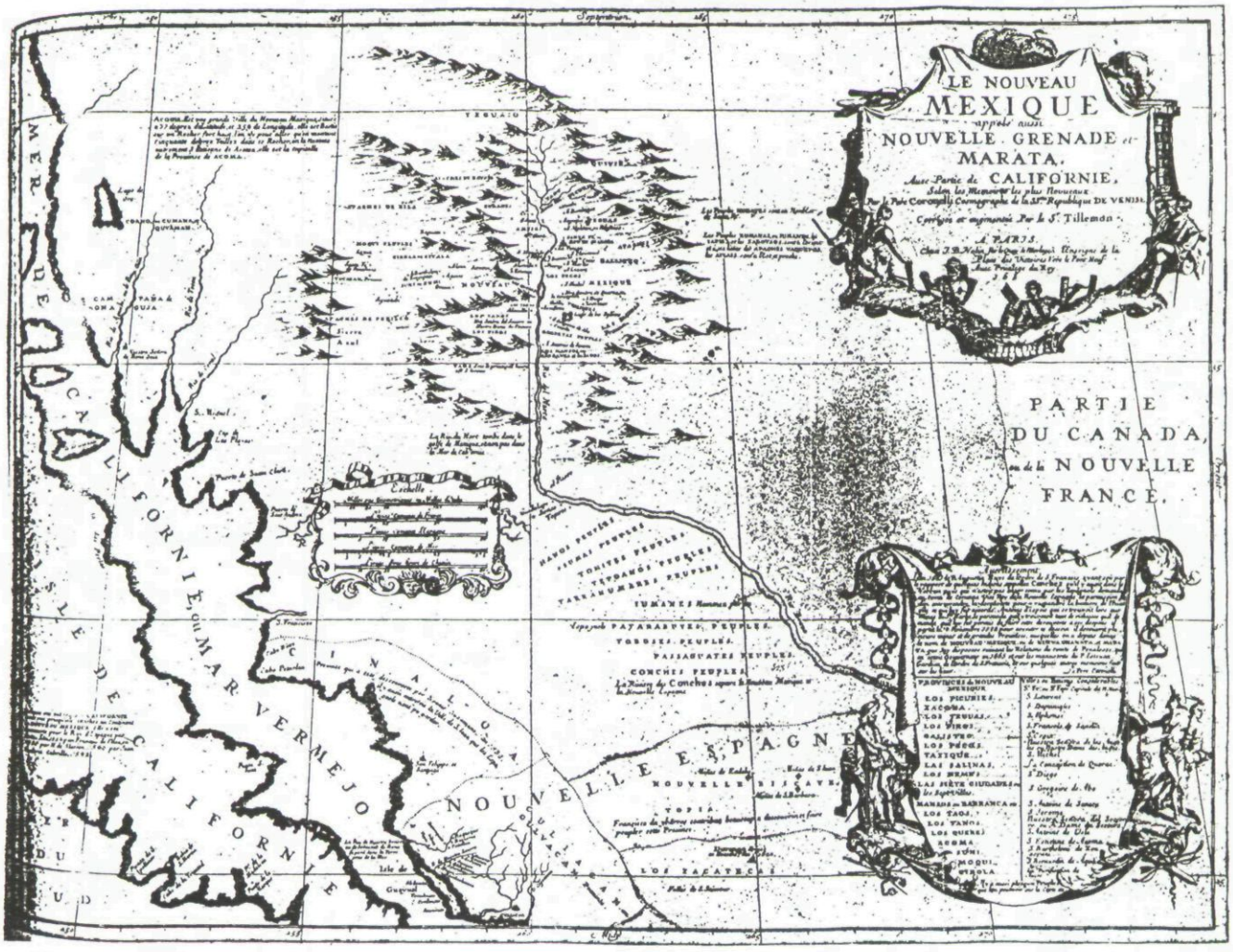


Coronelli map, 168?. This early map shows Jumanos (Xumanas) in two locations — in the Plains due east of Santa Fe, where they were at war with the Apaches Vaqueros; and on the lower Rio Grande (Rio del Norte), among the several tribes south of the missions at El Paso.

Jumano: The Missing Link in South Plains History

Nancy P. Hickerson

A Succession of Peoples in the South Plains

DURING the years of Spanish exploration and colonization north of Mexico, the South Plains was the scene of constant warfare between two nations of Indians — Apache and Jumano. The Apache were the eventual victors, and remain an important Native American people today. The Jumano were defeated and were driven from the Plains; after the early 1700s, there is hardly a mention of their name in the historical record.

Almost every one of the expeditions which entered this region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reported indications of this conflict. The narrators of Coronado's *entrada* called the warring parties "Querechos" and "Teyas"; the Querechos are now by concensus identified as Apaches, while there has been difference of opinion about the Teyas. However, based on their location and cultural characteristics, it seems reasonable to assert that these Indians, encountered in the plains east of New Mexico, must have been Jumanos.[1] Fifty years later, a

party of Oñate's soldiers again encountered Apache "Vaqueros" in the plains near Pecos Pueblo; on this occasion, the Apaches attempted to persuade the Spaniards to join them in an attack on their enemies, whom they called "Jumanos."

