picuris, higher level analysis of these differences can be carried out.

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Chapter 1

Archaeology, Indigenous Peoples, and the Public

1.1 Introduction

The American Southwest has been a focus of intense archaeological investigation for over a century. In addition to the stellar preservation that the desert and mountain environments provide, the area boasts cultural continuity going back thousands of years. An abundance of archaeological evidence provides a rich history, from the earliest settlers in the area over 20,000 years ago as suggested by the footprints discovered at White Sands National Park, to historic life in the pueblos after Euro-American colonization (Bennett et al. 2021). This cultural continuity extends not only into the past, but into the present and future as well. The many tribes of the Southwest have managed to hold on to their cultural traditions and lifeways in a manner generally unseen across North America (Dozier 1970:1). Heritage is a key aspect of this, and thus archaeology is seen as an important resource for many of the tribes. Numerous tribal archaeological offices and bureaus have sprung up over the past 50 years as Indigenous peoples have reclaimed control of their material heritage. As Indigenous issues continue to come to the fore in modern discourse, archaeology can play a valuable role in educating the public about both the deep history and the cultural vibrancy and tenacity of modern Indigenous peoples. Currently, however, information about Indigenous heritage is often not well-distributed for both the general public and Indigenous peoples themselves. For reconciliation to occur, both groups need to understand each other's heritage, a conversation, which, to this point, has often been markedly one-sided.

This project focuses on pottery from Picuris Pueblo, a federally recognized tribe in Northern New Mexico. In the period just before and immediately after Spanish colonization, Picuris was one of the bigger pueblos at around 3000 people (Dozier 1970:122). This changed dramatically over the course of four centuries, and now it is one of the smallest Pueblo¹ tribes at less than 2000 enrolled members, with less than 100 living in the pueblo (US Census). The pottery from Picuris and the resulting research can offer a case study in the promotion of this legacy in several ways. While the scope of my thesis does not directly discuss Indigenous issues, the research that it presents can be used in ways other than the dissemination of this work. However, the distribution of knowledge is also a benefit of the Public Issues Anthropology program which, with a public presentation and publication of this thesis on the UWSpace website, affords options for more people to access this research. Currently, Indigenous issues interface with numerous groups and are beginning to move from local events mainly ignored by the world at large to movements that have a major impact on policy and politics across the globe. More and more people are learning about the mostly untold story of Indigenous history and archaeology can assist in this education. The more people who are educated about these things, the more people can advocate for further progress (Pasqual 2017:174). People from all kinds of backgrounds can aid in this mission, and it is therefore critical to examine who these people are.

¹ A note on capitalization: Pueblo is capitalized when referring to the specific ethnic group consisting of various tribes of New Mexico and Arizona and spelt with a lower case 'p' when referring to the architectural structure itself or the village in general.

1.2 Multiple Publics

1.2.1 The General Population

This project can interact with two different publics: the general populace of the Americas as well as the Indigenous peoples whose culture is being studied. Recognition of these two separate publics is key in tailoring information and how it is presented, along with what is emphasized (McManamon 1991:127). The “general populace” can be a hard group to define; is it everyone? Everyone minus certain groups? In the latter case, would that make the “general populace” everyone outside of academics and Indigenous peoples? For the purposes of this discussion, the general populace will be defined as “people who do not interact with or have specialized knowledge of the heritage and culture of Indigenous North America, past or present”. Because this group lacks this connection, the most important aspect of outreach to this group is education.

Multiple news stories have shown that the public in general is unaware of almost every aspect of Indigenous life, past and present. Some of this inattention comes from racism and other malicious forms of bias, as was seen in the arson incidents surrounding the Mi’kmaq fishery in Nova Scotia (Slaughter 2020). Prejudice against Indigenous peoples is still strong across the Americas, with negative stereotypes providing many people with all the information they believe they need. However, a considerable lack of knowledge comes from the simple fact that people have not been exposed to or taught about Indigenous history and culture in school, life, or the media. Across Canada, news has been breaking for months of the discovery of thousands of unmarked graves on the grounds of former residential schools (Austen 2021). The shock of these discoveries came not only from their upsetting nature, but from the fact that many Canadians

simply never knew these schools existed. In 2015, the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe in Massachusetts lost its legal status as an official tribe following a land dispute (Stoico 2021). It was only in 2021 that this status was restored, but this conflict shows the disconnect between settlers and Indigenous peoples, even in a place where there has been constant interaction between the two groups over the past 400 years. Similar events are taking place across North America, all of which indicate a need for further Indigenous visibility.

While the population of New Mexico is more diverse than many other states, with 36.8% identifying as non-Hispanic white, 9.5% as Indigenous, 49.3% as Hispanic, and the remainder identifying as other ethnicities, there is still room for education across a variety of groups (US Census 2020). In the Southwest, Indigenous symbols and art are used in various contexts across multiple states, yet there is often ignorance in matters of meaning, importance, and even the status of their creators (Rogers 2018:344). The myth that Indigenous peoples, or at least all the “real” ones, have died out is still present in modern discourse (Colwell 2019:213). Despite ostensibly being a discipline of the past, archaeology is in a position to help inform the public not only of the rich Indigenous histories on the continent, but also to show their survivance through centuries of colonialism.

1.2.2 Indigenous Peoples

The people of Picuris Pueblo itself are another public that this work could benefit, however, in a much different way than the populace at large. Archaeology and Indigenous peoples have a fraught relationship as unfortunately, the colonial history of the discipline means

that in many cases, until recently, 'research' was carried out without the interests or consent of descendent communities in mind. If archaeological research from the very beginning was seen as something that could benefit Indigenous peoples and not violate any of their rules, rather than simply satisfying the curiosity of European colonizers, then they also may be more willing to allow it (Million 2005:48). Taos, Picuris' neighbour and fellow Northern Tiwa group, have forbidden most anthropological work in their community, both archaeological and sociocultural, in response to the damage that was wrought in other pueblos (Colwell 2019:17). Archaeology therefore needs to extend a metaphorical olive branch to the groups that it has previously alienated if it wishes to move forward with, rather than against, Indigenous peoples.

One form this has taken to date is the rise of Indigenous archaeology. Indigenous archaeology has many guises, conventions, and goals, but is generally defined as archaeology that incorporates Indigenous peoples and ways of thinking at all levels (Preucel and Cipolla 2008:131). One popular definition states that "Indigenous archaeology is done for, by, and with Indigenous peoples". (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). In the context of this project, the work can be seen as being potentially benefitting the people of Picuris; using the specialized skills I have obtained can offer them information that they can do with as they wish. Several other pueblos have embraced archaeology for the stories that it can tell and have begun their own programs of research (Pasqual 2017:175). These projects often start with guidance of a traditionally academically trained archaeologist with the goal of training new professionals from within the tribe (Preucel and Cipolla 2008:133). An example of archaeology incorporating Indigenous values in the northern Rio Grande is the work of Matthew Liebmann at Jemez Pueblo. One of the principles that informed their work was to stay above ground; no excavation was done for this

research (Liebmann 2012:21). While that project also did not make use of pre-existing collections and instead focused on surface survey and remote sensing techniques, my project also tries to work within a framework that would likely not go against any of Picuris' wishes. While I have not had the chance to speak with members of Picuris, this supposition is based on previous research allowed with these collections as well as examining suggestions made by other groups.

