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Prehistoric and Protohistoric Ceramics from the Lower Plains, Caprock Canyonlands, and Texas Panhandle

Timothy K. Perttula and Christopher Lintz

Emerging material culture patterns suggest that the Texas Panhandle, Caprock Canyonlands, and Lower Plains regions have been a vascillating border area for at least three diverse ceramic wares or ceramic traditions. These include: (a) a cord-marked ware derived from the Plains (to the north, east, and northwest) which is found mostly in the upper Texas Panhandle but also in the lower plains of North Central Texas (e.g., Krieger 1946); (b) a mediumpasted plain brownware primarily found in the lower panhandle, the Caprock Canyonlands, and the

Lower Plains that appears to have been derived from the Southwest (principally the Jornada Mogollon area); and (c) a thin, dark sandy to micaceous paste plain ware found throughout these regions in Protohistoric contexts (after ca. A.D. 1450), and apparently deriving from the north central portions of New Mexico (see general summaries in Hofman and Brooks 1989; Brooks 1989; Hofman 1989). The recognition of these three general ceramic wares oversimplifies the tremendous range of variability present in the ceramic assemblages found on aboriginal sites in these regions. For the most part, the gross delineation of ceramic types has been used as a crude temporal and cultural indicator, and we archeologists have a long way to go in recognizing and refining the temporal, spatial, and cultural significance of the ceramics used in these areas.

The earliest prehistoric ceramics manufactured in the upper Texas Panhandle appeared about ca. A.D. 400 (e.g., Couzzourt 1985, 1988). They are closely related to the Plains Woodland ceramics found in Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Colorado (cf. Bozell and Winfrey 1994:Figure 2a-d; Vehik 1984) in that they are large, thick-walled, conical or conoidal-shaped vessels,1 and have completely cord-roughened exterior surfaces with little to no rim or lip decoration. The small assemblage of sherds from such sites as Lake Creek (Hughes 1962) and Tascosa Creek (Couzzourt 1985, 1988) are dominated by these thick cord-roughened vessels, tempered with crushed rock (usually quartz and carbonate, but scoria-tempered [Hughes et al. 1978:102] and basalt-tempered [Quigg et al. 1993:149] wares are also known in parts of the Texas Panhandle) and bone. Diagonal incising is the only other apparent decorative element represented in these Texas Panhandle Woodland ceramic assemblages. Smooth-finished sherds with crushed plagioclase feldspar temper found associated with cord-marked Woodland vessels on these early sites have been tentatively identified as intrusive Mogollon brownwares, probably Alma Plain (Hughes 1991:26-27).

A whole Woodland period pot of unknown provenience in the collections of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum stands 33 cm high with an orifice diameter of 33 cm. It has a conical base, and the vessel's maximum diameter is not at the rim, but farther down on the body; the walls are 8-9 mm thick at the rim. Stick impressions were present on the lip of the pot, and just below the rim were two parallel incised lines with punctations between the lines (A. J. Taylor, personal communication to Christopher Lintz, 1995).

In the Caprock Canyonlands, the earliest ceramics date from between about A.D. 200 and A.D. 1100, based on radiocarbon dates from the Deadman's Shelter (41SW23), Sam Wahl (41GR291), South Sage Creek (41KT33), and Kent Creek (41HL66) sites (Willey and Hughes 1978; Boyd et al. 1992, 1994; Cruse 1992; see also Boyd, this volume). The ceramics from these Palo Duro Complex sites appear to uniformly be Mogollon brownwares-including Jornada Brown, Middle Pecos Micaceous Brown, and Roswell Brownand the petrographic analyses by Robinson (1992, 1994) suggest they were manufactured in the Middle Pecos valley in southeastern New Mexico. Eastern Jornada Mogollon occupations (the Querecho phase) dating towards the end of this period (ca. A.D. 950-1100) on the southwestern part of the Llano Estacado had locally-made brownwares as well as a few Puebloan tradewares (e.g., Corley 1965).

Locally-manufactured Plains Village (ca. A.D. 1100/1200-1450/1500) ceramics in the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles include the large globular-bodied Borger Cordmarked vessels in the Antelope Creek phase (see Krieger 1946:44; Suhm and Jelks 1962:15; Lintz 1984:333-335; J. Hughes 1991:32-33), and the cord-marked and distinctive rim/lip decorated ceramics from the Buried City complex along Wolf Creek (Hughes and Hughes-Jones 1987; D. Hughes 1991). These Late Prehistoric cordmarked ceramics are undoubtedly related to the earlier Woodland ceramic tradition in the region.