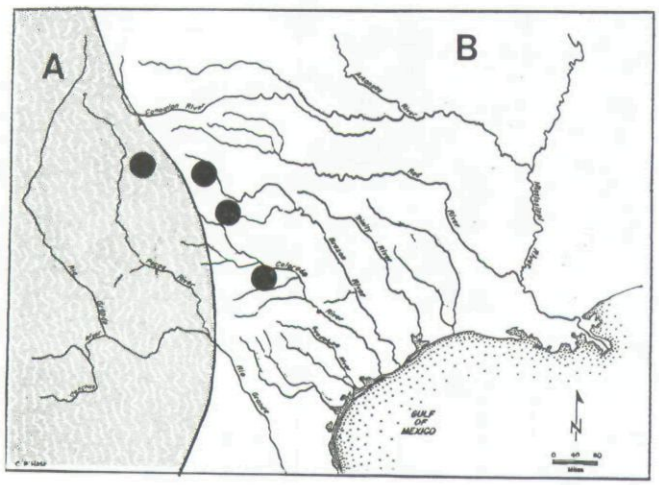
Of these two historic rivals, the Jumanos were the earlier occupants of the South Plains, while the Apaches were relative late-comers. The Jumanos could have been remote descendants of an aboriginal population of big-game hunters such as that represented by the prehistoric Plano culture — Archaic hunters who followed the bison herds in South Plains Texas as long ago as 10,000 B.C. More likely, however, they entered the Plains several millennia later, at the eastern edge of the Cochise variety of the Desert Culture, a widespread arid-land adaptation which generally emphasized the intensive use of plants, but turned to hunting when the opportunity presented itself.

The earliest ceramic horizon bordering on this region, and very likely the beginning of plant cultivation and village life, is associated with an extension of a major prehistoric Southwestern cultural horizon, Mogollon, which makes its appearance in southern New Mexico and western Texas during the first millennium B.C. Culturally, the early historic Jumano appear to have strong links with the Jornada branch of the Mogollon,[2] whether by descent from what may have been, originally, an immigrant population, or by cultural contact and diffusion.

On the other hand, the entry of the Apache into the Southwest and, slightly later, into the South Plains, occurred during the years between, roughly, 1100 and 1300 A.D. The early Apache proliferated into distinctive regional bands both east and west of the Rio Grande. Their arrival constituted an invasion into occupied territories, and precipitated a chronic state of warfare in the South Plains. This struggle was still ongoing at the time of the founding of the Spanish colony in New Mexico.

The progress of the Apache-Jumano war can be followed in the writings of European observers over more than a century; it eventually resulted in the complete displacement of the Jumano, and their extinction as a people. By the end of the seventeenth century, when the Jumano and several neighboring tribes were driven from their last *rancherias* along the Pecos and Colorado Rivers, the entire South Plains had become Apache territory.

At about the same time, the first evidence appeared of a



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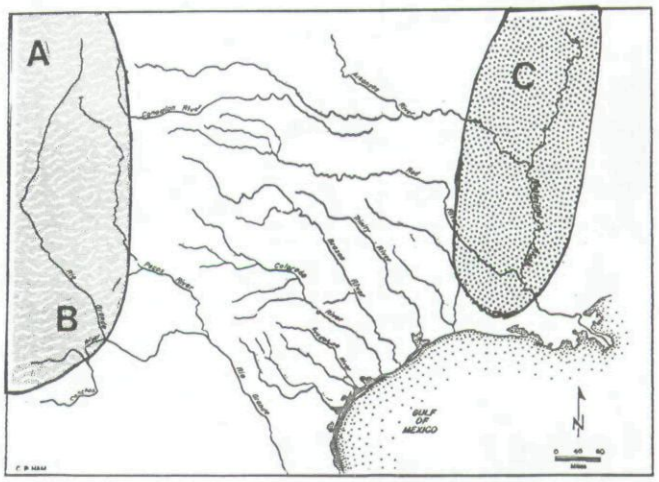

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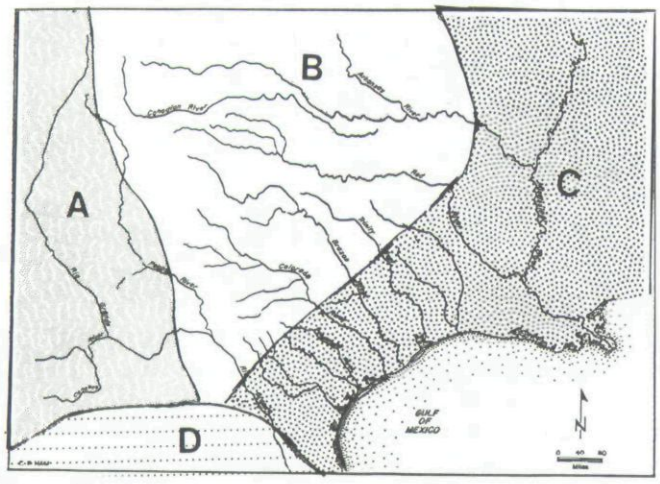

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Above and left: Cultural provinces in the South Plains.