Self-determination is an overarching theme in almost all aspects of Indigenous advocacy. The colonial enterprise has made Indigenous peoples wards of the state, unable to care for themselves and act in their own best interests, and certainly not able to undertake scientific study of the past (Watkins 2005:180). This tendency is not limited to the government, however, but extends to the various groups that have studied Indigenous peoples in one way or another. Archaeologists have traditionally viewed themselves as the arbiters of knowledge of the material past, the most qualified to make any sort of decision regarding artifacts (Joyce 2004:102). However, a more equitable situation would be to recognize the contributions of both groups, with Indigenous peoples getting to say what and how their belongings are used, while still making use of the specialized skills archaeologists can bring to the table.

1.3 Control of Heritage

Archaeology, then, can provide a way for both of these publics to benefit. Indigenous groups can take control of their own heritage not only to possess it, but to decide what to share and who gets to receive that information. The control of heritage materials has been one of the most contentious issues in the discipline, with opponents of repatriation still making cases

against it even in late 2021 (Sulek 2021). In the US, one of the biggest factors in Indigenous peoples reclaiming their material past was the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. However, beyond human remains, NAGPRA only covers specific classes of artifacts, such as sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony (Trobe and Echo-Hawk 2001:22). This means that the vast majority of archaeological materials remain under the control of Western institutions. One day, there could be Indigenous-controlled facilities for the storage and display of artifacts, but as the situation currently stands, the only institutions capable of holding such collections are often larger and federally funded, such as the Smithsonian (Cash Cash 2001:139). However, the situation need not be inherently adversarial, and pathways for research and education that are done for and by Indigenous peoples are gradually opening. While sacred objects and human remains may be reburied or otherwise taken out of public view, there are a variety of other ways that groups may wish to handle their archaeological heritage.

One example of this is a desire to display artifacts on their own terms. Some tribes want to create museums to educate their own members, allowing people to see their own history without needing to go to Washington DC or New York City to do so. This also allows groups to tell their stories in the ways they wish, emphasizing their own knowledge and experiences, and not the narratives used by their colonizers (Nicholas 2005:83). Picuris is currently working on revitalizing their tribal museum by rebuilding and redesigning its various displays. A new museum can benefit the tribe in multiple ways, some of which are bringing in valuable tourist dollars and helping inform the public about their unique heritage. Taos, just 15 miles to the northeast, is a UNESCO world heritage site that draws in visitors from all over the world and

introduces the world to their culture in their own voices. Tourism is one of New Mexico's biggest industries; travel to and within the Land of Enchantment contributed substantially to the state's economy in 2019, with visitors spending \$7.4 billion, while tourism related industries employed almost 9% of all New Mexicans (New Mexico Tourism Department 2020). Cornering even a small share of this market could therefore have a great impact on Picuris, something of which the people there are acutely aware. The tourism in Taos has not only brought resources to the pueblo, but to the neighbouring area as well, with the population of the town of Taos continuing to grow in recent years. The area around Picuris could also benefit from the increased tourism, as it is a generally a low-income area.

If Picuris could establish their museum as a place to visit, the benefits would be multifold. First, as mentioned above, is the impact of tourism. Money that is brought in by the museum can be used to sustain it as well as potentially fund other projects. The ability to educate people in their own way on their own territory would be a powerful move for self-determination. While these are all much larger goals than my project, the first steps are to establish what materials are in storage and the extent of collections. Due to the original excavator's untimely passing, much of the ceramic collection from Picuris is undocumented. While my study of 40 sherds is the smallest of drops in an ocean of artifacts, it is still progress in helping to identify what potential it could hold. Knowing this would further allow the people running the museum to decide what to display.

1.4 Publication Venue

The proposed venue for publication of chapter two of my thesis in *KIVA*, a peer-reviewed, well-respected journal published by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society. *KIVA* covers “the archaeology, anthropology, and history of the American Southwest and northern Mexico” which is a perfect fit for my study of Puebloan pottery.

Chapter 2

Glazing Over Differences: Picuris Pueblo and Rio Grande Glaze Wares

2.1 Introduction

The Pueblo peoples of the American Southwest have attracted attention from ethnographers and archaeologists for well over a century. Certain tribes, like the Hopi and Zuni have been exhaustively studied and endless volumes about their lifeways line the shelves of academic libraries across the continent. However, some areas and groups have attracted much less attention. The pueblos of the northern Rio Grande are one such place, including the Pueblo of Picuris. Picuris, also known as P'įwweltha in its native Tiwa language, occupies a fascinating yet comparatively overlooked spot in the culture and history of the area. Unstudied material from excavations there in the 1960s offers an opportunity to shine a light on some unique features of this perimeter pueblo. This study examines a collection of 40 Rio Grande Glaze Ware rims, a type of pottery that is found along much of the length of its eponymous river. Rio Grande Glaze Wares have also been subject to some of the earliest archaeological attention in the area, first being described in the 1910s and, by the end of the 1930s, set into a classification system. However, this system has not changed much in the intervening years, creating a quandary for researchers regarding its usefulness across the vast distances of the Rio Grande. By examining some of the unique qualities of the sherds from Picuris, this research aims to explore the limitations of the current system. While classification remains at the heart of archaeological enterprise, there is a need to revisit and reconsider some of the assumptions that inform these systems. By examining how the ceramics from Picuris depart from expected patterns, more information about this unique pueblo can be discovered. Specifically, there are inconsistencies in

the artifactual evidence regarding the creation and use of these wares that suggest the classificatory system does not adequately reflect the past. Since this is the purpose of these schema, further investigation is needed. While archaeology may be a discipline focused on the past, that does not mean its ideas and assumptions must remain rooted there. Instead, in challenging these assumptions, archaeologists can see where things might lead us and ultimately wind up with a fuller picture of the past.

2.2 Background

2.2.1 The Prehistory of Picuris and the Northern Rio Grande

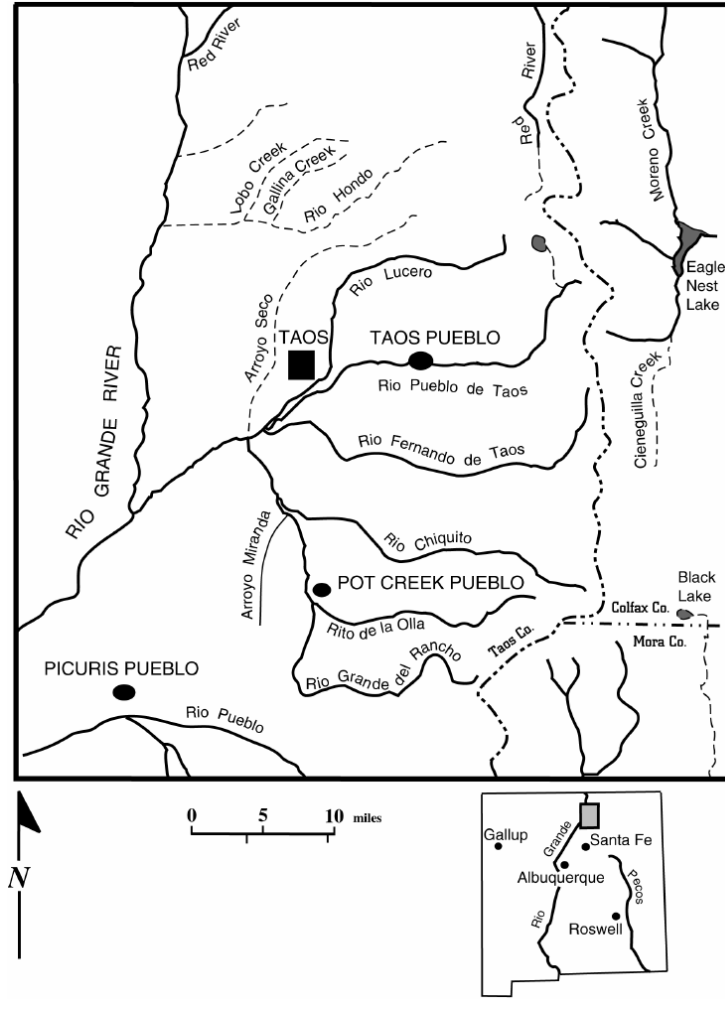


Figure 1: Map of northern New Mexico featuring sites mentioned in this paper (from Adler and Dick 1999)