Across most of the Llano Estacado and Caprock Canyonlands, the few ceramics that are found on Late Prehistoric campsites include Jornada Mogollon El Paso brownwares, Puebloan polychromes, and Chupadero Black-on-white vessels from the Salinas Pueblo area along the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico (e.g., Johnson 1978:107, 1993, 1995; Krieger 1946:77-81; Holliday and Johnson 1990:45). However, along the southwestern edge of the Llano Estacado, relatively sedentary groups were manufacturing their own local brownwares and corrugated utility vessels (and then later indented brownwares [Collins 1969]), and were trading for painted Puebloan wares in the Mimbres, Salinas, northern Rio Grande, and Three Rivers areas of New Mexico (see summary in Baugh 1994).

Suhm and Jelks (1962:15) provide the most thorough description of Borger Cordmarked. This

is an elongated to globular jar (made by coiling clay ropes) with short vertical to flaring rims (Figure 24), 20-30 cm in height with orifice diameters ranging between 14-22 cm. Crushed rock (usually quartz) and sand were used as temper, along with mica, bone, or other inclusions. The jars have convex bases, and generally thin walls, perhaps thinner near the base than the rim. The rim and body of the vessels are covered with fine vertically-placed cord impressions on the upper body which overlap considerably near the base (sometimes the cord impressions are smoothed over) from paddles used in shaping and welding the vessels, and rarely with incisions, punctations, and notches on the rim and lip; red, gray, and black washes or slips have also been documented in a few Antelope Creek phase ceramic assemblages.

In a sample of 272 rims from five Antelope Creek phase sites (McGrath, Black Dog Village, Two Sisters, Stamper, and Roy Smith), Lintz (1978:Figure 6) noted that: 65 percent were only plain or had cordmarking, 7 percent had diagonal punctations on the lip, 6.3 percent had pinched liprim junctures, and 6.6 percent had a single row of fingernail gouges around the rim; the other 7 percent of the rims were represented by dotpunctated lips and rims, diagonal incised lines, lip tabs, or had distinctive collared and cambered rims. Brushed bodies, fingernail punctates on the vessel shoulder, and parallel trailed lines on the body, are other rare decorative elements in the Antelope Creek ceramic medium. There is a relatively high percentages of decorated rims (particularly pinched rims, as well as the diagonal incising) in the ceramic samples from the Roy Smith, Stamper, and Two Sisters sites in the Oklahoma Panhandle. This suggests interaction between these Antelope Creek phase groups and the Buried City Complex, on Wolf Creek in the northeastern part of the Texas Panhandle, because rim decorated vessels with similar decorative elements are much more common in the Buried City Complex (cf. Hughes 1991; see below for discussion of Buried City Complex ceramics).

The general shape and form of the Borger Cordmarked vessels, and the soot-blackened and smudged exterior and interior surfaces, certainly indicate that these were cooking jars. Exactly what was being cooked in the jars is uncertain, as organic residues on the vessels have not been studied, but stable carbon isotope analysis of

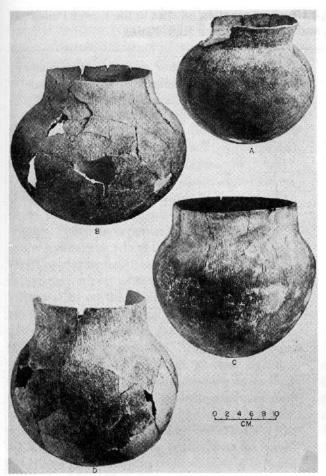


Figure 24. Borger Cordmarked Vessels from the Antelope Creek phase (from Suhm and Jelks 1962:Plate 8).

Antelope Creek phase human remains (Habicht-Mauche et al. 1994) suggests that maize, amaranth, and bison grease were cooked, heated, and/or boiled in these pots. In a few instances, whole or large fragmentary Borger Cordmarked vessels were placed in burial pits as grave goods (e.g., Couzzourt and Schmidt-Couzzourt 1988; Lintz 1986; Green 1986).