1. *ca.* 8000-5000 B.C.: A. "Desert Culture" B. Generalized hunter-gatherer tradition. Dots indicate concentration of big-game hunter sites (Folsom, Plano, etc.).
2. Farming cultures, *ca.* 1000 B.C.-1000 A.D.: A. Anasazi, B. Mogollon, C. Mississippian.
3. Recent culture areas, based on historic tribes: A. Southwestern, B. Plains, C. Eastern, D. Meso-American.

Shoshonean people known as the Comanche on the Colorado plains, along the eastern flanks of the Rocky Mountains, who came to trade in the northern pueblos of New Mexico. The Apache were soon pressed from the north by the advances of the Comanche, even as they themselves had forced the Jumano, on their own southern frontier, to seek refuge in Franciscan missions along the Rio Grande. Through the ensuing century, the South Plains was once more the scene of violent confrontations, this time between Apaches and Comanches.

The Apaches lost ground, and the Comanches eventually became known as the dominant "lords of the South Plains." These two tribes were actually still in contention when the period of Indian occupancy of the region was terminated by U.S. military force, in the late nineteenth century. Although forced to retreat in the Plains, the Apaches remained entrenched in their mountain strongholds; unlike the Jumanos, they did not face the prospect of ultimate cultural death.

* * *

Of these three Native American peoples who, in successive centuries, dominated the High Plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico, the most obscure and perhaps the most tantalizing are the Jumano. The very existence of this Indian nation is often overlooked. Historians note Spanish contacts with the Jumano, but usually remain noncommital about the political and economic role of this people, and give no explanation either of their origins or of their eventual disappearance. Anthropological and linguistic maps of North America seldom assign any territory to the Jumano, and generally leave their cultural and linguistic classification a mystery. Typically, lands once occupied by the Jumano are awarded cartographically to the Apache, Comanche, or other Plains tribes such as the Kiowa.[3]

Having vanished from the scene early in the eighteenth century, the Jumano seemed to have left little in the way of cultural documentation. Actually, there are numerous references to be found in records of the early years of Spanish rule in New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya and of French colonization in Texas. These references, however, are so scattered and incomplete that modern researchers have found ample scope for scholarly disagreement about the identity of the Jumano, their area or areas of occupancy — and, as indicated, their very existence as a people.[4]

The Jumano were best known to the New Mexican colonists as traders and purveyors of buffalo hides and other peltries. Over the years between 1540 and 1700, Spanish sources recount their presence at numerous locales over a vast geographical area; some of their more prominent settlements were those located on the Rio Grande, at La Junta de los Rios; along the lower Pecos, the Concho, and the Colorado Rivers; at several sites in the plains of east New Mexico and Texas, possibly including Palo Duro Canyon; and in the southeastern Tompiro Pueblos and neighboring Salinas of New Mexico, east of the Manzano Mountains.

The major portion of this piece is devoted to a model of the emergence and development of Jumano culture in the context of a particular set of natural and historical conditions.

Language and History in Western America

As classified by linguistic affiliation, three large Native American population groups settled and diversified within the greater Southwest: Hokan, Aztec-Tanoan, and Athabascan.[5] The remnants of the earliest of these, the scattered tribes affiliated with the Hokan phylum, are separated and differentiated to a degree which suggests that an enormous length of time — perhaps 20,000 years — has passed since the entry of the original population into North America. The Karankawan and Coahuiltecan peoples of southern and eastern Texas were part of this group, which also includes the Yuman language family in the Southwest, and several tribes of California and western Mexico. It would appear that Hokan represents one of the most ancient linguistic and cultural strata in North America.

The largest contiguous block of related languages in the Southwest is made up of two families, Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, which together constitute the Aztec-Tanoan phylum. Whatever their origin, the entry, increase, and spread of this wave of immigrants apparently had the effect of overrunning and/or displacing most of the earlier Hokan-speaking groups. The larger division, Uto-Aztecan, inclines to a western distribution, stretching in a great arc from the Great Basin (Ute, Shoshoni, etc.) through the Sonoran Desert (Pima, Opata) to central Mexico (Nahuatl or Aztec).