Situated along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, Picuris is one of the outermost Pueblos, located in the far northeast of their cultural sphere. The settlement has been inhabited since the 10th century (Mike Adler, personal communication, 2021), ranking it alongside several other pueblos as the oldest continuously inhabited settlements on the North American continent. Along with Taos to the north, Picuris is one of the Tiwa-speaking pueblos, a group comprising a Northern branch including Picuris and Taos, and a Southern branch including Isleta, Sandia, and

Ysleta del Sur Pueblos (Dozier 1970:162). The Northern Tiwas have several unique traits that distinguish them from the other pueblos, most notably a lack of or a severely reduced version of the kachina religion that dominates much of the Pueblo world (Fowles 2013:206). Due to their outlying location, Picuris was likely in contact with tribes on the Great Plains (Adler and Dick 1999:3). However, they would have also been in contact with much of the wider Pueblo world, from nearby communities to the other northern Rio Grande pueblos, along with those further to the west (Cordell 1989:323). For example, it is said that most buffalo hides that were traded through the Pueblo world were traded in Picuris (Dozier 1970:171). The Plains were where people from both Picuris and Taos fled after incursions from the Spanish throughout the 17th century, and there were even pueblos built in the area by migrants from the northern Rio Grande (Hill et al. 2018). While the Plains and Southwest are typically separated in archaeological overviews of North America, there was flow between the areas.

The northern Rio Grande area has long been thought to differ from much of the rest of the Pueblo world, and as such has used a different chronology (Wendorf 1954). This study focuses on a period known as the Classic (1325-1600) in the northern Rio Grande, which is roughly contemporaneous with the Pueblo IV period in the more widely used Pecos classification. The area around Picuris has seen various levels of human activity since the Paleoindian era, but it was in the Classic period that the population bloomed, increasing to thousands of people who congregated in massive settlements (Kantner 2004:217). This trend is reflected across large swathes of the Southwest, as previously populated areas such as the San Juan Basin emptied out and aggregated pueblos that could consist of over a thousand rooms became the norm (Cordell and McBrinn 2012:247). The maximum prehistoric population and

size of Picuris is hard to calculate; based on floor plans of a single storey, Picuris would not have even been the largest in prehistoric times. However, this is only working with evidence of one floor, whereas most modern and prehistoric pueblos are multi-storey, with some reports putting parts of the pueblo at Picuris at five or six storeys tall (Adler and Dick 1999:196). This would obviously multiply the numbers considerably, which could possibly make Picuris the largest pueblo in the area before the coming of the Spanish.

A similar trajectory from small to large can be seen nine miles from Picuris, where Pot Creek Pueblo was built in 1260. A medium-sized pueblo, Pot Creek was under continual construction until 1319 CE, after which no new wood was used. Using data on occupation from neighbouring sites, the absolute latest date Pot Creek could have been inhabited was 1320 (Crown 1991). At its height, Pot Creek could have housed 100 families in over 300 rooms, making it the biggest site in the area before the construction of the current Tiwa pueblos (Wetherington 1968:82). Pot Creek stands out in the archaeological landscape for several reasons. First, a unique form of basin and centre post architecture is seen in the buildings at Pot Creek, which later shows up at both Picuris and Taos, suggesting a connection between these sites, and possible movement from one to the other (Wetherington 1968:32). Pot Creek, also known by its Tiwa name T'aitöna, features several other unique traits which may represent a rejection of the changes going on in other parts of the Southwest (Fowles 2013:135). If large portions of the population of Pot Creek wound up at Picuris, this would emphasize even more the distinctiveness of the latter.

Picuris therefore has a unique cultural and historical trajectory that can provide insight not only to scholars but to the people of Picuris as well. While archaeologists and Indigenous peoples have often been portrayed as mortal enemies, the two groups are more and more working together. As with many Pueblo groups, the invasion by the Spanish decimated not only their population but their culture as well. Archaeology therefore provides a window into the past before this destruction, something for which the people of Picuris are looking.

Picuris has been subject to intermittent archaeological study since the 1960s. During that decade, multiple excavations were carried out by Herbert W. Dick, including a salvage excavation in 1964 that was completed prior to the installation of a water pipeline in the community (Dick 1965:4). Other salvage excavations have occurred in the intervening years, including recovery of artifacts from a bulldozed area south of the church when a parking lot was installed (Michael Adler, personal communication 2021).