Other kinds of ceramics on Antelope Creek phase sites include a wide variety of Southwestern ceramic vessel sherds and Pecos-style and Taos Incised pipes, particularly Northern Puebloan types (Table 3) on late subphase (A.D. 1350-1500) components (Lintz 1991:93); locally made ceramic items include perforated and fired clay beads (Hughes et al. 1978:Figure 12l-m), short tubular pipes, and perforated cord-marked pottery disks. Lintz (1984) also notes that ceramics from the Central and Southern Plains, as well as from the Caddoan area, are

present as trade wares in small amounts. Lintz and Reese-Taylor's (1995) petrographic analysis of collared and non-collared rims in Antelope Creek phase, Buried City, and Upper Republican assemblages suggests that many of the collared rim vessels were made in the Panhandle, probably by the Buried City Complex groups, and do not represent tradewares from Central Plains Tradition groups. Miniature vessels (5-6 cm in height), unfired and not coiled, have been recovered from Spring Canyon (Duffield 1964), site 41MO7 (Green 1986:41), Saddleback (Holden 1934:39), Chicken Creek (Schmidt-Couzzourt 1983), and Coetas Ruin 55 (Studer 1934).

In the Buried City Complex, the locally-manufactured ceramics are the large globular or subconoidal jars, but unlike in the Antelope Creek phase, these vessels often have high and slightly flaring rims (D. Hughes 1991:Figures 25 and 26; Hughes and Hughes-Jones 1987:Figures 16 and 17; whole globular and subconoidal vessels with high and flaring rims found in a feed lot in Darrouzett, Texas appear to be related to the Buried City Complex [Jackson et al. 1982:108-109]). Again, a mixture of temper inclusions were used, including bone, caliche, sand, grog, shell, and scoria, with a fine quartz sand being most frequently employed as an aplastic.

Vessels were usually finished with a cordmarked paddle, with about 20 percent of the sherds from vessels with smoothed over cord impressions. The rims and lips of the Buried City ceramics were commonly decorated (i.e., not including rims with cord-marking, about 57 percent of the rims from Courson B [410C27] were decorated in a variety of ways [Hughes and Hughes-Jones 1987]). This includes notched rims and notched lip tabs, nodes, fabric and corncob-impressed, brush-poked, pinched, incised or trailed, shell-impressed, applique fillets, and rows of punctated indentations; a few vessels had thin slips or washes. The pinched decorations-one to two rows of punctations and pinching along the neck and rim-appear to be the most common decorative element, and Hughes and Hughes-Jones (1987:Figure 17) call these ceramics Courson Pinched. Hughes and Hughes-Jones (1987) also believe that the rim treatment and decorative style of these pinched vessels resemble the Geneseo pottery

Table 3. Southwestern Ceramics on Antelope Creek phase sites, on sites in the Lower Plains and Caprock Canyonlands, and on the Southern High Plains

Ceramic Type	Antelope Creek ¹	Rolling Plains/ Caprock Canyonlands ²	S. High Plains/ Llano Estacado
Northern Puebloan Area		AND THE	
Santa Fe Black-on-white	X		
Wiyo Black-on-white	X		
Galisteo Black-on-white	X		
Rowe Black-on-white	X		
Abiquiu Black-on-gray	X		
Agua Fria Glaze-on-red	X	X (?)	
Cieneguilla Glaze Yellow	X	X	
San Clemente Glaze Polychrome	X	A	
Largo Glaze Polychrome	X		
Largo Glaze Yellow	X		
Kuaua Glaze Polychrome	X		
San Lazaro Glaze Polychrome	X		
Rio Grande Glaze Polychrome I-VI	X	X	v
Tewa Polychrome	Λ	X	X X
Pecos-style pipes	X	X	Χ
Western Puebloan Area			
Kowina Black-on-white	x		
Jeddito Yellowware	X		
St. Johns Polychrome	X		v
Heshotauthla Polychrome	X		X
Little Colorado Glaze I	X		
Gila Polychrome	A		X
Southern Puebloan or Jornada Mogollo	on Area		
Chupadero Black-on-white	X		v
Lincoln Black-on-red	X		X
El Paso Polychrome	X		X
El Paso Brownware			X
Iomada Brownware		v	X
Three Rivers Red-on-terracotta		X	X
0 1 - Y 1 - 1 D			X
Mimbres Black-on-white			X
South Pecos Brown		v	X
Roswell Brown		X	
McKenzie Brown		X	
Middle Pecos Micaceous Brown		X X	
Northern Chihuahuan Area			
Ramos Polychrome			
layas Red			X
injus red			X

¹ Lintz 1991; Wedel 1982; Crabb 1968

² Boyd, this volume; Boyd et al. 1989, 1993, 1994; Baugh 1992

³ Boyd et al. 1989; Johnson 1993, 1995; Quigg et al. 1993

of western Kansas (see Wedel 1959:575-576); in that the Geneseo Plain and Simple Stamped pottery is decorated with applied fillets as well as single and double rows of pinches and gouges, there are stylistic resemblances. However, the Geneseo ceramics from Kansas are smooth-surfaced (not cord-impressed), often have flat bases, and have loop handles (Scott 1994:71), ceramic attributes that are not characteristic of the Buried City Complex ceramic assemblages.