The smaller Tanoan family moved into a location farther to the east, and became most strongly entrenched along the Rio Grande River system. The Tanoan languages which are still spoken fell into three subfamilies, all located on or near the upper Rio Grande; included are such Pueblo Indian communities as Taos, San Juan, Santo Domingo, Isleta, Laguna, Jemez, and Pecos (which was abandoned in the last century). At the dawn of history, Tanoan extended farther south than at present, along the Rio Grande, with a broken distribution, at least as far as La Junta de los Rios (the confluence of the Rio Grande and Rio Concho); and also reached east into the South Plains. These groups — all now extinct — included Piro and Tompiro, in the southernmost Pueblos of New Mexico; Manso, in the vicinity of El Paso, Texas; Suma, farther downriver and extending into the deserts of northern Chihuahua; and Jumano.[6]

The last named, Jumano,[7] constitutes an extended eastern arm of Tanoan, which at one time reached from the Rio Grande and Rio Pecos into the South Plains and the upper valley of the Rio Colorado of Texas. Much of this outlying territorial domain of the Tanoan family was later occupied by Apachean, a relatively recent arrival in the Southwest.

Apachean — represented by the historic peoples called

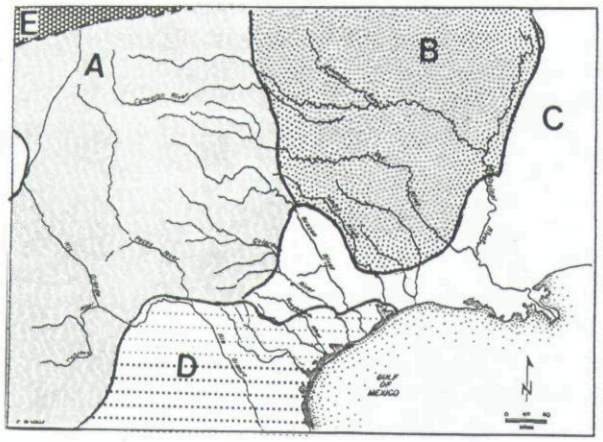
Apache and Navajo — is a branch of the Athabascan language family; the largest part of this family is found in western Canada and Alaska. The linguistic differentiation of the local and regional divisions of Apachean is shallow, reflecting the relatively brief time lapse since the arrival of the ancestral population in the Southwest.

The Jumano of the South Plains

The distribution and internal diversity of the Aztec-Tanoan languages suggests an original identification with the archaic Desert Culture, which spread through much of western North America during a period of intensely arid conditions following the end of the last glacial epoch. Linguists suggest that the earliest home of Aztec-Tanoan lay within the western desert region, perhaps in northern Sonora. The separation of Tanoan and Uto-Aztecan must have taken place more than 5,000 years ago; the barrier of the Grand Canyon may have marked the original point of separation or decreased contact within an original continuum of widely dispersed bands of desert foragers. Comparisons of Uto-Aztecan languages indicate that the ancestral population broke into separate geographic divisions as long ago as 4000 B.C. Internal divisions within Tanoan seem shallower, with the separation of the three groups of Rio Grande languages estimated at 2000-2500 B.C., indicating a long period of existence as a fairly cohesive, geographically contiguous speech community; Kiowa appears to be an exception, and may have separated from the rest of Tanoan at a somewhat earlier date.[8]

* * *

The Rio Grande system became the central axis for the settlement and early movements of the Tanoan people.



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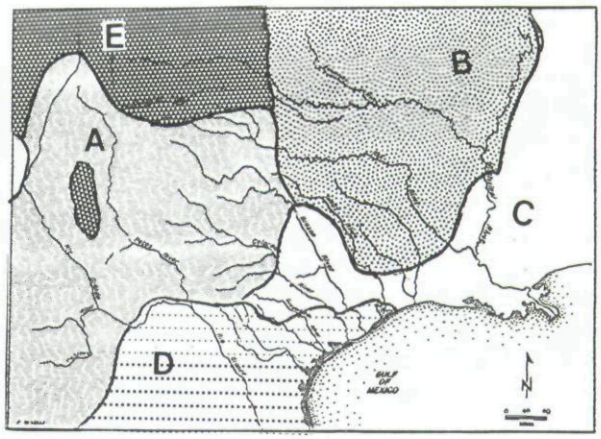

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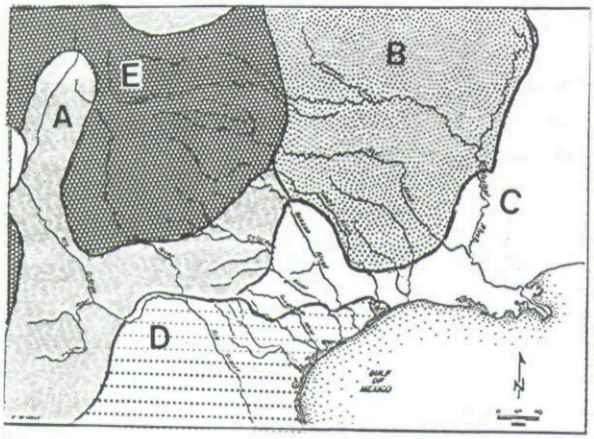

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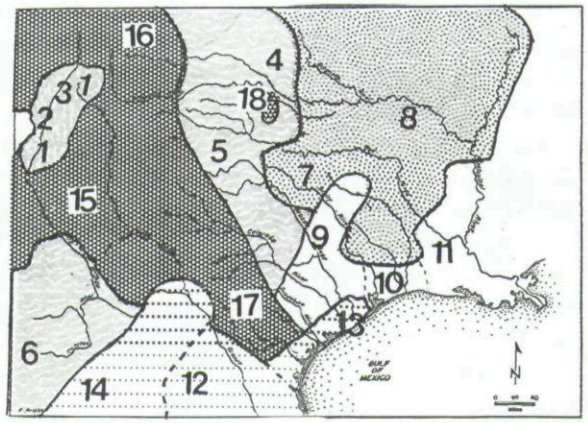

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Above: Population groups, identified by language.