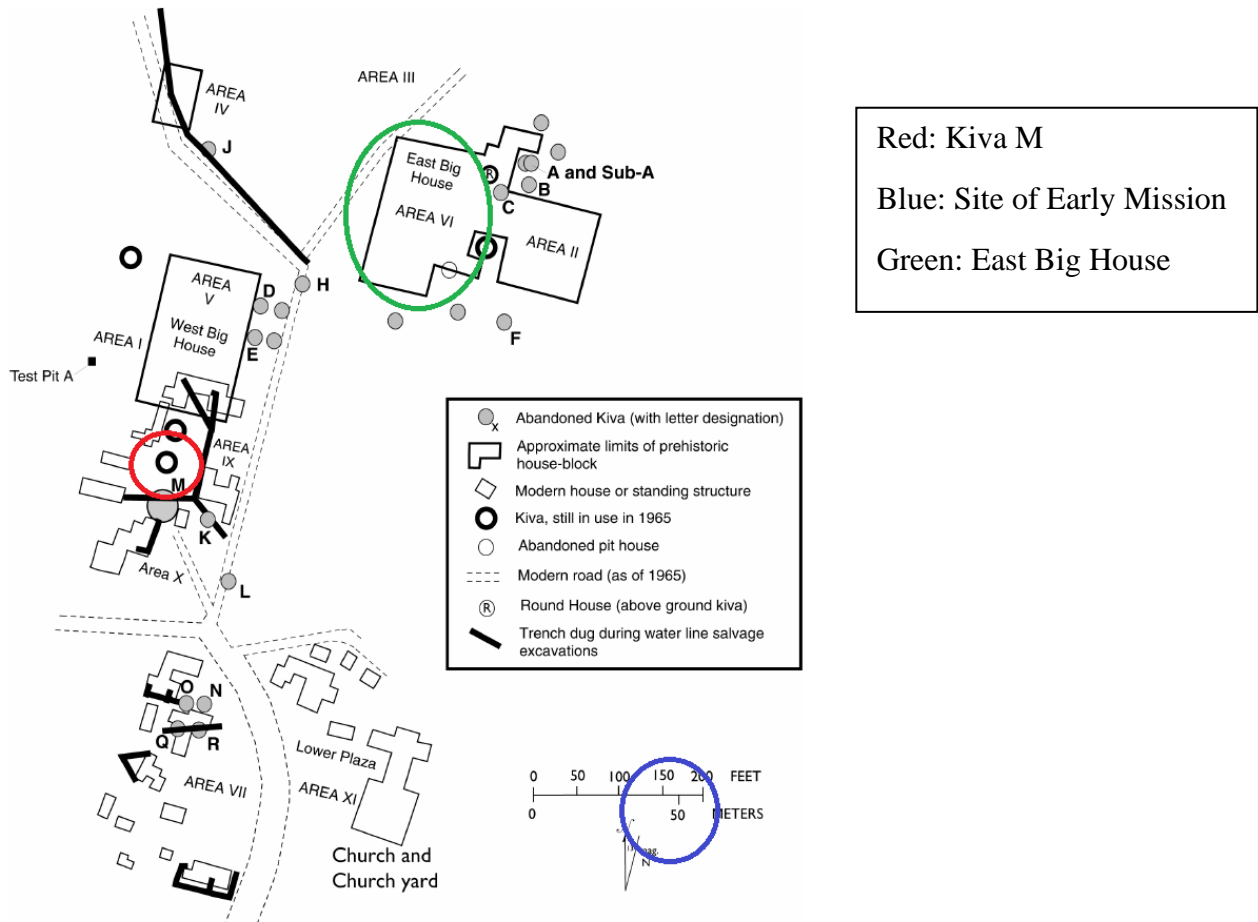


Figure 2: Site Plan of Picuris with main artifact clusters circled (from Adler and Dick 1999)

In addition, field schools have also been carried out intermittently through the years, including an ongoing partnership with the University of Arizona, Southern Methodist University, and the pueblo itself that last hosted a field school in 2021. Despite this history of excavation, very little has been published about Picuris and much of the assemblage has sat in storage for years. The material from Picuris represents a veritable treasure trove of data, especially for this under studied region. The other Northern Tiwa pueblo, Taos, has almost entirely forbidden

archaeological excavation, leaving Picuris with the unique opportunity to become the site to which other work in the region is founded on. (Ellis and Brody 1964).

2.2.2. Rio Grande Glaze Ware

As a whole, Rio Grande Glaze Wares are a diverse group of ceramics, with each of the types having both different stylistic and physical characteristics. As a series, they were manufactured beginning in the mid-14th century and continued being produced throughout much of the early colonial period with examples present in the 18th century (Dittert and Plog 1980:130). As their name suggests, they are found along the length of Rio Grande, with Taos and Picuris forming the northern border of their usage. During this same time period, glaze wares were also present at Zuni and Acoma and were traded over much of the wider Southwest (Eckert 2006:36).

Glazes are differentiated from other types of pottery treatment by their finished look: a smooth, shiny layer atop the surface of a clay object. This is due to the fact that when fired, the silica-based glaze will vitrify, or turn to glass (Habicht-Mauche 2006:5). The inclusion of other minerals or 'fluxes' would lower the melting point of the silica and provide the glaze paint with coloration (Rice 2015:119). The glaze wares present in the archaeological record of the Southwest are unique among prehistoric ceramic technologies of North America; outside of this area, all other glazes were developed and used in Afro-Eurasia (Habicht-Mauche 2006:5). They were also used as a purely decorative element, whereas other groups utilized the sealing quality of glazing to further waterproof their vessels (Van Keuren et al. 2012). Prior to the widespread

use of glaze paints, most paints used in the Southwest were either organic or mineral based. While there were isolated cases of glaze wares scattered across the area in the preceding centuries, all instances were brief and not widespread (Eckert 2006:34). When glaze paints were rediscovered in the 13th century, they were widely adopted across wide swathes of Arizona and New Mexico. As populations continued to move in the Pueblo IV period, this time from the Mogollon Rim to the Rio Grande, this innovation in pottery decoration came with them in the 14th century (Eckert 2006:164). In time, glazes would be present across the Southwest and in northern Mexico, creating a new kind of iconic Pueblo pottery.

One of these types, Rio Grande Glaze Ware, was found along the central and northern reaches of its namesake river from the beginning of the 14th century until the end of the 17th century, when many groups abandoned more traditional pottery styles after the *Reconquista* or reconquest of the region in 1692 by Spanish forces following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (Dittert and Plog 1980:130). These glaze wares have been a focus of study since the inception of Southwestern archaeology, first being described by giants in the field such as Nels Nelson and Alfred Kidder. Based on his work at Pecos Pueblo, Kidder developed six groups based mainly on attributes of rim form, although other aspects were considered such as paint and glaze colours and temper, labelled Glaze I-VI (Kidder and Shepard 1936:258). This system was first devised in 1917, then fully described in 1936 (Eckert 2006:49). In the intervening years, Mera (1933) created a classification that was similar to Kidder's, again dividing glaze wares into six categories, but labelling them Glaze A-F. At Picuris, the A-F designation is used, however Kidder's descriptions of rim forms correspond well with the rims present at Picuris for the first five types (Adler and Dick 1999:86). It is also noted, though, that Mera's F is a better fit than

Kidder’s VI and that there is some misalignment with dates, suggesting a different trajectory for Picuris.

	Kidder-Pecos (1936)	Warren (1977)	Suggested Dates for Picuris (Adler and Dick 1999)
Glaze A/I	1375-1425 CE	1315-1425 CE	1315-1425 CE
Glaze B/II	1425-1475 CE	1400-1450 CE	1425-1450 CE
Glaze C/III	1475-1550 CE	1400-1500 CE	1400-1600 CE
Glaze D/IV	1550-1600 CE	1490-1515 CE	1490-1650/1696 CE
Glaze E/V	1600-1700 CE	1515-1650 CE	1600-1650 CE
Glaze F/VI	1600-1700 CE* (*Intrusive only)	1650-1700 CE	1600-1700 CE

Table 1: Glaze Ware Dates in Northern New Mexico

A large gap thus exists in the study of the Northern Rio Grande when it comes to the applicability of this system across sites. Notably, Kidder himself acknowledged that there was potential for his glaze ware typology to be too specific to Pecos to be of use across the wider region, but then claims that Mera’s 1933 work confirms that it is in fact, applicable across all areas (Kidder and Shepard 1936:xxix). He goes on to state: “It [glaze wares] forms the best criterion not only for solving the problems of local archaeology, but for working out the whole later culture history of north-central New Mexico” (Kidder and Shepard 1936:xviii). For decades after these initial publications, the typology remained untouched until the 1960s when changes began to appear. The chronology of Rio Grande Glaze Wares has since been revised and shifted on multiple occasions to better suit other locales, with some types being subsumed into bigger groups, but the description of types and identification of features has remained essentially the same (Schleher 2010:40). Therefore, a critical look at Kidder’s typology in light of the panoply of archaeological data that have been uncovered in the past 90 years is necessary to calibrate it

for use at a wider variety of sites. Picuris is just one such example of a site where there is some misalignment, and other sites still may have their own slight differences. While the existing framework may work for generalizations, it suggests the need to be aware of the variability present in these ceramics.