In contrast to the Plains Village cord-marked, globular jar ceramic traditions in the Canadian River basin of the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles, Puebloan ceramics are widely distributed on the Llano Estacado at this time (as are the New Mexican glazewares from the Galisteo Basin, although they appear to be concentrated in the Plains Village sites on the Canadian River [Spielmann 1983: Figure 6]), and local ceramic traditions appear to be absent except for those of the eastern extension of the Jornada Mogollon. Krieger (1946:77-81) had noted some 50 years ago that nearly all the ceramics found in dune areas, lake beds, and by springs on the Llano were manufactured by Jornada Mogollon and other Puebloan groups. Most recently, Johnson (1995) states that the most frequent Puebloan ceramics on the southern High Plains found in contexts dating between ca. A.D. 950-1450 include Chupadero Black-onwhite, Three Rivers Red-on-terracotta, Jornada Brown, and El Paso Brownware (see Table 3). Ochoa Indented brownware, made by eastern Jornada Mogollon groups after ca. A.D. 1350, is also broadly distributed on the Llano Estacado, from the White River south to the Midland area (Johnson 1993:Figure 12.4).

These eastern Jornada Mogollon groups on the southwestern part of the Llano Estacado continued to manufacture plain brownwares, corrugated jars, and after A.D. 1350 the Ochoa Indented

brownware. Northern Rio Grande tradewares became common after ca. A.D. 1300, and included polychromes, black-on-whites, black-on-reds, and yellow-glazed wares from the Salado, Upper Rio Grande, Salinas, and Three Rivers areas of New Mexico and Arizona, as well as Ramos Polychrome from northern Chihuahua (Casas Grandes) (Collins 1971). The Salt Cedar site in Andrews County, Texas, one of the more important eastern Jornada Mogollon sites on the Llano Estacado, had Puebloan tradewares such as Agua Fria Glaze-onred, Chupadero Black-on-white, El Paso polychrome, and San Clemente Glaze A polychrome (Collins 1968).

The character of aboriginal ceramics found on campsites and villages across the Texas Panhandle and Llano Estacado, as well as in the Caprock Canyonlands and the Lower Plains, changed greatly after ca. A.D. 1450. The ceramic wares are, with few exceptions, dominated by Northern Rio Grande glazewares (glazes III-VI or C-F) and thin, dark plain utility wares of one sort or another,2 most closely resembling Southwestern-style culinary pottery, particularly those made in the Pecos and Galisteo pueblos (see Habicht-Mauche 1987, 1988, 1991; Boyd and Reese-Taylor 1993; Baugh 1986, 1992; Baugh and Eddy 1987; Spielmann 1983). Red River Late Caddoan style ceramics are also present in small amounts, particularly in the Edwards phase sites in western Oklahoma.3 These changes in the composition of ceramic assemblages appear to be related to the development of new and more intensive forms of economic interaction and exchange between the Pueblo farmers of the Rio Grande, the bison hunters of the southern High Plains, and horticultural villages communities on the Red, Washita, and Canadian rivers in western Oklahoma.

Spielmann (1983:268) concluded that the local manufacture of ceramics on the southern High

²Some Texas archeologists have referred to this kind of plain micaceous ceramics as "Apache pottery" (Hughes 1991; Holliday and Johnson 1990; Johnson 1987), which is an inappropriate ethnic and cultural appellation, if not downright inaccurate, given: (a) the difficulty in visually sorting it from utility wares produced at Pecos and Galisteo pueblos, and (b) the divergent findings from the petrographic and compositional studies conducted on these utility wares by Boyd and Reese-Taylor (1993), Peck (1993), and Habicht-Mauche (1987, 1988, 1991). The 1985 Southern Athapaskan Ceramics Conference had codified this as an Apachean ware, Llano Estacado Gray Ware (Baugh and Eddy 1987).