1. 1000-1200 A.D. (prior to entry of Apaches).
2. 1540-1620 A.D. (Spanish exploration and colonization).
3. 1680-1700 A.D. (Pueblo revolt, Navajo expansion, initial appearance of Comanches in north).
4. Recent historic locations of language and cultural groups.[17]

A. Aztec-Tanoan phylum. Tanoan family: 1. Tiwa, 2. Tewa, 3. Towa, 4. Kiowa; Uto-Aztecan family; 5. Comanche, 6. Tarahumara *et. al.*
B. Caddoan family: 7. Wichita, 8. Caddo.
C. Macro-Algonkian phylum. 9. Tonkawa, 10. Atakapa, 11. Natchez *et. al.*
D. Hokan phylum. 12. Coahuiltecan, 13. Karankawa, 14. unknown, traditionally classed as Coahuiltecan.
E. Athabascan family: 15. Mescalero Apache, 16. Jicarilla Apache, 17. Lipan Apache, 18. Kiowa Apache.

With a greater abundance of plant and animal life, river valleys would have supported a denser population than arid, less productive locations. Population drift took some of the bands south[9] along the Rio Grande to the point where the mountains and canyons of the Big Bend area make the river valley impassable; this has been, up to the present, a barrier to travel and communication, and marked a cultural barrier in prehistoric times.

East of the Rio Grande, the ancestors of the historic Jumano eventually found their way across the arid hills between this river and its tributary the Rio Pecos, and beyond, into the South Plains. Even as pre-agricultural food collectors, there must have been differentiation in subsistence activities between bands located in the river valleys and those in the hinterlands. With access to different resources, individual groups would have maintained ties through the exchange of foodstuffs and other goods. All of these bands would have been somewhat nomadic, moving seasonally to harvest pinon nuts, cactus fruit, and other resources. Vast stretches of territory, away from watercourses or springs, were used only for occasional hunting, and would have been neither occupied nor defended on a permanent basis.

The nomadic bands which moved into the South Plains followed a pattern of *transhumance* — seasonal shifting — conditioned mainly by a marked seasonal variation in available water supply. In the South Plains, the ancestral Jumano entered a region which was in use — after years of desertification — primarily as seasonal hunting territory. Routes of migration and travel sought out stream valleys and springs. Seasonal moves between the Rio Grande and South Plains were timed to coincide with predictable periods of rain — in historic times, between April and October.[10]

The limits of the Jumano presence may originally have been set by their confrontation with tribes whose territories lay to the east and south — Caddoan, Tonkawan, Coahuiltecan, and perhaps others.[11] Whether or not there was original hostility between them, with the Tanoans possibly fighting for a foothold in the Plains, the historically documented interactions among these groups were prevailingly peaceful.

As marginal representatives of the Western tradition of arid-land foragers, the Jumano bands were able to make good use of desert plants and small animals for subsistence. They crossed the height of land between the Pecos and the headwaters of the Brazos and Colorado of Texas, and established camps in these widely separated semipermanent stream valleys. The presence of the Jumano notwithstanding, the South Plains continued to be, as it was until the entry of the Apache, an open hunting territory, to which no group made exclusive claim.

Hunting parties from many tribes congregated in the South Plains during late summer and autumn, when herds of bison migrated into the area from the north. During this season, rain is predictable in the High Plains of western Texas, and numerous *playa* lakes form, which were an attraction both to game and to the camps of the Indian hunters. The hunting season may already have become, as it was in historic times, an occasion for the gathering of representatives of many tribes and the exchange of foodstuffs and other goods at regularly scheduled "trade fairs."

Even as they became proficient buffalo hunters, the Jumano continued to maintain, through trade, a close connection with their kinsmen along the Rio Grande, both in the Pueblos and at La Junta. An annual westward trek was made at the end of the fall hunt; at the villages, the Jumano exchanged meat and hides for plant foods and other products, and remained encamped until returning to the plains with the onset of the next spring rains. It is likely that trading-partner relations developed, or were maintained, linking specific Jumano bands and specific riverline villages or kin-groups.

* * *

When agriculture spread through the Southwest (4000-1500 B.C.[12]), the growing of crops became largely the prerogative of communities with a relatively abundant and reliable water supply. By around 100 A.D., the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash as staple crops was established in the Rio Grande Valley. With an increasing food supply, the population of the oasis areas grew, and permanent villages became established. The increased social complexity of the Rio Grande Valley is reflected in the linguistic complexity found there, with several distinct language and dialect divisions contained within a relatively restricted geographical area.