2.2.3. The Sample

The sample used for this study consists of 40 rim sherds recovered from Picuris and now housed at Southern Methodist University. The selection process involved random sampling from the collection by a laboratory technician, while trying to minimize duplication. All were excavated during either the 1964 or 1969 field season and have been in storage since their initial, preliminary analysis. Thirteen sherds came from the southeastern corner of a historic trash dump associated with the colonial Spanish mission built in the 16th century, nine from the area known as Big East House, and 14 others were indicated as originating from Kiva M, an abandoned protohistoric kiva. The remainder of the sherds came from various loci across the site. The pieces from 1964 were hand excavated and their provenience is known to feature level, whereas those associated with the 1969 group were all removed by a mechanical excavator and thus have no location data other than the whole of the area excavated. This sample represents only a small fraction of an assemblage of over 700,000 ceramic artifacts that have been recovered over the years, much of which is stored at Southern Methodist.

2.3 Methods

After receiving the collection from Southern Methodist University, the samples were sorted into three preliminary groups based on the notation on the bag. The first group had designations placing them in a dump to the southeast of the mission, the second contained references to Kiva M, and the third comprised the remainder, all of which carried numerical designations according to Dick's excavations. After obtaining the 1965 site report, a fourth group was created based on ID numbers representing Area VI, which corresponds to the East Big House. Each sherd was then assigned a number from 1 to 40 based arbitrarily on their positions on the table, with the three initial groups numbered together. An initial vessel sort revealed three pairs of sherds that could be identified as being from the same vessel through direct refitting: sherds #2 and #3, #7 and #13, as well as #14 and #15, resulting in the maximum number of vessels being 37. Several other sherds feature very similar construction, rim shape and size, and design, and were recovered from the same area, yet were not able to be directly fitted together.

A variety of measurements were taken for each sherd, including weight, body thickness, and lip thickness, as well as the recording of other attributes such as lip profile, qualities of the glaze, and Munsell colour designations for the inner and outer slips.

The samples were then classified by rim shape using a combination of information from Mera's A-F and Kidder's I-VI systems, with the alphabetical designations used for final type assignments as is typical for the northern Rio Grande region. This was accomplished not only by reading the originators' works, but by examining multiple other documents including guides and dissertations (e.g., Morales 1997, Schleher 2010, Wilson 2010, 2012). These resources also point

to the problem introduced above: among researchers working in different parts of the northern Rio Grande, what exactly a type consists of is not consistent throughout. For sherds with which there was difficulty in identification, type assignment was based on the agreement of a majority of sources. If no conclusion could be reached, the sherd was labelled as unidentified.

2.4 Results

Of the entire sample, one piece was classified as Glaze C ware, four are Glaze D, 16 are Glaze E, 15 are Glaze F, while a classification for the remaining four could not be ascertained.

	Mission	Kiva M	East Big House	Other
Glaze C			1	
Glaze D	1	3		
Glaze E	7	5	3	1
Glaze F	5	3	4	3
Unknown		3	1	

Table 2: Amounts of Pottery across different locations at Picuris represented in sample

In this sample, no examples of Glazes A or B were identified, although these types are known to have occurred at Picuris in small numbers (Adler and Dick 1999:86). This distribution aligns with occupation dates for the aforementioned areas at Picuris. The area around the church, or Area XI, has the greatest amount of both Glaze E and F, as well as only having one Glaze D sherd, and nothing earlier. The typing of these vessels can be partially validated by their

association with the church; a structure, which, by definition, could only have been built after the first Spanish *entradas* in the 1530s; however, it is highly likely that contact and the building of the church occurred much later than this date and is instead closer to the 17th century (Cordell and McBrinn 2012:284). Fourteen sherds originated in Kiva M, one of the many prehistoric kivas unearthed under modern Picuris. Of these sherds, three were Glaze D (21%), five Glaze E (36%), three Glaze F (21%), and three for which a type was not ascertained. Kiva M was the largest of the historically disused kivas at Picuris at a diameter of 43' (Dick 1965:115). Due to the position of the water pipe being installed as well as where contemporary housing is found, only part of the kiva was excavated, but several others at Picuris feature murals and unique types of artifacts (Adler and Dick 1999:70). Trash was continually piled up on the depression of the kiva until it was level with the ground again which accounts for the ceramic variability (Dick 1965:44). Nine sherds came from the East Big House, with one being Glaze C, three E, four F, and one unidentified. This is the location of the earliest sherd, #29, the sole Glaze C ware. This is consistent with the chronology of the site, as are the various areas represented in this sample, the East Big House was built the earliest (Adler and Dick 1999).

In Dick's writings on the ceramic assemblage at Picuris he makes note of a group of rims that are intermediate between Glazes D and F or combine features from both types (Dick 1965:141). He labels this type "D-F Transitional," but unfortunately, due to his early passing, there are no further descriptions or information regarding this style (Adler and Dick 1999:86). However, as the sample was analyzed, pieces fitting this description came up on numerous occasions, resisting easy categorization as either D or F. Six of the 40 (15%) in the sample were noted to have aspects of both categories or seemed to be "in-between" D and F in their shapes. A

key discrepancy noted in this sample is the tendency toward earlier rim shapes, coupled with the decline in glaze quality that is notable in Glaze VI/F wares. Kidder comments acerbically on how, before his classification, this type was referred to as “Degenerate Glaze,” and that “we need only remark that it is the last and worst of the Glazes” (Kidder and Shepard 1936:254).

The dates for Glaze F/VI at Picuris are said to match those of Kidder’s at Pecos, which are 1600-1700 CE (Kidder and Shepard 1936:610). His dates for Glaze D/IV at Pecos, 1550-1600 CE, abut the dates of the later type without overlapping, but there is the suggestion that Glaze D wares may have been made as late as 1650 or even the end of the century when Picuris was abandoned temporarily (Adler and Dick 1999:86). If both types were being produced simultaneously then this may explain the presence of this transitional form; unlike other areas where there was no overlap, Picuris may have been ripe for the development of a new type entirely.

The rim of sherd #1 very closely resembles Kidder’s description of a Glaze IV olla, with a straight wall with an abruptly out turning lip (Kidder and Shepard 1936:164). However, a closer look at the glaze itself seems to suggest that it more closely resembles the last of the glazes. It is runny and of a generally poor quality with bubbles throughout the paint, as well as having a greenish hue (Morales 1997:641). Even on this small piece, there is clear evidence of drips, something which would have not been as likely on earlier Glaze D/IV wares.



Figure 3: Sherd #1

Similarly, sherd #31 has smoothly rounded, almost parallel sides with only a hint of thickening at the rim, which again includes elements of both D and F wares. However, the glaze on this vessel is possibly the lowest quality in the sample; it is very thin and runny, and its surface is cratered with large bubbles. The glaze is also probably the greenest in the sample – the colour is a bright “apple green”, something only seen in the last of the glaze ware series (Eckert 2006:52). The other four sherds also have similar traits.