³Twenty-five sand and shell-tempered sherds (90 percent sand and 10 percent shell inclusions) from the Floydada Country Club site were identified as Caddoan because of the shell tempering and a similarity to Caddoan utility wares (Word 1991:77), but this is unlikely because Caddoan shell-tempered vessels along the Red River do not contain sand tempering.

Plains ceased after ca. A.D. 1450,4 as the Llano Estacado bison hunters obtained the Rio Grande wares as their main source of ceramics in exchange for bison meat, hides, and related products. Through time (by ca. A.D. 1600) as the exchange system evolved, the Pecos and Picuris glazewares had replaced the glazewares produced for the market from the Galisteo and Tonque pueblos. In plotting the distribution of post-A.D. 1450 Rio Grande ceramic glaze wares, Spielmann (1983:Figure 6) also noted that they appeared to be concentrated on sites along the major waterways that originate in, and flow east out of, New Mexico, specifically along the White River and the Prairie Dog Town Fork, as well as Tierra Blanca Creek (a tributary of the Prairie Dog Town Fork) and the North Fork of the Red River. In major protohistoric Garza and Tierra Blanca Complex components such as Bridwell (41CB27), Montgomery (41FL17), Pete Creek (41CB1), and Blackburn (41RD20), Rio Grande glazewares may amount for as much as 75 percent of the ceramic assemblages (e.g., Baugh 1986: Table 4; Spielmann 1983); they may be lacking entirely from Tierra Blanca and Garza camps where micaceous utility wares are better represented along with smaller amounts of sandy-paste Edwards Plain and grog-tempered Little Deer Plain (see Baugh [1986:170-172] for definitions of these Southern Plains utility wares).

At the time of Spielmann's (1983) consideration of Puebloan-Southern Plains exchange systems, the thin, plain micaceous utility wares on Southern High Plains sites were considered to have also been manufactured by Puebloan groups, probably at Pecos Pueblo given their resemblances to Blind Indented Corrugated and Faint-Striated jars at Pecos Pueblo (Kidder and Shepard 1936). However, petrographic analyses of utility ware sherds—and variability in tempers, paste, textures and finish, vessel size, and color—from Garza, Tierra Blanca, and Wheeler phase sites

by Habicht-Mauche (1987, 1988, 1991) suggested that these culinary ceramics were more likely to represent ceramics locally produced by High Plains bison hunters, but out of a shared Southwestern ceramic tradition (Habicht-Mauche 1987:184); nevertheless, a small percent of the utility wares were thought to have been actually obtained in trade from Rio Grande pueblos (Habicht-Mauche 1991:67).

Given these findings, the Southern Plains striated utility ceramics were assigned to a new type, Tierra Blanca Plain (Habicht-Mauche 1987:178-180, 1988:217-272), named after the protohistoric component at the Tierra Blanca site in Deaf Smith County, Texas. It is a thin (averaging 3-5 mm), coil-constructed ware of "small-to-medium globular to slightly elongated jars with everted rims and gently curving shoulders" (Habicht-Mauche 1987:180; Figure 25). The exterior surfaces, brownish gray to black in color, were smoothed to faintly striated, probably by scraping with a corn cob, and only rarely decorated with two to three parallel rows of fingernail punctations (see Figure 25d). The paste is slightly sandy, with silica-rich crushed rocks added as temper, and variable amounts of mica particles are also present as a paste constituent, but it is not considered by Habicht-Mauche (1987:178) as a "micaceous" ware.

The study of 17th century ceramic assemblages from the Headstream (41KT51) and Longhorn (41KT53) sites in the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos River basin provide a different perspective on the character and place of aboriginal ceramics among bison-hunting groups living in the Caprock Canyonlands (Boyd et al. 1993). Puebloan redwares, glazewares, and matte paint wares accounted for 58 percent of the estimated 31 vessels at the two sites, probably originating mainly from Pecos Pueblo, but also from the Santa Clara (Tewa) and Salinas pueblos of the northern Rio Grande (Boyd and Reese-Taylor 1993; Peck 1993); Pecos-style tubu-

⁴Garza components at Lubbock Lake and Lott do provide clear evidence that locally-manufactured ceramics are part of the material culture assemblage of these Southern Plains bison hunters. At Lubbock Lake, the local ware is a thick, grit-tempered ceramic with brushing and corncob impressions (Johnson et al. 1977: Figure 4e; Johnson 1978: Figure 27x, 1987:115); Johnson (1987:115) indicates this ware has been found in protohistoric contexts in sites on the southern half of the Llano Estacado. The local ware at the Lott site is a bone-tempered ceramic manufactured from Triassic clays, and decorated with incised diagonals, parallel lines, and rows of punctations; vessel forms are bowls, jars, and carinated bowls (Runkles and Dorchester 1987). A sherd of thick grit temper, with brushing and corncob impressions, was also present in the Lott site ceramic assemblage (Group I in Runkles and Dorchester [1987]).