An already existing cultural gap between oasis and desert Tanoans now grew wider, as the farming communities adopted a more stable lifestyle, grew in numbers, and instituted new forms of political organization, land tenure, and legal forms. Still, however, there was no basis for a rupture between the sedentary Tanoan farmers on the Rio Grande and the related Jumano, who ranged farther afield. Instead, a growing contrast in the resources available to these groups was, even more than before, a basis for economic exchange.

It appears, then, that two ecologically differentiated divisions continued to operate as complementary units within a larger cultural system. Along the Rio Grande and its major tributaries, the cultivated fields of the Tanoan villagers sometimes yielded a surplus of farm produce, and artisans developed the production of pottery, textiles, and other goods. The nomadic Jumanos brought in meat and hides from the hunt, as well as fruits and nuts from the deserts and mountains, to barter at certain of the villages. The easternmost Pueblos along the frontier of New Mexico, became, in effect, relay stations, dealing directly with the nomads and passing some of the goods on to the other villages. Like the historic Jumano, the nomads followed an annual pattern of spending the winter months at or near the village of their kinsmen and trading partners — the pattern

observed by Coronado, in 1540, at the northern Pueblos, and also suggested by archaeological data at La Junta de los Rios.[13]

From the point of view of the archaic Jumano, the villagers' intensification of agriculture meant an increase both in the stores of food and material goods available along the Rio Grande, and in the demand there for their own products. They responded by upgrading their trading activities. By carrying trade goods from the villages to the plains, these transhumant nomads could obtain, in exchange, a portion of the kill of the hunting tribes. The additional supply of meat and hides would be, in turn, carried back to the villages to exchange for more trade goods. This is the beginning of the role, as middlemen and culture-brokers, in which the Jumano developed a unique cultural style, and in which we can see them in the earliest historical references.[14]

* * *

A factor which enlarged the sphere of influence of the Jumano was the growth of an agricultural civilization — in this case, a regional variant of the Mississippian culture of eastern North America — in an area located east of the Plains, along the lower courses of the Arkansas, Canadian, Red, Brazos, and other rivers which flow from the High Plains to the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf of Mexico. Historically, these fertile river valleys were the domain of Caddoan village tribes, distant relatives of the Iroquois and Siouan peoples. The florescence of populous agricultural tribes and confederacies among the Caddoan peoples added another dimension to the regional patterns of trade. Like other tribes whose territories bordered on the buffalo country, some of the Caddoan farmers traveled upriver into the South Plains to participate in the seasonal hunt, and carried with them goods to barter.

As for the Jumano: As time passed, they came to play an increasingly explicit role as traders. In the South Plains, the Jumano occupied bases — the Spaniards called them *rancherias*, which usually implies permanent or semipermanent residence — which were typically located in sheltered stream valleys, such as the canyons along the eastern edge of the high plains, on the upper courses of the eastern rivers — specifically, the Red, Brazos, and Colorado. Eventually, some of the seasonal Jumano camps in these canyons became substantial settlements; gardens were apparently cultivated here, and a part of the population may have remained as year-round residents (perhaps, in later days, to defend their bases against the Apache). Situated near the sources of watercourses which were also routes of travel and communication, the Jumano bases are perhaps best regarded as trading posts.

* * *

As itinerant traders, the historic Jumano — now mounted — carried goods from the easternmost New Mexican Pueblos to their bases in the Plains, from which they dealt with the representatives of visiting tribes, and out of which they traveled farther, into the territories of many of these tribes. They stockpiled the take from this trade and from the annual hunt, to be transported on their return trip to the west. The size and complexity of the Jumano trade in historic times is reflected in the presence of Jumano enclave communities in the eastern Pueblos and at La Junta, where goods were also accumulated and warehoused.

This situation may have been in effect for many years; the equilibrium was upset, however, by the entry into the region of the Apache, and the beginning of a war for the possession of the South Plains. The ease of Apache entry into the South Plains may be attributed to the low population density in the area, and to the shifting patterns of Jumano occupancy. The original Apache settlements were in the mountains bordering the plains; historic sources indicate the presence of Apaches in the sixteenth century, living in both Sandia and Guadalupe ranges, at the southern extreme of the cordillera of the Rockies. The Apache cultivated farms near their mountain *rancherias*, which they left while migrating into the adjacent plains for hunting.

The successful expansion of Apache occupancy deep into the Plains is credited to the early acquisition of horses, taken in raids on the Spanish colonists in New Mexico. From the beginning, the Apache seem to have defined and defended hunting territories to which they claimed exclusive rights — a concept of land tenure which put the rapidly expanding Apache bands at odds with all (or almost all) of the tribes which had traditionally made use of the region.