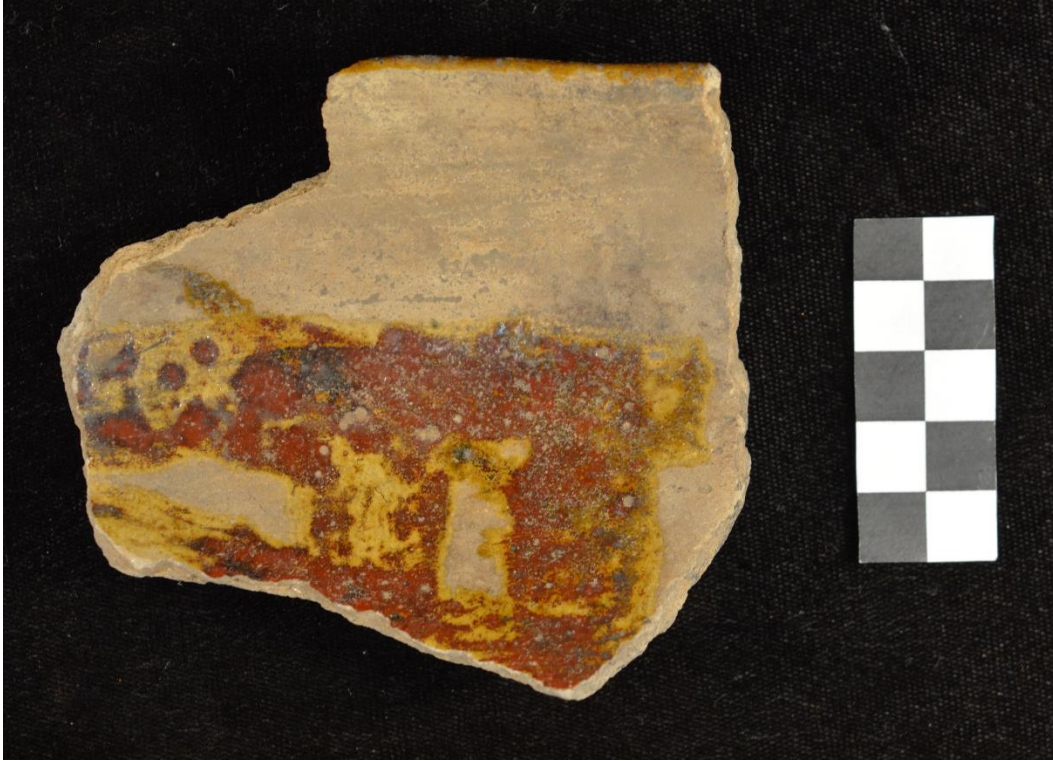


Figure 4: Sherd #31

In this sample there are also nine sherds (22.5%) that show varying levels of mica present in the material. These range from sparse mica flakes mostly visible in the fabric of the vessel to one piece that appears to have been coated in glitter. The most micaceous piece is #6, one of the later pieces retrieved from the excavations near the church. Much of the original slip has worn off, exposing the underlying material, but even in areas that are still covered by slip, the mica shines through. Of these micaceous pieces, there are three Glaze D wares (33%), one E (11%), four F (44%), and one unidentified (11%). These all point to later dates at Picuris, where each of these types were made well into the historic period. In historical and modern times, Picuris, as well as Taos, are known for their micaceous wares, a style often linked to their interactions with the Jicarilla Apache in the nearby Plains areas (Anderson 1999:36). However, there is debate

surrounding whether or not micaceous pottery was made before the arrival of Athapaskan speaking groups. The micaceous pieces in this sample may then have been linked to a local production of pottery, as highly micaceous pottery is not seen in many other places in the Southwest, both prehistorically and historically. The idea that Picuris was manufacturing some of their own pottery locally was put forward in the 1940s, when both Mera (1940) and Shepard (1942) noted the presence of micaceous glaze ware sherds there. Shepard also notes that as of the time of writing, there had been only two other sherds of this type found outside of Picuris, again suggesting it was a local ware and possibly the result of minerals native to the clay being used (1942:165). Wetherington also reports that the earliest dates for micaceous pottery in Taos are in the mid-16th century, which suggests that Picuris may have also started making micaceous pottery around that time (1968:83). These pieces may then represent a currently undocumented micaceous glaze ware.



Figure 5: Sherd #6

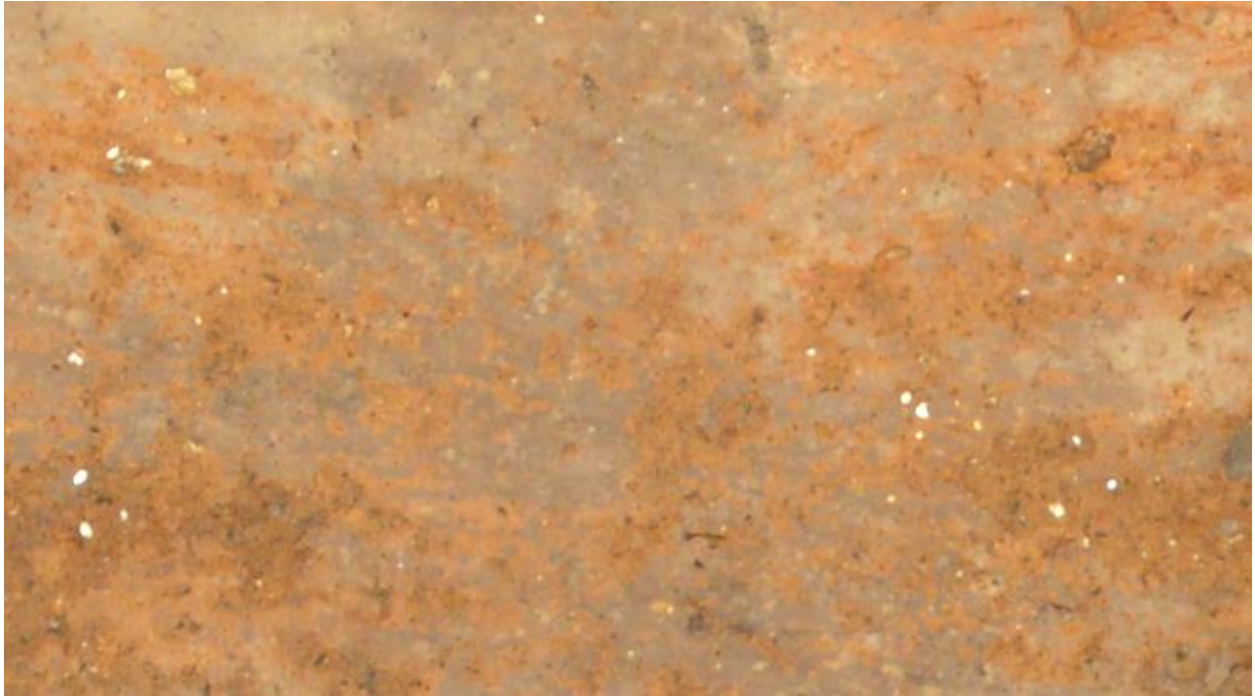


Figure 6: Close-up of Sherd #6 showing Mica Pieces

One of the pieces, #11, has the distinct rim shape of Pecos Polychrome, a Glaze E ware known for its profile resembling a “fat comma” (Dittert and Plog 1980:141). Pecos Polychrome, unlike the other Glaze E wares, has a very restricted distribution; in fact, it is only found at and around its namesake pueblo (Morales 1997:638). Pecos was one of the closest pueblos to Picuris before its abandonment in 1838, some 43 miles to the south (Kidder and Shepard 1936:610). This piece likely indicates a trade between the two pueblos, but as is often the case with vessels, it is unknown whether the pot itself was the item being traded or if it was the material within. As stated above, Picuris acted at times as the gateway between the Pueblo and Plains worlds, and while this piece is easily distinguishable by its design as foreign, other pieces in this sample are very likely traded from the many nearby production centres. While no formal study of the paste

was carried out, several pieces contain large pieces of quartz, most notably #9, but also #8. These pieces were both recovered from the Mission dump and feature many similar traits, so they may both be from the same location or even the same vessel, but no direct mend was possible.