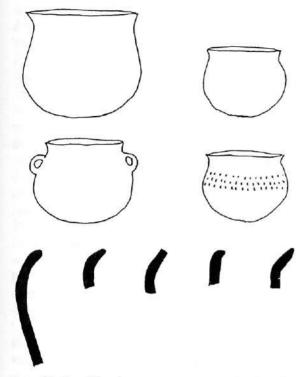


Figure 25. Protohistoric Tierra Blanca Plain vessel forms, decorations, and rim profiles on the Southern Plains (after Habicht-Mauche 1991).

lar pipes (Boyd et al. 1993:Figure 82) were also found at both sites.

Plain utility and micaceous utility vessels represent a minimum of 13 vessels at Headstream and Longhorn. Technologically and stylistically these wares cannot be distinguished from either Tierra Blanca Plain or the Pecos or Picuris Pueblo Faint Striated utility wares. However, based on the petrographic analysis of sherds from these Justiceburg Reservoir sites as well as the examination of petrographic data and ceramic thin sections from Pecos Pueblo and Tierra Blanca Plain, and X-Ray flourescence of paste composition, Boyd and Reese-Taylor (1993:374-375) conclude that: (1) the plain utility wares are from the same sources as the glazewares, most probably Pecos Pueblo, as they have the same variability in pastes and that (2) these culinary wares "probably represent Puebloan...rather than Plains-made wares." Thus, they question the utility of Tierra Blanca Plain if it refers to Southern Plains-made striated culinary wares or to a "widespread indigenous Plains ceramic tradition" (Boyd and Reese-Taylor 1993:375), and point out the need for further study of the

compositional variability of Puebloan plain and striated utility wares

Although no Northern Rio Grande glazewares were recovered in the investigations at Palo Duro Reservoir in Hansford County, Texas, another interesting protohistoric (with three radiocarbon dates averaging A.D. 1550 and a TL date of A.D. 1655 \pm 155) ceramic assemblage was recovered from 41HF8, Block C, along Palo Duro Creek in the northernmost part of the Texas Panhandle (Quigg et al. 1993). Reconstructable sections of three quartz sand-tempered vessels were found in Block C (Quigg et al. 1993:Figure 5.61), including: a small (14 cm orifice diameter) bean pot with smooth, non-striated exterior surfaces; a second smoothedsurface vessel with a vertical to outflating rim and constricted neck (12-13 cm orifice diameter); and a small, molded globular "cup" with flared lip and slightly restricted orifice.

Petrographic analyses indicate that these utility vessels were made in the Panhandle, using clays from outwash alluvial sediments with a fine quartz sand added as temper (Reese-Taylor 1993). It is notable that mica is lacking in the paste, whereas the Tierra Blanca Plain ceramics in contemporaneous Tierra Blanca, Garza, and Wheeler phase usually have small to moderate amounts of finely crushed mica in their pastes (Habicht-Mauche 1991:59).

Concluding Comments on Panhandle, Caprock Canyonlands, and Lower Plains Ceramics

Our understanding of prehistoric and protohistoric ceramic variability in the Lower Plains, Caprock Canyonlands, and Texas Panhandle regions has been hindered by the completion of few large archeological projects within the past 50 years. These types of projects can provide an opportunity to examine a suite of temporally and culturally distinct ceramic sites. However, there has been an uneven archeological emphasis on excavating mostly prominent Late Prehistoric village sites with abundant artifacts, including pottery, the recovery of mostly small and often culturally mixed ceramic assemblages from other time periods, and until recently, a tendency to utilize a lumpers (as opposed to a splitters) approach in studying ceramics with the primary goal of delineating gross temporal trends. Few attempts have been made to rigorously

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describe ceramic assemblages, using technological, petrographic, and chemical compositional analyses, to delineate the rich temporal and spatial variability of the regional prehistoric ceramic medium, and until such studies are completed, many important research problems focusing on prehistoric and protohistoric Southern High Plains lifeways will not be resolved.

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