In historic times, the Jumano appear to have had their strongest ties of trade and friendship with the Hasinai confederacy of eastern Texas, and to have been actively involved as intermediaries between the Caddoan tribes and New Mexico. Far from being essentially a hunting tribe — as they have most often been depicted — the historic Jumano were avid and adventurous traders. Their contacts extended well beyond the South Plains, east to the Gulf Coast, south via the Rio Grande to the Rio Conchos, and, of course, to the Pueblos of New Mexico. West of the Rio Grande, the Jumano trade apparently had links with a network which extended to Mexico and the Pacific Coast.

Thus, the presence of a broad transregional cultural system can be inferred, supported by an extensive exchange network which linked a number of widely separated peoples and extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rio Grande and beyond. The arid South Plains region itself, which might otherwise appear to be an empty area — deficient in water, sparsely populated, and marginal to the more complex culture areas of the river valleys lying both to the east to the west — was, instead, a bridge between these areas, and was the center of the trade which defined the system.

The South Plains had long been a hunting territory

utilized by the numerous tribes of the surrounding areas. In this context, a remarkable set of conventions evolved, which served to maintain peace and facilitate economic exchange, even among tribes which may have been, otherwise, traditional enemies of one another. In line with this, the South Plains appears to be the most likely setting for the invention of the sign language, used extensively in intertribal communication, which spread throughout much of North America.

In this transregional system, the Jumano were the catalyst group. As traders, they enjoyed neutrality in their contacts with other tribes. Through their active entrepreneurship, a network of alliances was built and maintained which eventually extended from the Gulf Coast and lower Rio Grande to the Arkansas River and the Pueblos of New Mexico. As reported in 1684, the allies of the Jumano numbered over 50 different "nations" (bands and tribes), and included peoples as diverse as the Caddoans of Quivira and the Hasinai Confederacy; Tonkawan tribes such as the Emet and Sana; the Coahuiltecan (or south Texan) Gueiquesal, Joreme, and Yorica; the Piro and Tiwa of the southern Pueblos; and the Julime of La Junta de los Rios. In negotiating with Spain during the 1680s, the Jumano leader Juan Sebeata acted as spokesman for this large network of allies.[15]

Almost literally, at some time during the seventeenth century, the only significant population group between the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico with whom there is no record of Jumano trade and/or alliance, is their long-time enemies, the Apache.

* * *

From the time of their entry into the lands north of Mexico, the Spanish explorers had amicable dealings with the Jumano,[16] who provisioned them with goods, such as buffalo hides, and offered their services as guides. Throughout the seventeenth century, the colonists of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya maintained ties with the Jumano, out of both economic and political motives. Spain was, especially, interested in the Jumano traders as contacts for establishing relations with the Indians of Texas.

With a decline, under the oppression of colonialism, in the productivity and prosperity of the native population on the Rio Grande, the Jumanos' Western trade became increasingly oriented toward the Spanish colonists. Even as their own territorial base in the South Plains was eroded by the inroads of the Apaches, the Jumanos became, in effect, professional middlemen between Spain and the Texas tribes, the most important of which were those of the Hasinai Confederacy.

As the Apaches advanced southward through the Plains, threatening and finally breaking the earlier trade routes and lines of communication, the Jumanos and their allies made repeated appeals for Spanish aid. This was not forthcoming, and the Jumanos retreated still farther to the south. When Apache bands gained control of the valley of the Colorado River in Texas, the Jumano trade was effectively disrupted; the last of the Jumanos, however, continued for several years to serve the Spanish colony in Nueva Vizcaya, in the role of traders and occasional mercenary soldiers.