Another piece, #27, features both an unusually coloured and fired clay as well as odd tempering, possibly also suggesting a unique origin that differs from much of the sample. These pieces most likely represent foreign wares and further study is needed to confirm. Finally, three pieces (8%) seem to represent shouldered bowls, a rarer form that consists of a wide-bodied vessel that expands towards the shoulder before abruptly turning inwards to create a restricted orifice (Morales 1997:616). The remainder of the vessels fit into existing classificatory frames.

2.5 Discussion

2.5.1 Questions of Production

Clearly there are a wide variety of glaze wares at Picuris, some of which defy the current classificatory system. The reason for these differences may lie in the diverse ways in which this ware was manufactured. Discovering patterns of production of the glaze wares has been a key concern since the earliest days of research. When Kidder began his work in the earliest decades of the 20th century, it was believed that each pueblo manufactured their own pottery for internal consumption and trade was restricted to rare and exotic goods (Kidder and Shepard 1936:xxiii). In 1942, Anna O. Shepard used petrography to analyse Rio Grande Glaze Wares from northern and central New Mexico and found that rather than being a locally produced good, glaze wares seemed to be coming from specific areas of production and then were traded across the pueblos

of the Rio Grande (Shepard 1942:177). These findings reversed the previous notion and prevailing theory and instead became one where a few specific pueblos manufactured all of the pottery of a specific style, while others produced no glaze wares and imported all of the vessels they used.

The idea of local-only production was then flipped and for many years, based on this assumption that only certain places were manufacturing glaze wares, archaeologists thought all of the ceramics of a given type would be essentially identical. Variation would not need to be accounted for because there simply was no variation. However, patterns of trading show that there were choices being made that make the situation much more complex. In a study from 2012, Franklin and Schleher discuss imported pottery in two sites in New Mexico located 72km apart, Pottery Mound and Montaña Bridge. These two sites were occupied simultaneously, and both manufactured the same series of pottery in the Rio Grande Glaze Ware sequence (Franklin and Schleher 2012:66). However, the imported ceramics tell a story of diverging trade patterns. In examining the mineral make up of the sherds, researchers found that more than 90% of imported decorated vessels at Pottery Mound were from communities to the west, specifically the Acoma and Hopi regions, whereas over 98% of decorated imports to Montaña Bridge were glaze wares that came from the Galisteo Basin and Tunique Pueblo (Franklin and Schleher 2012:69). With both locations producing their own glaze wares, why would only one of them actively be trading in glaze wares from yet another locale? This again breaks the established pattern of thought; it seems various locations were exporting large numbers of vessels to other pueblos such as those going from Tunique to Montaña Bridge, even while Montaña Bridge was making at least some of their own glaze wares. Pottery Mound, however, seemed to create

enough to rely on their own glaze wares and instead imported other types of pottery. These patterns do not support the idea that production was centralized in one location with all other groups importing their glaze wares from that place. The production and trade system of Rio Grande Glaze Wares is clearly quite a tangled web. Returning to the issue raised in this paper: if this system is not set up to identify these variabilities, what information is slipping through the cracks?

Another of Kidder's foibles was his, albeit common for the period, doubt in the skills and thoughts of the people whose cultures he studied. He went so far to say that "It is to be doubted that Southwestern potters gave very great thought to the ingredients that went into their product... Hence such technological features as combinations of clays and tempering materials are of secondary moment to the archaeologist, as they doubtless were also to the potter." (Kidder and Shepard 1936:xxviii). Research since that time has shown that the choice of material was not simply a matter of going to a nearby source without thought. For example, the use of the same materials in a glaze in diverse villages may signal a shared knowledge network, whereas uniquely composed glazes may indicate that this knowledge is in some way privileged to certain groups. Southwestern glazes were mainly fluxed with lead which was found in numerous deposits across the region (Curewitz and Goff 2012:78). For the people of the Pajarito Plateau, two main sources of lead were used, one from the nearby Galisteo Basin, and the other from the much more distant Cerrillos Hills (Curewitz and Goff 2012:83). If material choice was a mindless decision, why would these potters go to two different sources, much less two different sources miles apart? There must have been something different about these that the ancient potters recognized and of which they wished to make use. Studies analyzing the mineral

components of these glaze wares have continued to the current day, both looking into new areas of research and confirming Shepard's original work (Schleher et al. 2012:97). One of these areas is the study of communities of practice, which are groups of individuals involved in the creation of goods across the entire manufacturing process, including choice of materials. Schleher and others (2012) show that these material choices were made consciously by their creators, with temporal and spatial similarity in chemical components in glazes suggesting that there was an established 'recipe' that was widely shared and copied, rather than simply a blend of whatever was most easily available to any given group.

It is evident, then, that variation does need to be accounted for in the typologies, as is the idea that there were multiple centres of production that account for it. Kidder initially said very little about his Glaze VI ware, noting that it only infrequently appeared at Pecos (Kidder and Shepard 1936:619). However, archaeologists have since become aware of the considerable diversity in this class, with a wide variety of vessel forms and decoration schemes. An example of this can be seen to the south of Picuris, where potters from both San Marcos and Tunique Pueblos used yellow-firing clay for slipping and vessel creation respectively. Both clays were sourced from the vicinity of Tunique, however, the specific deposits from which it was gathered differed (Eckert et al. 2018:565). Tunique potters made use of a heavier, stronger clay with which they built the entire vessel, whereas potters from San Marcos used thinner clay that was further thinned to be used as a slip (Eckert et al. 2018:572). Thus, while pottery from both pueblos appears to be the same yellow colour, it is only a surface treatment in one place, while the other makes full use of much larger amounts of clay. One theory as to why this divided system came to be references the continuing development of an "us versus them" environment that the

tribalization of the Pueblo IV promoted. The authors show how this example can be used for both creating “us” and “them” groups for Tunique, the “us” being a shared general source of clay that tied the two group’s pottery together, while the “them” is the people of San Marcos, who were restricted from using the exact same resources to create entire vessels of yellow clay (Eckert et al. 2018:572). In the case of Picuris, a variation that may need to be accounted for is the aforementioned micaceous sherds as well as the D-F transitional which could be explained by similar mechanisms.

A reason for all this differentiation may lie in the historic trends seen during the Pueblo IV period. One of these trends is a dual increase in both pan-regional phenomena and in tribalization resulting in defined in and out groups (Habicht-Mauche 1995:192). These trends would not only shape the cultural landscape at the time, but many of them would go on to influence the historic and modern Pueblo worlds. A significant number of the pueblos that were extant at the time of the Spanish invasion were built sometime in this period, and many still exist today (Cordell and McBrinn 2012:268). This also means that the development of styles can often be traced into the historical record to very specific places, such as Pecos Polychrome or Pottery Mound Glaze Polychrome. It was during this period of Pueblo prehistory that there was also an expansion of distinct regional styles that developed in parallel to each other, each being specific to an area (Brody 1991:95). In addition to Rio Grande Glaze Wares, there were several other pottery traditions that spread across large parts of the Southwest. Some of these, like the Salado Polychrome series, were linked to widespread cultural changes and the development of pan-regional religious cults (Crown 1994:214). The presence of wares that were increasingly widespread along with this increase in tribalization may then contribute to the uniqueness of

Picuris' ceramic assemblage. As a whole, they took part in the creation and exchange of Rio Grande Glaze Wares that united the pueblos of this watershed as a large cultural unit. However, they also manufactured their own special versions of these wares, possibly indicating that the ceramics also stood as a way to distinguish themselves within that group.