NOTES

1. A variety of opinions have been expressed regarding the identity of the Querechos and Teyas; see Albert A. Schroeder, "A Re-analysis of the Routes of Coronado and Onate into the Plains in 1541 and 1601," *Plains Anthropologist*, 7,15 (1962): 2-23; Dolores A. Gunnerson, *The Jicarilla Apache* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).
2. Archaeologists have developed a wealth of theories about the evolution of Southwestern cultures, which cannot be effectively reviewed here. The Mogollon tradition probably developed in place, from the earlier Cochise foraging culture; the beginnings of agriculture would have been stimulated by trade and cultural diffusion from Mexico. In its later stages, Mogollon was greatly influenced by the Anasazi culture, which had its beginnings somewhat farther to the West, and reached a florescence around 1000-1200 A.D. in the plateau regions of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The link between Jornada, Mogollon, and Jumano is discussed by Gordon Vivian, *Excavations in a Seventeenth-Century Jumano Pueblo: Gran Quivira* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Archaeological Research Publication 8, 1979); Robert G. Campbell, "Possible Kiowa Prehistoric Origins," paper presented at "The Kiowa People: A Symposium," Texas University Tech Museum (1982).
3. The Kiowa may be the remote cultural heirs of the Jumano. The identification of the Jumano as a Tanoan people, and a clarification of their historic role in trade relations between the Southwest and the Plains, will eventually help to resolve the question of Kiowa origins. See Campbell, "Kiowa"; Irvine Davis, "Linguistic Clues to Northern Rio Grande Prehistory," *El Palacio*, 66 (1978):73-84; Nancy P. Hickerson, "Unity out of Diversity in Kiowa Language and Culture," paper presented at "The Kiowa People: A Symposium," Texas Tech University Museum (1982).
4. For a review of Jumano scholarship, see Nancy P. Hickerson, "The Linguistic Position of Jumano," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 44 (1988):311-326. Widely contrasting depictions of Jumano culture have been presented by, among others, W. W. Newcombe, Jr., *The Indians of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), and J. Charles Kelley, "Jumano and Patarabuey: Relations at La Junta de los Rios," *Anthropological Papers* 29, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan. The most influential position has been that of F. V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History*, 6 (Carnegie Institution, Washington, DC); these authors suggested that "Jumano" was used by Spanish colonists as a general term for Indians who practiced facial and/or body painting. Unfortunately, wide acceptance of this position has served to minimize serious efforts to deal with Jumano history.
5. Besides these three large groups, there are two isolated language families represented in the Southwest: Keresan, which includes several Pueblos on and west of the Rio Grande, and Zuni, which now consists of a single Pueblo community. The determination of the remote relationships of these languages is important for the reconstruction of culture history in the region, but they are, so far, unresolved.
6. Efforts to define the cultural position of Jumano (as well as Manso and Suma) have hinged, in part, on the question of linguistic affiliation. Several suggestions have been made, including those of F. W. Hodge, "The Jumano Indians," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 20 (1911):249-268, who argued for a connection with the Caddoan family. Carl O. Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, 5 (1934), classified Jumano and Suma in the Uto-Aztecan branch of the Aztec-Tanoan phylum; this is the generally accepted view. Recently, Jack A. Forbes, "Unknown Athabascans:

the Identification of the Janos, Jocome, Suma, Manso, and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest," *Ethnohistory*, 6:97-159, has argued the Jumano were early Apacheans. The position taken here, as developed in an earlier paper (Hickerson, "Linguistic Position") is that the language of the Jumano (together with Suma and Manso) was the same as, or closely affiliated with, that of the Piro, and thus included in the Tiwa subfamily of the Tanoan branch of the Aztec-Tanoan phylum.

7. *Jumano* is evidently a hispanicized form of the native name; it became the standard, for American anthropologists, when adopted by F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico*, Bulletin 40 (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907). The several variants of the name — Humana, Xumana, Sumana, etc. — include some that are close to the Suma (Zuma, etc.); the two may not always have been regarded as separated peoples. Sauer, "Distribution," made the important observation that *Suma* was often applied to bands located west of the Rio Grande, *Jumano* to those located to the east.
8. On the estimation of time depth within Aztec-Tanoan, see Davis, "Linguistic Clues"; Kenneth Hale and David Harris, "Historical Linguistics and Archaeology," in W. C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 10 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979); Joseph Jorgenson, *Western Indians* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1980). Davis' estimate of 4,000 years of separation for Kiowa seems high, possibly skewed by the extremely high frequency of loanwords found in this language.
9. The interpretation of Jorgenson, *Western*, indicates that the Rio Grande was the original route for a northward migration of Tanoan; in this case, Tanoan-speakers could have been present around La Junta from very early times. On the other hand, the spread of agriculture and a "Puebloid" architectural style to La Junta around 1000 A.D., marking the dispersal of Mogollon culture, could suggest that Tanoan entered this area at a relatively late date (assuming that the cultural influence was carried by a movement of people). This view is accepted by Newcombe, *Indians*.
10. The mounted Jumano of the 1680s continued this annual round, journeying around 500 miles between La Junta and the Guadalupe River of Texas. Native testimony given in 1693 described this route, indicating that it was necessary to reach south Texas before spring rains made the road impassable; the return trip began when the leaves fell in the autumn; see Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, pub. 330, 1937).
11. The linguistic identity of several extinct tribes traditionally lumped as Coahuiltecan is actually unknown or uncertain; in such cases, the classification should be considered provisional; see T. N. Campbell, "Coahuiltecans and Their Neighbors," in Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook*.
12. Richard B. Woodbury and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, "Agricultural Beginnings, 2000 B.C. - A.D. 500," in Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook*.
13. Kelley, "Jumano."
14. The transformation suggested here could find parallels in the history of certain Old World pastoral nomads, such as the Tuareg, who became known, primarily, as traders.
15. J. Charles Kelley, "Juan Sabeata and Diffusion in Aboriginal Texas," *American Anthropologist*, 47 (1955):981-995. There are two lists of the Jumanos' Indian allies. Juan Sabeata's declaration listed 36 nations, including his own; it is found in C. W. Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, 2 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1931). The journal of the Spanish commander, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, gave names of 56 nations, 19 of them accompanying the expedition, and 37 awaiting it at the Colorado River; see Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York: Scribner, 1916).
16. An exception is seen in the rebellion of, and subsequent Spanish reprisals against, a Jumano village in the Salinas region of New Mexico in 1599; see Vivian, *Excavations*.
17. C. F. Voegelin and F. M. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages (American Ethnological Society/Rand McNally, 1966).

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