2.5.2. Classificatory Woes

All of this points to a critical element in reconsidering the classification of these wares; unity, tribal groupings, and differentiation all play a part in how materials were selected, how vessels were manufactured, and how designs were chosen. If these things are not accounted for, then how can the typologies accurately represent the past? Classification is at the root of nearly every academic discipline. From zoologists to astrophysicists to psychologists, putting things in categories makes their study considerably more convenient. Instead of needing to parse out the relevant characteristics of every item, a type allows for a basic understanding of the traits and qualities of an artifact without necessitating analysis by every individual scholar (Kreiger 1944). Artifactual typologies rooted in culture historical ideas still lay at the base of more complicated analyses in archaeology (Trigger 2006:491). Projectile points and potsherds are often used to develop chronologies for sites, providing a culture historical backbone to support interpretations regarding more complex issues.

However, classification is fraught with a wide spectrum of issues, many of which reduce to the same problem: any classification is based on arbitrary choices. In pottery, one might choose to categorize by decoration, temper, shape, or any combination including many more. For

example, the defining characteristic used to classify Rio Grande Glaze Wares is the rim profile, with other factors such as slip colour and design patterning used as secondary features (Wilson 2012). However, other Southwestern wares rely on a completely different set of standards; a roughly contemporary ware from the Hopi mesas known as Jeddito Black-on-yellow is divided into its constituent parts via colour and design (Dittert and Plog 1980:109). Further complicating the issue is archaeologists' tendency to avoid clarifying exactly what makes up any given type, often relying on subjective measures. Alfred Kidder wrote of his glaze ware classification: "... my classification... was based on the general appearance of the specimens, on their 'feel' and 'look,' rather than upon definite criteria" (Kidder and Shepard 1936:xix). Replicability, then, becomes a conspicuous problem; how can you pass along information about 'feel' and 'look'? There would be information lost even from Kidder directly to his students, and over the course of 85 years, distortion is inevitable. The arbitrary nature of this classification is only compounded by this problem.

In addition, the archaeologist immediately runs into another problem with arbitrary choice: are the aspects that they have used to define a type in any way related to those that their creators used? The goal of archaeology, after all, is to learn about the peoples of the past through their material culture, so the typologies that are built need to tell *something* about the past, or they are just fruitless exercises (Kreiger 1944). In Kidder's case, despite his arguments to the contrary, there was considerable variation in every part of a pot, variations that were more than likely due to conscious choices by individuals and groups. Therefore, to not account for these choices would mean that his typology, as it stands, cannot fully capture the complexities of pottery making at this time. However, archaeological theory, as well as the discipline's opinion

on the capabilities of ancient peoples has changed quite drastically in the nearly a century since Kidder and Shepard's landmark volume. The systems developed then were some of the first in North American prehistoric archaeology, constructing their own standards based on what the archaeologists assumed most important (Trigger 2006:281). Since then, considerable discussion has occurred around how artifacts are classified, each with the goal of offering a more accurate view of the past.

Another area of debate that has risen is the division between "lumpers" and "splitters," which has come up in countless disciplines, questioning whether bigger, more inclusive groups or smaller, more precise ones are more valuable for research (Adams and Adams 1991:280). The classification of Rio Grande Glaze Wares has not been spared from this debate either. Earlier works generally include more types within each glaze that were later subsumed into other types. In Mera's original typology, he lists four different Glaze F types: Kotyiti, Cicuye, and San Marcos Polychromes or Glaze-on-reds, and Rayo Glaze-on-red (Mera 1933:9-10). The proceedings of the Eighth Southwestern Ceramics Conference also described four different types: Kotyiti Glaze-on-red and Glaze-on-yellow, Yunque Glaze-on-red, and Polvadera Glaze-on-red (Honea 1967:7). In most current typologies, this has been reduced to three varieties of Kotyiti differentiated on the basis of their slip colour: Glaze-on-red, Glaze-on-yellow, and Polychrome (Wilson 2010:67). While these groups have been collapsed, much of the literature is older and still refers to these types extensively, thus making knowledge of them still necessary despite theoretically not being used any more. Is it possible, then, that these more specific types are still considered more useful?

The idea of tailoring types, or even creating them, for a specific area is not unheard of in the world of Rio Grande Glaze Wares. Pottery Mound Glaze Polychrome, a Glaze A ware, was only manufactured at its namesake site and those in the immediate area, although it occasionally appears as a trade ware in a slightly wider area (Morales 1997:598). Pottery Mound Glaze Polychrome is considered a “refined” version of the slightly earlier San Clemente Glaze Polychrome, with Pottery Mound containing matte red elements and borrowing designs from sites to the west, including Hopi (Hayes et al. 1981:94). Could Picuris lend itself to the creation of similar new types? Both the so-called “D-F transitional” and the micaceous wares may be different enough to warrant their own types.

This is not a call for sheer iconoclasm. The system as it stands has served archaeology well for almost a century and will likely continue to do so for years to come. Instead, this calls for the acknowledgement that the current system of classification resembles a “one-size-fits-all” garment; while it may accommodate many body sizes, there are individuals on either end of the spectrum for whom the fit might not be entirely comfortable. As mentioned above, classificatory systems are necessary for establishing a baseline for communication on the subject. Instead, this research is meant to highlight all of the things that are currently unknown at Picuris because of this lack of specialization. Kidder and Mera’s classifications are a core part of understanding this period of Rio Grande prehistory and it is in supplementing them, not abandoning them, that more answers will be revealed.

2.6 Conclusion

At the end of this thesis, then, it seems there are more questions than when it began. Even ground as well trodden as that in the Southwest still has plenty of information to divulge. Similarly, a classification system as old as Kidder's can still provide valuable insights, even if they are in what it does not contain. The Glaze Ware sequence has received several adjustments over the past to close in on the best picture of the past. When it comes to Rio Grande Glaze Wares, it seems Picuris does not fit the mold exactly as described. Most notably, there appears to be two types of pottery that are not fully explored: the D-F Transitional and the micaceous ware. Both of these existed in a world of complex networks of pottery manufacture and trade, and one in which large-scale changes were making sweeping cultural changes across the Greater Southwest. To further explore this social complexity, an update to the systems we use to study it is necessary. Finding out whether these unique wares originated at Picuris or in the neighbouring area is the most immediate path this research can take, and in doing this can answer questions about the trajectory these ancestral Tiwa took. The more typical sherds still inform us of other cultural influences, such as the piece likely from Pecos as well as a variety of paste compositions that could be traced across the wider area. The northern Rio Grande sits in a unique cultural position, straddling the border between Plains and Pueblo worlds. Picuris thus has a unique heritage that has led to the development of many unique traits. Once one of the biggest settlements in the area, Picuris is now among the smallest Pueblo groups. However, their culture still thrives, and archaeology can hopefully provide even more heritage to celebrate. All of this is to say that considerably more research is needed to make any solid conclusions. This study of 40 sherds only offers the barest glance into these issues, especially considering their position in an

assemblage of hundreds of thousands. Instead, this work might act as a signal flare, drawing attention to an area of need of further study. Archaeology, like many other disciplines, can become firmly set in its ways, and while explosive changes are not always needed, sometimes small shifts can bring about waves of new ideas.

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